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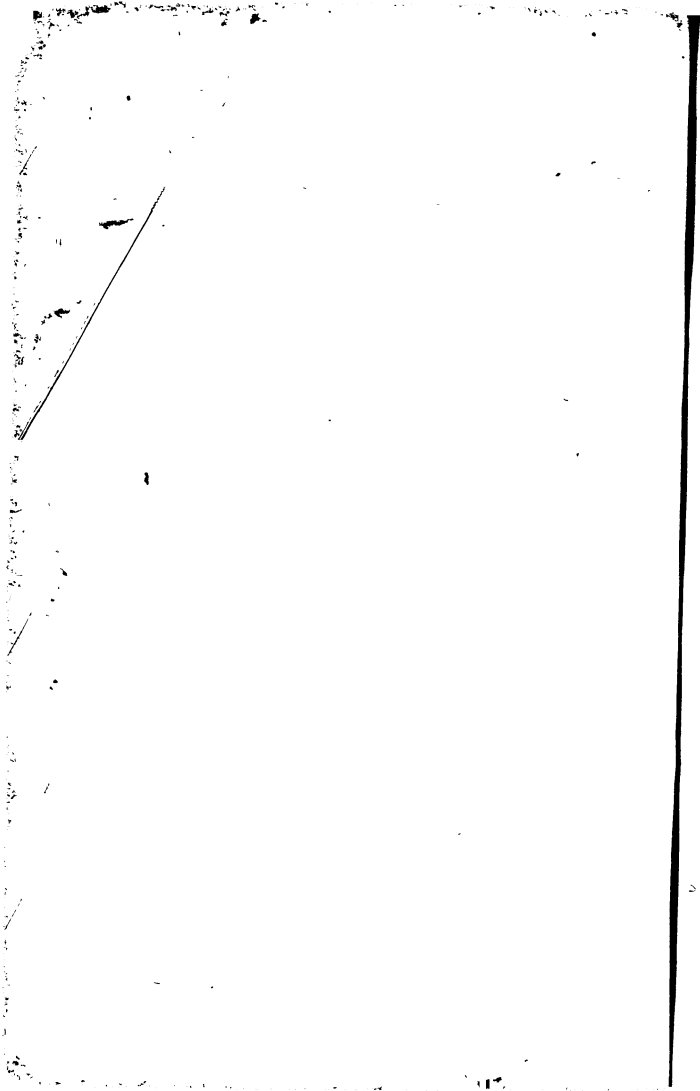
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MISSIONARY RECORDS.

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MISSIONARY RECORDS.

CHAPTER I.

Origin of Colonization.—The Pilgrim Fathers.—American Revivals.—Divine Faithfulness.—North American Indians.—Character.—Manners.—Dwellings.—Agriculture.—Wars.—Embassy of Peace.—Chiefs.—Councils.—Natural Eloquence.—Religion.—Morals.—Benevolence the Fruit and Evidence of Piety.—Rev. Robert Cushman.—First Converts.—Fulfilment of Prophecy.

COLONIZATION has usually originated in political or commercial motives ; it has been carried on in the spirit of reckless selfishness ; and when directed to countries already peopled, it has grasped its secular advantages at the cost of awful guilt to its agents, and of unutterable misery to those whose lands were invaded, and whose interests were sacrificed.

One instance, however, appears in modern times, in which a reverential regard to the law of God, obedience to the dictates of conscience, and concern for the enjoyment and perpetuation of civil and religious liberty, were the controlling principles.

Banished, by the religious and civil policy of the house of Stuart, from their homes in Britain, a body of exemplary and zealous puritans looked to the newly-discovered regions in the west, as an asylum for themselves and their offspring, and applied to the London or South Virginian Company for a grant of land. They stated, "that they were well weaned from the delicate milk of their mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; that they were knit together by a strict and sacred bond, by virtue of which they held themselves bound to take care of the good of each other, and of the whole; and that it was not with them as with other men, whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves home again." The grant thus solicited was obtained, and in December, 1620, the first vessel containing these "pilgrim fathers" reached its destination, where they landed on a desolate coast, with sterile sands and gloomy forests as the only objects that met their view. Plymouth, "the cradle of New-England," was the first town they built, and to it attaches a high degree of interest. "No New-Englander," says Dr. Dwight, "who is willing to indulge his native feelings, can stand upon the rock where our ancestors set the first foot after their arrival on the American shore, without experiencing emotions entirely different from those which are excited by any common object of the same nature. No New-Englander could be willing to have that rock buried and forgotten. Let him reason as much, as coldly, and as ingeniously as he pleases, he will still regard this spot with emotions wholly different from those which are excited by other places of equal, or even superior import-

ance." "The memory of the just is blessed;" and these venerated settlers actually erected, not merely a civil, but a religious empire; and many millions of people, to distant ages, will have to bless God for the benefits they have derived through these pious men.

"It is remarkable," observes a recent writer,* "that revivals of religion, under their American character, commenced in New-England, and were, till quite recently, principally confined to that region. And their extension westward and southward, I believe, has been generally found in the track of New-England emigrants, or springing up under the labours of New-England ministers, until they are now beginning to be reported from every part of the land. The great bulk of revivals, however, are still found in the east and north. Such facts may be presumed to have a connexion with the original elements and peculiar frame of society, as also, with the blessing of God, in reward of the distinguished christian virtues of the founders of such institutions, and of the fidelity of successive generations, in supporting them in their original spirit. It is a general and an exact truth, that the pilgrim fathers of New-England laid the foundations of their civil and social edifice, and of their religious institutions, in tears, and prayers, and in much faith. And the experiment of two hundred years has proved, that God has regarded those tears, and remembered those prayers, and plenteously rewarded those works of faith."

At the period when the first colonies were established in New England, there were about twenty

* Colton on Revivals.

or thirty different nations of Indians in that territory, closely resembling one another in their external appearance, mode of living, form of government, religious views, moral habits, and language. Those of Massachusetts were supposed to be among the most populous of all these tribes; and though, owing to their residence on the sea-coasts, they had made some little progress in civilization, they were described as "the most sordid and contemptible of the human race," and "as the veriest ruins of mankind on the face of the earth."

This, however, must refer to their moral condition, as the Indians were remarkable for their strength, agility, and hardiness of constitution; and as they discovered a natural understanding, sagacity, and even wit, equal to the same attributes in other men, their passions were exactly what they might be expected to become when habitual and unlimited indulgence assists a degenerate nature. Unaccustomed to the restraints of parental authority, they were impatient of control, and their hatred and revenge, undiminished either by absence or time, expired only with the life of the object or their own. Their attachments, even to the nearest connexions, appear to have been feeble; but perhaps an exception may be made as to parental tenderness, which in some cases, and particularly in their women, appears to have been strong. For the gentler affections, the men seem to have had but little respect, though where attachments existed with any strength they were permanent, and there are not wanting some honourable instances of gratitude. It is remarkable, too, that such feelings, as well as their resentments, were not only lasting, but conveyed through several successive generations.

Their manners were coarse, rude, and slovenly. Their dress was principally formed of deer and beaver skins, sometimes embroidered with the quills of the porcupine, beautifully dyed, and arranged with neatness and elegance. Their food was composed of vegetables, fish, and land animals.

To form their huts, or wigwams, they peeled the lime, and other trees abounding with sap, and then cutting the bark into pieces of two or three yards long, laid heavy stones on them; so that, in drying, they might become even and flat. The frame of the dwelling was made by poles driven into the ground, strengthened by cross-beams, and then covered with the bark, fastened with bast or twigs of hickory. The roof was covered in the same manner, and had an opening to let out the smoke. The door in the side was made of a large piece of bark without either bolt or lock; a stick, leaning against the outside, being the sign that nobody was within. The light was admitted by small openings, having sliding shutters. In the centre stood the fireplace, around which were benches or seats, which served likewise for bedsteads and tables. The blanket used for clothes by day, was the covering at night to a bed of deer or bear skin, or a mat made of rushes. The family lived and slept in a single apartment, and sometimes two or three families were domesticated together.

The cultivated ground of each family consisted of a garden or field, of no great size. Agriculture was performed, with rude implements of stone, by women; labour being universally regarded by the men with contempt. In their diversions, however, such as dancing, gaming, and hunting, they made the most vigorous exertions. When not thus

engaged, or occupied in war, they slept, sat, lay down, or lounged, with little more animation than the most torpid of creatures.

War was almost incessant, because it roused them from their lethargy, flattered their pride, and added the sweets of revenge to the pleasure and glory of exertion. It was ordinarily announced by actual hostilities, burning, plundering, and butchering their enemies, without distinction of age or sex. Their attacks were made with profound secrecy, great sagacity, and often with tremendous results. The shrill and intense scream, called the war-whoop, uttering which they furiously rushed on the assailed, might well make even a stout heart to quail. Their weapons were the tomahawk, or war-club, and bows and arrows, headed with flint, or other hard stones; in the use of which they were exceedingly dexterous. The captives were often tortured with every variety of cruelty, and death was embittered by the grossest insults. These, however, were endured by warriors, not only without shrinking, but with triumph; and the taunts by which they were assailed were usually retorted with the utmost severity and contempt.

An embassy of peace was ordinarily committed to several persons, who bare the pipe of peace, made of hard black wood, and adorned with ribbons and white corals, answering to our flags of truce; and so great is the respect with which it is treated, that an insult offered to the bearer is denounced as a most heinous crime, to be visited inevitably with the vengeance of the Great Spirit. The smoking of this by the heads of the contending tribes, is the solemnization of a treaty of peace.

The principal chiefs were called sachems, the

subordinate ones sagamores. War and peace seem to have been determined on in a council formed of old men, distinguished by their exploits. A murderer was put to death by an avenger of blood, usually the nearest male, but sometimes the nearest female relative. Some capital offenders appear to have been tried by a general council of the natives, who ordered execution on the spot. Crimes against property appear to have been very few. In their deliberations, great ability was often displayed; some speakers were eloquent in a high degree, and both their modulations of voice and gestures were singularly natural, animated, and impressive. As to the affairs of individuals they seem to have given themselves no concern.

From the specimens extant of their natural eloquence, and strongly figurative style, the following is selected. It is the address of the chiefs of the five Indian nations, which accompanied a treaty of peace with the British:—"We are happy in having buried under ground the red axe, that has so often been dyed with the blood of our brethren. Now, in this fort, we inter the axe, and plant the tree of peace. We plant a tree, whose top will reach the sun; and its branches spread abroad, so that it shall be seen afar off. May its growth never be stifled and choked, but may it shade both your country and ours with its leaves! Let us make fast its roots, and extend them to the utmost of your colonies. If the French should come to shake this tree, we would know it by the motion of its roots reaching into our country. May the Great Spirit allow us to rest in tranquillity upon our mats, and never again dig up the axe to cut down the tree of peace. Let the earth be trod hard

over it, where it lies buried. Let a strong stream run under the pit, to wash the evil away out of our sight and remembrance. The fire that had long burned in Albany is extinguished. The bloody bed is washed clean, and the tears are wiped from our eyes. We now renew the covenant chain of friendship. Let it be kept bright and clean as silver, and not suffered to contract any rust. Let not any one pull away his arms from it."

Their religion was a compound of a few truths, received by tradition, and the dictates of superstition and ignorance. While they believed in a plurality of gods, who had formed the different nations of the world, and made gods of whatever they believed to be great, powerful, beneficial, or hurtful, they conceived that there was one God, known by the names of Kichtan, and Woonand, who was superior to all the rest, who dwelt in the south-west region of the heavens, who created the original parents of mankind, who, though never seen by the eye of man, was entitled to gratitude and respect, on account of his natural goodness, and the benefits bestowed by him, and who was altogether unpropitious when offended. But the principal object of their veneration was Hobamock, or the evil deity. To him they frequently presented, as offerings and sacrifices, the most valuable articles they possessed; and his favour they were the most desirous of obtaining. With him their powaws, or priests, pretended to have familiar intercourse; and, to maintain their authority, they asserted that he often appeared to them in the form of a man, a deer, an eagle, or a snake; and that they understood the method of securing his regards, and averting his judgments. Images of stone were

also formed, and received religious homage. One of these idols is now in the Museum at Hartford. Sacred stones also still exist in several places, one particularly at Middletown, to which every Indian, as he passes by, makes a religious obeisance.

It might, therefore, be easily inferred that their morals were debased. In addition to the revenge and cruelty so apparent in their wars, and their making their wives the slaves of slothfulness and caprice, they were addicted to lying, stealing, and impurity, and indulged in drunkenness to the extent of their means.

On a people thus living, "without God, without Christ, and without hope," the "pilgrim fathers" gazed with the deepest compassion, and earnestly did they long to pluck them as brands from the burning. Had they not, their own piety would have been exposed to suspicion. For though a missionary spirit is not abstractedly a conclusive evidence of a change of heart, it cannot be experienced without originating an earnest desire for the universal diffusion of the gospel. This feeling is accordant with the ordinary emotions of a grateful mind in the reception of any benefit; and the contemplation of the necessitous, excites to efforts coincident with the designs and dispensations of God. No man is converted merely for his own sake; but others should participate in the blessing. The light imparted is to be diffused; the energies aroused and directed are to be called into vigorous and unceasing operation. The same principle may, therefore, be recognised in circumstances widely different. In the case of the widow who has but two mites, it will lead to their being cast into the treasury of the Lord; in that of the individual whose

talents are more numerous, it will induce the consecration of them all to God; and wherever the voice of Providence calls to missionary work, its intimations will be promptly, cheerfully, and gratefully obeyed.

So early, therefore, as the year 1621, the Rev. Robert Cushman, of Plymouth colony, stated in the epistle dedicatory to one of his sermons, that "the English were content to bear the intrusion of the Indians, that they might see and take knowledge of their labours, order, and diligence, both for this life and a better;" that "many of the younger sort were of a tractable disposition, both to religion and humanity;" that "if God would send them means," they would "bring up hundreds of them to labour and learning;" and that there were "young men from England, who would be content to lay out their estates, and to endure hardships and difficulties, that they might further the gospel among the heathen."

An Indian, named Squanto, died in 1622, who, shortly before his departure, desired the governor to pray that he might go to the Englishmen's God in heaven. It is said of another, a sagamore, that he "sometimes praised the English and their God," spoke of them as "much good men," and of the "much good God;" and, on his death-bed, desired Mr. Wilson, of Boston, to "teach his son to know the God of the English." Mr. Williams, of Salem, appears also for a time to have been the instrument of great good, and mentions, that another repeated what he had told him two or three years before, and added, as he lay on the bed of sickness and death, "Me much pray to Jesus Christ." Mr. W. said, that so did many English, French, and Dutch,

who had never turned to God, nor loved him; and to this he replied, in broken English, "Me so big naughty heart: me heart all one stone." Such, it may be hoped, were the first-fruits of a rich harvest, by which multitudes of this degraded people shall be gathered into the garner of God, to the praise of the glory of his grace.

Who, however, can contemplate the state of America now, in conjunction with the first settlement of the puritans in that country, without exclaiming, "What hath God wrought!" Here, at least, is one fulfilment of the prophecy: "There shall be a handful of corn in the earth, upon the top of the mountains, the fruit thereof shall shake like Lebanon; and they of the city shall flourish like grass of the earth." The recent advancement of religion in that country is very great, and calls for much thankfulness; and at this moment there is every indication of its continued progress and increase. The events to be disclosed by future years, indeed, defy conception: great as those are which have already transpired, it is in the highest degree probable, from moral causes in visible operation, that they will be eclipsed by others which are yet to occur.

CHAPTER II.

Rev. John Eliot.—Motives to Missionary Labours.—Language of the Indians.—First Visit to them.—Second Visit.—Third Visit.—Nonantum.—Success.—Self-Denial.—God is brought out of Evil.—Civil Government.—The Day of asking Questions.—Confession of Totherswamp.—Death of Wamporas.—Infant Converts.—Interest excited in England.—Translations.—Indian College.—Indian Exhortation.—Praying Indians.—Progress of Truth.—Devotedness till Death.—A good old Age.—Character of Mr. Eliot.—Rev. Mr. Peabody's Labours.

THE conversion of the Indians having attracted the attention of the general court of Massachusetts, an act was passed, in 1646, encouraging the propagation of the gospel, and accompanied by a recommendation to the elders of the churches, to consider the best means by which it might be accomplished. One of the first to comply with this order was the Rev. John Eliot, who, prevented from ministering in holy things in his native land, from the restrictions then imposed, had retired to New-England, and was labouring, with great devotedness and success, at Roxbury, near Boston. The motives which led him to give himself to the missionary work, as stated by a neighbour and intimate friend, were, "1. The glory of God, in the conversion of some of these poor desolate Indians. 2. His compassion and ardent affection to them, and to mankind in their great blindness and ignorance. And, 3. To endea-

your, as far as in him lay, the accomplishment and fulfilling the covenant and promise the people of New-England had made to their king, when he granted them their patent or charter, namely, that one principal end of their going to plant these countries was, to communicate the gospel unto the native Indians." And Dr. Mather adds; "The remarkable zeal of the Romish missionaries, compassing sea and land that they might make proselytes, made his devout soul think of it with a further disdain, that we should come any whit behind in our care to evangelize the Indians."

Having resolved, in the strength of the Lord, to devote himself to this object, he applied himself most assiduously to the acquisition of the language of the people. This was exceedingly barbarous. "One would think," says Dr. Mather, "that its words had been growing ever since Babel;" and he gives the following examples of the length of some of them: *Nummatchekodtantamoongannunonash*, "our lusts;" *Noorromantammoonkanunonnash*, "our loves;" *Kummogokdonattoottammociteaongannunnonash*, "our questions." But, with all its faults, the language was pretty copious, so that an European, when master of it, was able to express the most abstract ideas without much difficulty. This circumstance appears rather remarkable, when it is considered that the Indians, before their acquaintance with the English, were entirely ignorant of the art of expressing their sentiments by writing. By the help of an ingenious native, however, Mr. Eliot soon translated the commandments, the Lord's prayer, and many texts of scripture; and also compiled some exhortations and prayers. "I diligently marked," he observes, "the difference

of their grammars from ours. When I found the way of them, I would pursue a word, a noun, a verb, through all variations I could think of; and thus I came at it."

Having in this manner prepared himself for the work, Mr. Eliot proceeded with two or three of his friends, to visit the Indians, at a place about four or five miles from his own house, where he had previously intimated his design of imparting religious instruction. Several of them met him at some distance from their wigwams, and, bidding him welcome, conducted him into a large apartment, where a great number of their countrymen were assembled, to hear this new doctrine which the English were to teach them. After a short prayer, Mr. Eliot delivered a discourse in the Indian tongue, which lasted upwards of an hour, and comprehended many of the most important articles of natural and revealed religion. He informed them of the creation of the world, and the fall of man; of the greatness of God, the Maker of all things; of the ten commandments, and the threatenings denounced against those who broke them; of the character and office of Jesus Christ; of the last judgment, the joys of heaven, and the torments of hell. Having finished his discourse, he asked them, whether they understood him; to which they answered, they understood all. He then desired them, as was afterwards his usual practice, to ask him any questions they might think necessary with regard to the sermon, upon which some of them made several inquiries, such as: "How a man might come to know Jesus Christ? Whether Englishmen were ever so ignorant of Jesus Christ as they were? Whether Jesus

Christ could understand prayers in the Indian language? Whether, if a man were wicked, and his child good, God would be offended with that child, for, in the second commandment, it was said, 'He visits the iniquities of the fathers upon the children?'" To these, and similar questions, Mr. Eliot and his friends endeavoured to give the Indians plain and simple answers; and after a conference of about three hours, they returned home, considering it "a glorious and affecting spectacle to see a company of perishing, forlorn outcasts, diligently attending to the blessed word of salvation then delivered."

Encouraged by so favourable a reception, Mr. Eliot and his friends paid the Indians a second visit about a fortnight after, and found a still greater number assembled than before. After teaching the children a few questions, he preached to the whole congregation about an hour, concerning the nature of God, the plan of salvation through Jesus Christ, the necessity of faith in him, and the awful consequences of neglecting the gospel. During these exercises, the whole of them appeared extremely serious and attentive; and, after sermon, an aged Indian stood up, and, with tears in his eyes, inquired, "Whether it was not too late for such an old man as he, who was now near death, to repent and seek after God?" Some others asked, "How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in their knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, since they had all at first but one father? How it happened that sea-water was salt, and river water fresh? How it came to pass, if the water was higher than the earth, that it did not overflow the

whole world?" Mr. Eliot and his friends having answered these and some other questions, the Indians told them they did greatly thank God for their coming among them, and for what they had heard: they were wonderful things to them.

About a fortnight after, Mr. Eliot visited the Indians a third time, but the assembly was not so numerous as before; for the powaws, or conjurers, had, in the meanwhile, interfered with their authority, dissuading some from hearing the English ministers, and threatening others with death in case of disobedience. Such, however, as were present appeared very serious, and seemed much affected by the sermon. Two or three days after, Wampas, a sage Indian, with two of his companions, came to the English, and desired to be admitted into one of their families. He brought his son and two or three other Indian children with him, begging that they might be educated in the christian faith, because, he said, "they would grow rude and wicked at home, and would never come to know God, which they hoped they should do, if they were constantly among the English;" and, at the next meeting, all who were present offered their children to be catechised and instructed by the white people.

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, the general court of Massachusetts, on the application of Mr. Eliot, gave the Indians in that neighbourhood some land on which to build a town, where they might live together, enjoy the privilege of religious instruction, and cultivate the arts of life. This place they called Nonanetum, which signifies *rejoicing*; and a number of them having

met together to make laws for the government of their little society, they agreed on various regulations, some of which were very curious.

The site of the town being marked out, Mr. Eliot advised them to surround it with ditches and a stone wall, promising to furnish them with shovels, spades, mattocks, and crows of iron for this purpose; and he likewise gave money to such as laboured most diligently. Thus, in a short time, the village was not only enclosed, but the wigwams of the meanest were equal to the houses of the sachems in other towns, being built not with mats, but with the bark of trees, and divided into several apartments.

Being now settled in comfortable habitations, the women began to learn to spin, to make various little articles, and to carry the natural productions of the country to market for sale. In winter, they sold brooms, staves, baskets, turkies; in spring, cranberries, strawberries, fish; in summer, whortleberries, grapes, &c. Several of them also wrought with the English in hay-time and harvest; but, it was remarked, they were not so industrious, nor yet so able to work, as those who had been accustomed to it from their infancy. Some of the men learned such trades as were deemed most necessary; and so great was their improvement, that they built a house for public worship, fifty feet in length, and twenty-five in breadth, which appeared like the workmanship of an English builder.

While these things were going on at Nonanetum, the Indians in the neighbourhood of Concord expressed a similar desire of uniting together, in a regular society, of receiving the christian faith, and of learning the arts of civilized life. With this view they requested Mr. Eliot to come and

preach the gospel to them, which he did, and they begged the government to grant them a piece of land, on which they might also build themselves a town.

The following extract from a letter contains a general statement of the success of these labours: "They pray unto God constantly in their families every morning and evening, and that with great affection, as hath been seen and heard by sundry that have gone to their wigwams at such times; as also; when they go to meat, they solemnly pray and give thanks to God, as they see the English do. When they come to English houses, they desire to be taught; and, if meat be given them, they pray and give thanks to God, and usually express their great joy that they are taught to know God, and their great affection to those who teach them. They are careful to instruct their children, and they are also strict against any profanation of the sabbath, by working, fishing, hunting," &c.

Of the questions they were encouraged to propose, one example may be selected, as illustrating the state of their minds. "Before I knew God," said Cutshamoquin, "I thought I was well, but since I have known God and sin, I find my heart full of sin, and more sinful than ever it was before, and this hath been a great trouble to me; and at this day my heart is but very little better than it was, and I am afraid it will be as bad again as I have been. Now my question is, Whether is this a sin or not?"

Mr. Eliot by no means confined his labours to the two places already mentioned. Though he still retained the pastoral charge of the church at Roxbury, yet he usually went once a fortnight on a

missionary excursion, travelling through the different parts of Massachusetts and of the neighbouring country, as far as Cape Cod, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom to as many of the Indians as would hear him. Many were the toils, hardships, and dangers he encountered in the prosecution of this important work. In a letter to the Hon. Mr. Winslow, he gives the following particulars: "I have not been dry, night nor day, from Tuesday to Saturday, but have travelled from place to place in that condition; and at night I pull off my boots, wring my stockings, and on with them again, and so continue. But God steps in and helps me. I have considered the exhortation of Paul to his son Timothy, 'Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.'" Such sufferings as these, however, were the least of his trials. When travelling in the wilderness, without a friend or companion, he was sometimes treated by the Indians in a very barbarous manner, and was not unfrequently in danger even of his life. Both the chiefs and the powaws were the determined enemies of christianity, the sachems being jealous of their authority, the priests of their gain; and hence they often laid plots for the destruction of this good man, and would certainly have put him to death, had they not been overawed by the power of the English. Sometimes the chiefs, indeed, thrust him out from among them, saying, "It was impertinent in him to trouble himself with them or their religion, and that, should he return again, it would be at his peril." To such threatenings he used only to reply, "That he was engaged in the service of the great God, and therefore he did not fear them, nor all the sachems in the country, but was resolved

to go on with his work, and bade them touch him if they dared.* To manifest their malignity, however, as far as possible, they banished from their society such of the people as favoured christianity; and when it might be done with safety, they even put them to death. Nothing, indeed, but the dread of the English, prevented them from murdering all the converts; a circumstance which induced some of them to conceal their sentiments, and others to fly to the colonists for protection.

Mr. Eliot's feelings at this time were thus expressed:—

“I believe, verily, that the Lord will bring great good out of all these oppositions; nay, I see it already, (though I see it not all, I believe more than I can see,) but this I see, that by this opposition the wicked are kept off from us, and from thrusting themselves into our society. Besides, it has become some trial now, to come into our company and call upon God; for besides the forsaking of their powaws, and all their old barbarous habits of sin, and some of their friends, kindred, &c., now this is added, they incur the displeasure of their sachems; all which put together, it cannot but appear that there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares.”

These expectations were not disappointed. By his zealous and unwearied exertions, under the blessing of God, numbers of the Indians, in different parts of the country, embraced the gospel; and, in the year 1651, a considerable body of them united together in building a town, which they called Natick, on the banks of Charles' River, about eighteen miles south-west from Boston.

This settlement consisted of three long streets, two on this side of the river, and one on the other, with a piece of ground for each family. A few of the houses were built in the English style, but most of them were after the Indian fashion; for as the former were neither so cheap, so warm, nor yet so easily removed as their wigwams, in which not a single nail was used, they generally retained their own mode of building. There was, however, one large house in the English style; the lower room was a great hall, which served for a place of worship on the sabbath, and a school-house through the week; the upper room was a kind of wardrobe, in which the Indians deposited their skins and other articles of value; and in one of the corners there was an apartment for Mr. Eliot, with a bed and bedstead in it. Besides this building, there was a large fort of a circular form, palisadoed with trees; and a small bridge over the river, the foundation of which was secured with stone.

As soon as the Indians had formed this new town, they applied to him for a form of civil government; and as he imagined the scriptures to be a perfect standard in political as well as in religious matters, he advised them to adopt the model proposed by Jethro to Moses in the wilderness: "Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth hating covetousness; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, and rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens." Agreeably to his advice, they chose one ruler of a hundred, two rulers of fifty, and ten rulers of ten, the rulers standing in order, and every individual going to the one he chose. Having adopted this plan in

their little town, they utterly abandoned polygamy, which had formerly prevailed among them; they made severe laws against fornication, drunkenness, sabbath-breaking, and other immoralities; and they began, at length, to long for the establishment among them of a christian church. Having spent a day of fasting and prayer for Divine direction, Mr. Eliot and his friends resolved to meet on the 13th October, 1652, called by the Indians, "the day of asking questions;" in order to judge of the fitness of the converts for christian communion. When they had assembled, Mr. Eliot and two of the converts engaged in prayer, and delivered discourses. The ministers were then requested to question the Indians on the doctrines of christianity, with the view of being satisfied with the extent of their knowledge; but they expressed a desire to be made acquainted with their christian experience, and hoped at the same time to ascertain the extent of their information. The confessions which had been written on former occasions, were therefore read, and the Indians were requested to come forward and express the feelings of their souls with regard to religion.

The following is the confession of Totherswamp:—

"I confess in the presence of the Lord, that before I prayed,* many were my sins. Not one good word, indeed, did I speak, not one good thought did I think, not one good action did I do. I did ask all sins, and full was my heart of evil thoughts. When the English did tell me of God, I cared not

* "Their frequent phrase of praying to God is not to be understood of that ordinance and duty of prayer only, but of all religion."

for it. I thought it enough if they loved me. I had many friends that loved me, and I thought if they died, I would pray to God, and afterward it so came to pass. Then was my heart ashamed; to pray I was ashamed, and if I prayed not, I was ashamed—a double shame was upon me. When God by you taught us, very much ashamed was my heart. Then you taught us that Christ knoweth all our hearts; therefore truly he saw my thoughts, and I had thought, if my kindred should die, I would pray to God. Therefore, they dying, I must now pray to God; and therefore my heart feared, for I thought Christ knew my thoughts. Then I heard you teach, ‘The first man God made was Adam, and God made a covenant with him, Do and live, thou and thy children: if thou do not, thou must die, thou and thy children.’ And we are children of Adam, poor sinners, therefore we have all sinned, for we have broke God’s covenant. Therefore evil is my heart; therefore God is angry with me; we sin against him every day. But this great mercy God hath given us—he hath given us his only Son, and promiseth that whosoever believeth in Christ shall be saved; for Christ hath died for us in our stead, for our sins, and he hath done for us all the works of God, for I can do no good act, only Christ can, and only Christ hath done all for us. Christ hath deserved (procured) pardon for us, and risen again. He hath ascended to God, and doth ever pray for us: therefore all believers’ souls shall go to heaven to Christ. But when I heard the word of Christ, Christ said, ‘Repent and believe;’ and Christ seeth who repenteth; then I said, Dark and weak is my soul, and I am one in darkness, I am a very sinful man,

and now I pray to Christ for life. Hearing you teach that word, that the scribes and pharisees said, 'Why do thy disciples break the tradition of the fathers?' Christ answered, 'Why do ye make void the commandments of God?' Then my heart feared that I do so, when I teach the Indians, because I cannot teach them right, and thereby make the word of God vain. Again, Christ said, 'If the blind lead the blind, they will both fall into the ditch;' therefore I feared that I am one blind, and when I teach other Indians, I shall cause them to fall into the ditch. This is the love of God to me, that he giveth me all mercies in the world, and for them all I am thankful. I confess I deserve hell. I cannot deliver myself, but I give my soul and my flesh to Christ, and I trust my soul with him, for he is my Redeemer; and I desire to call upon him while I live. I am ashamed of all my sins; my heart is broken for them, and melteth in me; I am angry with myself for my sins, and I pray to Christ to take away my sins, and I desire that they may be pardoned."

Though great caution is necessary in the formation of a christian church among the heathen, yet it may be doubted whether the scruples of the good men then present, though unquestionably honest, were not on this occasion carried too far. They judged it expedient that, for various reasons, the act contemplated should be postponed. Mr. Eliot, however, patiently submitted to them, regarding the decision of his brethren as the voice of Providence; and far from being discouraged by the delay, he persevered in his benevolent labours, until, about two years after, his desire was granted.

In an interesting letter he says:—

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

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

A powerful testimony was borne, on this and similar occasions, to the grace of God, but the work of conversion was not confined to those of mature age, for a saving change appears to have been wrought on some of the Indian children, two of whom were under three years of age. "One," says Mr. Eliot, "in the extremities of its torments, lay crying to God in these words, 'God and Jesus Christ, God and Jesus Christ help me!' and, when they gave it any thing to eat, it would greedily take it, (as is usual at the approach of death,) but first it would cry to God, 'O God and Jesus Christ bless it.' In this manner it lay calling on God and Jesus Christ until it died. Three or four days after, another child, in the same house, called to its father, and said, 'Father, I am going to God;' several times repeating, 'I am going to God.' The mother had made for the child a little basket, a little spoon, and a little tray. These things the child was wont to be greatly delighted with; therefore, in the extremity of its torments, they set those things before it, a little to divert the mind and cheer the spirit; but now the child takes the basket and puts it away, and said, 'I will leave my basket behind me, for I am going to God; I will leave my spoon and tray behind me, (putting them

away,) for I am going to God:' and with this kind of expressions, the same night finished its course and died." Thus, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, God perfected praise.

A deep impression of the importance of Mr. Eliot's labours was made in England the year after he commenced them, by the appearance of a pamphlet, with this quaint but expressive title, "The Day-breaking, if not the Sun-rising, of the Gospel with the Indians in New England;" and by a similar but more extended narrative, under the title of "The clear Sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians," dedicated "To the right honourable the lords and commons assembled in the high court of parliament;" with a view of exciting them to afford encouragement to Mr. Eliot, and others, who were thus actively engaged in advancing the interest of the Messiah's kingdom abroad.

This attempt to interest the people and parliament of England in the propagation of the gospel in America, was, to a considerable extent, successful. Not only was individual attention excited to this great object, but the parliament entered cordially into the views of the ministers who addressed them, and referred the question of the encouragement which was due to Mr. Eliot and his associates, to the committee of Foreign Plantations, recommending them to prepare and bring in an ordinance for the encouragement and advancement of learning and piety in New England. This was done, and an act was passed, dated 27th July, 1649, to encourage the instruction of the Indians.

Soon after the formation of the church at Natick, Mr. Eliot had also the pleasure of completing a

work on which his heart had long been set, and which was intimately connected with the success of his labours—the translation of the holy scriptures into the Indian language. In 1661, the New Testament, dedicated to his majesty Charles the Second, was printed at Cambridge in New England; and about three years after it was followed by the Old Testament. This was the first Bible ever printed in America, and though the impression consisted of two thousand copies, it was sooner exhausted than might have been expected. A second edition of the whole was published in 1685. Besides this great work, he translated into the Indian language various other useful books; among them, “Sheppard’s Sincere Convert,” and “Baxter’s Call to the Unconverted.” An interesting young sachem, who had been brought to the knowledge of the truth, was so much delighted and impressed with “Baxter’s Call to the Unconverted,” that when he lay dying of a tedious distemper, he continued to read it, with floods of tears, while his strength lasted. Mr. Eliot also published a “Grammar of the Indian language;” and at the close of it wrote these memorable words: “Prayers and pains, through faith in Christ Jesus, will do any thing.”

Besides instituting schools, where many of the Indians learned to read and write, Mr. Eliot and the other gentlemen who had the superintendence of the mission, were at much expense in educating some of them for the work of the ministry, with the view of employing them as preachers among their own countrymen. The plan, certainly, was laudable, but it was not effectual, at least to the extent that was expected or desired.

Several of the youths died, after being some years under instruction; others were disheartened and relinquished the pursuit, when they were nearly ready for the college; some, however, persevered in their studies, acquired considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and were qualified for being employed as schoolmasters and teachers among their own countrymen. At Cambridge, in New England, a building was erected at an expense of between three and four hundred pounds, under the name of the Indian College. It was large enough to accommodate about twenty persons with convenient lodgings; but for some years, at least, it was chiefly occupied by English students, on account of the death and failure of the Indian youths.

With the view of supplying, so far as possible, the want of native preachers, Mr. Eliot, besides visiting the Indians frequently during the week, encouraged the most judicious of them to give their countrymen a word of exhortation on the sabbath. As a specimen of their talents for this exercise, the following abstract of an address is subjoined, which was delivered by one of them, on a day of fasting and prayer, on account of the excessive rains which had recently deluged their fields.

GENESIS viii. 20, 21.

And Noah built an altar unto the Lord, and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings upon the altar. And the Lord smelled a sweet savour; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground for man's sake.

“A little I shall say, according to that little I

know. In that Noah sacrificed, he showed himself thankful; in that Noah worshipped, he showed himself godly; in that he offered clean beasts, he showed that God is a holy God, and that all who come to him must be pure and clean. Know that we must by repentance purge ourselves, which is the work we are to do this day.

“Noah sacrificed, and so worshipped. This was the manner of old time. But what sacrifices have we now to offer? I shall answer by that in Psalm iv. 5, ‘Offer to God the sacrifices of righteousness, and put your trust in the Lord.’ These are the true spiritual sacrifices which God requires at our hands—the sacrifices of righteousness; that is, we must look to our hearts and ways, that they may be righteous, and then we shall be acceptable to God when we worship him. But if we be unrighteous, unholy, ungodly, we shall not be accepted; our sacrifices will be stark naught.

“Again, we are to ‘put our trust in the Lord.’ Who else is there for us to trust in? We must believe in the word of God; if we doubt concerning God, or if we doubt his word, our sacrifices are little worth; but if we trust stedfastly in God, our sacrifices will be good.

“Once more, What sacrifices must we offer? My answer is, We must offer such as Abraham offered; and what sacrifice that was, we are told, Gen. xxii. 12; ‘Now I know that thou fearest me, seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thy only son from me.’ It seems, he had but one dearly beloved son, and he offered that son to God; and so God said, ‘I know that thou fearest me.’ Behold a sacrifice in deed and in truth! Such an one must we offer; only God requires us not to

offer our sons, but our sins, our dearest sins. God calls us this day to part with all our sins, though ever so beloved, and we must not withhold any of them from him. If we will not part with all, the sacrifice is not right. Let us part with such sins as we love best, and it will be a good sacrifice.

“ God ‘smelled a sweet savour’ in Noah’s sacrifice, and so will he receive our sacrifices, when we worship him aright. But how did God manifest his acceptance of Noah’s offering? It was by promising to drown the world no more, but to give us fruitful seasons. God has chastised us of late, as if he would utterly drown us; and he has drowned, and spoiled, and ruined a great deal of our hay, and threatens to kill our cattle. It is for this we fast and pray this day. Let us then offer a clean and pure sacrifice as Noah did; so God will smell a savour of rest, and he will withhold the rain, and bless us with such fruitful seasons, as we are desiring of him.”

In 1674, the number of towns within the jurisdiction of the colony of Massachusetts, inhabited by praying Indians, as they were called, had increased to no fewer than fourteen, to all of which Mr. Eliot appears, in a greater or less degree, to have extended his evangelical labours. Of these, seven were of considerable standing; the other seven had begun to listen to the gospel only within the last three years. It is necessary, however, to remark, that under the appellation of “praying Indians” were included all who merely submitted to be catechised, attended public worship, read the scriptures, and prayed in their family morning and evening, even though they were not able, or not willing to profess their faith in Christ, and of course were not

admitted either to baptism or the Lord's supper. Estimating each family in these towns to consist, on an average, of five persons, the total number of persons enjoying the means of christian instruction was supposed to amount to about eleven hundred; but among these there were as yet only two churches; and, indeed, the further progress of the gospel among the Indians was greatly interrupted by the war with Philip, a celebrated chief, which began the following year, many of the towns of praying Indians being broken up in consequence of it. In 1684, Mr. Eliot mentions, that their stated places of worship were reduced to four; but, besides these, there were some other places where they occasionally met for Divine service.

In 1687, the work of evangelization appears to have been prospering, though Mr. Eliot, now in his eighty-third or eighty-fourth year, was so enfeebled by age, that he was unable to preach to them oftener than once in two months. At this time there were six churches of the baptized in New-England, and eighteen assemblies of catechumens, professing the name of Christ. Four-and-twenty Indians were preachers of the word; and, besides these, there were four English ministers, who proclaimed the gospel in the Indian language. Many of the children also had learnt the Assembly's or Perkins's Catechism, and could answer all the questions in their own mother tongue.

Though this excellent man now imagined he could no longer be useful to the English, he thought he might yet, perhaps, do some good among the negroes. He had long lamented their deplorable condition, dragged from their native land, carried to a foreign shore, and reduced to slavery among

strangers. He therefore requested the English, within two or three miles of his house, to send their negroes to him once a week, that he might catechise and instruct them in the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. He did not live, however, to make much progress in this humble, and disinterested undertaking. Even when he was able to do little without doors, he tried to do something within. There was a young boy in the neighbourhood, who, in his infancy, had fallen into the fire, and burned his face in such a manner, that he was now totally blind. The venerable man, therefore, took him home to his house, with the design of teaching him; and he was so far successful, that the youth, in a short time, could repeat many chapters of the bible from memory, and was able to construe with ease an ordinary piece of Latin. Such was the manner in which this aged saint spent the evening of life. He was, indeed, diligent in business, and fervent in spirit.

Being, at length, attacked with some degree of fever, he rapidly sunk under the ravages of his disorder, combined with the infirmities of old age. During his illness, when speaking about the evangelizing of the Indians, he said, "There is a dark cloud upon the work of the gospel among them. The Lord revive and prosper that work, and grant that it may live when I am dead. It is a work I have been doing much and long about. But what was the word I spoke last? I recal that word—my doings. Alas! they have been poor, and small, and lean doings; and I will be the man who will cast the first stone at them all." Among the last expressions which were heard to drop from his lips were those emphatic words: "Welcome joy!" and

his voice for ever failed him in this world, while he said, "Pray, pray, pray!" He expired in the beginning of 1690, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and has since been known by the honourable, yet well-earned title of "the apostle of the Indians."

While of many who appeared fitted for eminent usefulness it is said, their "sun has gone down while it was yet day," it is soothing to remember, that this devoted man was like "a shock of corn gathered in in its season." His "hoary head" was indeed "a crown of glory." And when his Lord came, he was found "with his loins girt, and his lamp burning." This is the excellency, the dignity, and the blessedness, to which all should aspire, and in comparison with which, every object merely temporal shrinks into abject insignificance.

Mr. Eliot was "naturally qualified," says Dr. Dwight, "beyond almost any other man, for the business of a missionary. He possessed a sound understanding, singular patience, fortitude, and zeal, attempered with the gentlest affections; was ardent in his benevolence, sufficiently vigorous to endure almost any fatigue, and sufficiently persevering to surmount almost any difficulty. He was not only apt to teach, but peculiarly fitted to instruct such as were slow of apprehension, and biassed by prejudice. His addresses were plain, and remarkably intelligible. They were the language of the heart, the spontaneous effusions of evangelical good-will, and were, therefore, deeply felt by all who heard them. His treatment of the Indians was that of a sincere, upright, and affectionate parent. In providing for their wants, in adjusting their differences, in securing them permanent settlements, in defending their rights, in

preserving them from the depredations of their savage neighbours on the one hand, and those of the colonists, especially about the time of Philip's war, on the other; in promoting among them agriculture, health, morals, and religion, and in translating the bible into their language, this great and good man laboured with a constancy, faithfulness, and benevolence, which place his name, not unworthily, among those who are arranged immediately after the apostles of our Divine Redeemer."

It is delightful too, to observe, that though most of Mr. Eliot's children died before him, all of them gave satisfactory evidence of an interest in Christ. His eldest son was not only the pastor of an English church, but regularly preached to the Indians once a fortnight, and was highly esteemed by the converts.

Previous to the death of Mr. Eliot, the church at Natick had an Indian minister settled among them; but it appears to have been in a languishing state. In 1698, indeed, there were at that place about a hundred and eighty persons, a number greater than what they were estimated to be upwards of twenty years before; but the church was reduced to ten, namely, seven men and three women. In 1751, Mr. Peabody commenced his labours, which were continued for about thirty years. During that period a church was organized, a hundred and eighty-nine Indians, and four hundred and twenty-two white persons were baptized; and thirty-five Indians, and a hundred and thirty whites, were admitted into the church.

Besides the Indians at Natick, there were, in 1764, eight or ten families at a place called Grafton; and in 1792 there were still about thirty persons,

who retained a part of their lands, and received an annual quit-rent from the white inhabitants. These, with a few other Indians at Stoughton, it is believed, are all the remains of the numerous and powerful tribes who formerly inhabited the colony of Massachusetts.

CHAPTER III.

Gloomy Apprehensions not realized.—Dartmouth College.—Rev. Sampson Occom.—Indian Sermon.—Relapse of young Indians.—The fact accounted for.—Effect of the American War.—The Hon. Robert Boyle.—Bishop of Cloyne.—Rev. Richard Baxter.—Mr. Mayhew, Sen.—Mr. Thomas Mayhew.—Conversion and Zeal of Hiacoomes.—Indian Superstition renounced.—Devotedness.—Attention of Families excited.—Conversion of two Powaws.—Progress of the Gospel.—Instances of Success.—Mr. Thomas Mayhew's Death.—Mr. Mayhew's, Sen. Labours.—Indian Preachers chosen.—Mr. John Mayhew.—Mr. Experience Mayhew.—Domestic Piety and Zeal.—Recent State of Martha's Vineyard and Nantuket.

ON the removal from the earth of the eminently pious and devoted, it is natural to indulge some gloomy forebodings. It need not excite surprise, therefore, that, on the death of Mr. Eliot, Dr. Mather should thus write, with other devout men, in lamentation:—"Bereaved New-England, where are thy tears at this ill-boding funeral? We had a

tradition current among us, that the country would never perish as long as Mr. Eliot was alive! But into whose hands must this Hippo fall, now that the Austin of it is gone? Our Elisha is gone, and who must next year invade the land? I am sure that it is a dismal eclipse that has now befallen our New English world. If the dust of dead saints could give us any protection, we are not without it. We cannot see a more terrible prognostic, than tombs filling apace with such bones as the renowned Eliot's: the whole building trembles at the fall of such a pillar. We hope that all true protestants will count it no more than what is equal and proper, that the land which has in it the grave of such a remarkable preacher to the Indians as our Eliot, should be treated with such a love as a Jerusalem uses to find from them that are to prosper."

The apprehensions thus expressed for the cause of God were, however, in this case, as in many others, not realized. The cloud which darkened the scene was soon dispersed. Other men arose to carry forward the work which Mr. Eliot had begun, and to remind us that the purposes of Jehovah will be accomplished, notwithstanding the failure and death of instruments who are deemed essential to their consummation.

In adverting to other means employed in behalf of the Indians, it appears desirable to disturb the chronological order of this sketch, in order to state that the Rev. Dr. Wheelock, of Connecticut, established an institution in 1769, intended particularly for missionaries, who were to spread the gospel among the western Indians; to which was given the name of Dartmouth College, from William, earl of Dartmouth, one of its greatest

benefactors. In this school several of the aborigines were fitted to enter on a collegiate education; and expectations were extensively formed, that by the assistance of these native teachers their countrymen might be persuaded to embrace christianity. Some of them were promising youths, and after proper examination were found to possess the average share of talent, and to acquire learning and science with the same facility as their white companions. Several of them were placed in colleges, and received the usual degrees. Almost all of them, however, ultimately renounced the advantages they had acquired, and returned to the grossness of savage life. One of them, a Mohegan, advanced so far in knowledge, and conducted himself with so much propriety, that he received from the presbytery of Suffolk, on Long Island, a regular ordination. This man was the celebrated Sampson Occom, whose appearance in England, to solicit benefactions for the college, excited strong sensations in the minds of multitudes. He had, before this, preached to the Indians; and during the last years of his life he lived within the bounds of the presbytery of Albany. Into their number he was regularly received, and by them he was esteemed a good man, and a useful minister; uncensurable in life, and lamented and honoured in death.

At the execution of Moses Paul, an Indian, who had been guilty of murder, Mr. Occom preached, at New Haven, from the words, "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." This discourse was afterwards published; and some extracts, from the concluding address to the criminal, are now quoted, as a specimen of Indian eloquence.

“ My poor unhappy brother, Moses—As it was your desire that I should preach to you this last discourse, so I shall speak plainly to you. You are bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh.

“ 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, 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 would 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 you life. God the Father appointed him, chose him, authorised 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 was finally condemned, because we were under condemnation; and at last was executed and put to death for our sins; was lifted up between the heaven and the earth, and was crucified 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.—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.”

In reviewing the history of Dartmouth college, and the frustration of its plans, the question naturally arises, to what is the failure attributable? To this the following reply has been given by Drs. Morse and Belknap:—

“An Indian youth has been taken from his friends, and conducted to a new people, whose modes of thinking and living, whose pleasures and pursuits, are totally dissimilar to those of his own nation. His new friends profess to love him, and to have a desire for his improvement in human and Divine knowledge, and a concern for his everlasting salvation; but, at the same time, they endeavour to make him sensible of his inferiority to themselves. To treat him as an equal would mortify their own pride, and degrade them in the view of their neighbours. He is put to school; but his fellow-students look upon him as a being of an inferior species. He acquires some knowledge, and is taught some ornamental, and, perhaps, useful accomplishments; but the degrading memorials of his inferiority, which are continually before his eyes, remind him of the manners and habits of his own country, where he was once free, and equal to

his associates. He sighs to return to his friends ; but among them he meets with the most bitter mortification. He is neither a white man, nor an Indian. As he had no character with us, so he has none with them. If he has strength of mind sufficient to renounce all his acquirements, and to resume the savage life and manners, he may possibly be again received by his countrymen ; but the greater probability is, that he will take refuge from their contempt in the inebriating draught ; and when this becomes habitual, he will be safe from no vice, and secure from no crime. His downward progress will be rapid, and his death premature. Such has been the fate of several Indians who have had the opportunity of enjoying an English or a French education, and have returned to their native country. Such persons must either entirely renounce their acquired habits, and resume their savage manners, or, if they remain among their countrymen, they will live despised, and die unlamented."

And Dr. Dwight remarks, "As to missionaries, Dr. Wheelock began his administration in 1770, and the American war commenced in 1775. This event induced the Indians to take up arms against the Americans, and thus interrupted all friendly correspondence between us and them. A termination of hostilities did not take place until the year 1794, when they were finally defeated by General Wayne, and an end was put to Indian wars, it is to be hoped, on this side of the Mississippi. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that missions to the natives should, for a long period, be wholly interrupted. Since this date, the business of missions has been extensively taken up by other

bodies of men, able in many respects to pursue it with more facility, and with more advantage, also, than the trustees of a literary institution.

“Those who liberally contributed to the establishment of this seminary, would, were they alive, have the satisfaction of seeing that, although it has not answered the very ends at which they aimed, it has yet been a source of extensive benefit to mankind.”

Some other friends and benefactors of the Indians deserve also a brief, but honourable mention. The Hon. Robert Boyle was for thirty years the governor of the corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and the parts adjacent in America, and in the course of his life he contributed £300. to that important object. At his death, too, he left a further sum for the same purpose. Dr. Berkeley, then bishop of Cloyne, also formed “a scheme for converting the savage Americans to christianity;” but he was unable to carry it, with other plans of missionary labour, into full effect, from the failure of the promise of the minister of that time, though he discovered a disinterestedness and zeal which reflect the highest honour on his name. And, in reply to a letter of Mr. Eliot’s, the Rev. Richard Baxter thus expresses his affectionate interest in his labours:—
“Though our sins have separated us from the people of our love and care, and deprived us of all public liberty in preaching the gospel of our Lord, I greatly rejoice in the liberty, help, and success, which Christ has so long vouchsafed you in this work. There is no man on earth whose work is more honourable or comfortable than yours. There are many here that would be ambitious of being

your fellow-labourers, but that they are informed that you have access to no greater number of the Indians than you yourself and your present assistants are able to instruct. An honourable gentleman, (Mr. Robert Boyle, a man of great learning and worth, and of a very public universal mind,) did motion to me a public collection, in all our churches, for the maintaining of such ministers as are willing to go hence to you, partly while they are learning the Indian language, and partly while they after labour in the work, as also to transport them. There are many here, I conjecture, that would be glad to go any whither, to Persians, Tartarians, Indians, or any unbelieving nation, to propagate the gospel, if they thought they could be serviceable, but the defect of their languages is a great discouragement." He afterwards remarks, "The industry of the Jesuits and friars, and their successes in Congo, Japan, China, &c., shame us all."

A most interesting family now claims especial notice. Mr. Thomas Mayhew, sen., a merchant from Southampton, went to Massachusetts about the commencement of the colony. He followed his business for some time after his arrival, but meeting with disappointments, he purchased a farm at Watertown, and applied himself to husbandry. In 1641, he obtained a grant, or patent, of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth Isles; and, in the following year, he placed his son Thomas, with a few English people, in the former, intending in a short time to follow them, with the view of becoming their governor.

Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun., being a young man of excellent talents, liberal education, and exalted

piety, was soon invited by the settlers to become their minister. Having devoted himself to their service in the gospel, he conceived that his sphere of usefulness was too limited; and, in the exercise of compassion for the wretched pagans by whom he was surrounded, he began to cultivate their acquaintance, to endeavour to acquire their language, and also to communicate to them instruction.

Having encouraged the frequent visits to his house of a young man named Hiacoomes, he soon had the pleasure of seeing that his kind services were not altogether lost. This individual, indeed, gave evidence, in 1643, that Divine truth was producing a salutary change on his mind. When he was very rudely and cruelly treated by a haughty sagamore, on account of his intimacy with the English, he behaved in a most christian manner. "I had one hand for injuries," he remarked, when relating the circumstance, "and the other for God; while I received wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God." He gave several similar proofs of great composure when enduring the reproaches of his countrymen.

Mr. Mayhew, observing these hopeful symptoms in Hiacoomes, employed him as an instrument to prepare his way to the rest of the natives, instructed him further in the christian religion, and furnished him with answers to the objections which might be brought against its principles.

In 1644, Mr. Mayhew began to labour more publicly among the Indians. He went from house to house, and discoursed with as many persons as were willing to converse with him. Nothing of particular interest, however, occurred in the prosecution of his labours, till two years after this

period, when Hiacoomes made a deep impression on the minds of some of his countrymen. Having escaped a particular disorder, which spread over the whole island, this young professor was sent for by his chief, who appeared anxious to know the reason of his exemption. He embraced the opportunity afforded him by this circumstance, of informing his friends of the change which had taken place in his religious views, and of recommending to them the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. In consequence of this circumstance, Mr. Mayhew was invited by Towanquatick, the chief, to instruct him and his people, and to establish a regular meeting among them. He was told, that he "should be to them as one that stands by a running river, filling many vessels;" and he was so encouraged that he agreed to preach to them once a fortnight.

These circumstances were very favourable to Mr. Mayhew, but he soon experienced many difficulties in the prosecution of his labours. Towanquatick, by the countenance which he afforded to the preaching of the gospel, aroused the jealousy of the neighbouring sagamores; and, on one occasion, he was severely wounded by them. When visited by his teacher, however, he was enabled, instead of complaining, to praise God that he had escaped with his life.

In 1648, at a meeting of the Indians, which included some who favoured, and others who opposed christianity, the authority of the powaws was publicly debated, many asserting their power to hurt and kill their enemies, and relating numerous stories of this kind, which they said were evident and undeniable. Some of them stood up and asked, "Who does not fear the powaws?" To

this others replied, "There is no man who does not fear them." The eyes of the whole assembly were now turned to Hiacoomes. He therefore rose from his seat, and boldly answered: "Though the powaws may hurt such as fear them, yet he trusted in the great God of heaven and earth, and therefore all the powaws in the world could do him no harm: he feared them not." The whole assembly were astonished at this bold declaration, and expected some terrible judgment to overtake him immediately; but, observing that he remained unhurt, they began to change their views, and to esteem him happy in being delivered from the power of their priests, of whom they were all in such terror. Several of them even declared they now believed in the same God, and would fear the powaws no more. Being desired to tell them what the great God would have them to do, and what were the things that offended him, Hiacoomes immediately began to preach the gospel to them; and, at the close of the meeting, no fewer than two-and-twenty of the Indians resolved to renounce the superstition of their fathers, and to embrace the religion of the white people, among whom was a son of one of the chiefs, who afterwards became a preacher. The powaws were terribly enraged at these proceedings, and threatened to kill the praying Indians; but Hiacoomes and his friends challenged them to do their worst, telling them they would abide their power in the view of all the people.

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, Mr. Mayhew now redoubled his zeal, and pursued his labours with still greater energy. He spared not himself, either by night or day, travelling among the Indians in different parts of the island,

lodging in their smoky wigwams, and partaking of their homely fare. He possessed singular sweetness and affability of manners, by which he ingratiated himself into their affections. Besides catechising their children, he preached to them every fortnight; and, after the sermon, he usually spent more time than in the discourse itself, reasoning with them in a plain and familiar manner, answering their questions, removing their doubts, silencing their cavils, and resolving cases of conscience. Every Saturday morning, he also conferred privately with Hiacoomes, who preached to his countrymen on the sabbath, directed him in the choice of his subject, and furnished him with materials for illustrating it.

These various labours Mr. Mayhew pursued with unremitting diligence, in the midst of no inconsiderable privations, and many external inconveniences. "I was an eye-witness," says Mr. Henry Whitfield, minister of Guildford, in New England, "of the great pains he took; and seeing but slender appearance of outward accommodations, I asked him concerning his maintenance, but he was modest, and would make no complaints. I understood from others, however, that things were very short with him; that he was often forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children to provide for, and not half so much coming in yearly, as a day-labourer gets in the country; yet he was cheerful amidst these straits, and none ever heard him complain. The truth is, he would not leave the work in which he was engaged; for, to my knowledge, had he chosen it, he might have had a more competent and comfortable maintenance.

The Indians now flocked to Mr. Mayhew in whole families. One day there came no fewer than fifty, desiring to attend the preaching of the gospel, and other means of instruction.

In 1650, Mr. Mayhew mentioned several gratifying circumstances, as proofs of the success, which, under the Divine blessing, had accompanied his labours. "One of the meeting Indians said, and I hope feelingly," he remarked, "that if all the world—the riches, plenty, and pleasures of it—were presented without God, or God without all these, he would take God. Another said, that if the greatest sagamore in the land should take him in his arms, and proffer him his love, and riches, and gifts, to turn from his way, he would not go with him from this way of God. I heard one of them of his own accord, speak to the same purpose, in complaining against head knowledge, and lip prayers, without heart holiness; loathing the condition of such a man, and saying, 'I desire my heart may taste the word of God, repent of my sins, and lean upon the redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ.' Some of them having a discourse with Vzzamaquin, a great sachem or governor on the main-land, coming among them, about the ways of God, he inquired what earthly good things came along with them, and demanding of them what they had gotten by all that they had done this way: one of them replied, 'We serve not God for clothing, nor for any outward thing.' I have observed many such like passages, but my present opportunities will not permit me to set them down; I only bring you these things which are most ready in my mind."

While these pleasing instances of success

delighted the heart of Mr. Mayhew, he had the joy of beholding two of the powaws abandon their delusions, profess their faith in Jesus Christ, and exert their powerful influence for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. He had also the happiness of seeing that the conversion of these individuals greatly strengthened the hearts of their countrymen. Shortly after the change which had taken place in their views became known, about fifty persons confessed their sins, lamented the depravity of their hearts, expressed their willingness to rely on the righteousness of Jesus Christ for acceptance before God, and desired to consecrate themselves and their children to his service.

Encouraged by these circumstances, Mr. Mayhew prosecuted his labours with great ardour. In a letter, dated 16th October, 1651, he was enabled to report a most delightful progress in the work to which he was devoted. "And now, through the mercy of God," he writes, "there are a hundred and ninety-nine men, women, and children, that have professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever-living God. There are now two meetings kept every Lord's day, the one three miles, the other about eight miles off from my house. Hiacoomes teacheth twice a-day at the nearest, and Mumanequem accordingly at the farthest."

About the conclusion of that year, Mr. Mayhew instituted a school for teaching the natives to read; and, in the spring of the following one, the Indians, of their own accord, solicited him to establish a christian form of government among themselves. With their request he readily complied; and, after

a day of fasting and prayer, they gave their assent to a covenant which he had drawn up for them, and bound themselves to fear God and observe his ordinances. "There were divers English both eye and ear witnesses hereof," remarks Mr. Mayhew, "as well as myself, and we could not but acknowledge much of the Lord's power and goodness to be visible amongst them, who, without being driven by power, or allured by gifts, were so strongly carried against those ways they so much loved, to love the way that nature hates."

The profession of attachment to the cause of Christ, which was at this time made by the Indians, appears to have been most sincere, and highly favourable to the progress of the truth. A few extracts from one of Mr. Mayhew's letters, dated the 22d October, 1652, may here be inserted as illustrative of this remark, and of the gracious effects which continued to attend his ministry.

"Within two or three weeks there came an Indian to me on business, and by the way he told me, that some Indians had lately kept a day of repentance, to humble themselves before God in prayer, and that the word of God which one of them spake from, for their instruction, was Psa. lxvi. 7. 'He ruleth by his power for ever; his eyes behold the nations: let not the rebellious exalt themselves.' I asked him what their end was in keeping such a day? He told me these six things: 1. They desired that God would slay the enmity of their hearts. 2. That they might love God and one another. 3. That they might withstand the evil words and temptations of wicked men, and not be drawn back from God. 4. That they might be obedient to the good words and commands of their

rulers. 5. That they might have their sins done away by the redemption of Jesus Christ. And, 6. That they might walk in Christ's way.

"We are, by the mercy of God, about to begin a town, that they may cohabit and carry on things in a civil and religious way the better. The praying Indians are constant attenders to the word of the Lord. About thirty Indian children are now at school. They are apt to learn, and more are now sending in unto them. The barbarous Indians, both men and women, do often come on the lecture-days, and, complaining of their ignorance, disliking their sinful liberty, and refusing the helps and hopes of their own power, seek subjection to Jehovah, to be taught, governed, and saved by him, for Jesus Christ's sake.

"I observed that the Indians, when they chose their rulers, made choice of such as were best approved for their godliness, and most likely to suppress sin, and encourage holiness; and they have since been forward on all occasions to show their earnest desire thereof.

"I have also observed how God is pleased to uphold some of these poor Indians against opposition. I was once down towards the farther end of the island, and lodged at an Indian's house, who was accounted a great man among the islanders, being the friend of a great sachem on the main: this sachem is a great enemy to our reformation on the island. At this man's house, when I had sat a while, his son, being about thirty years old, earnestly desired me, in his language, to relate unto him some of the ancient stories of God. I then spent a great part of the night in such discourse as I thought fittest for them, as I usually

do when I lodge in their houses. What he then heard did much affect him; and shortly after he came and desired to join with the praying Indians to serve Jehovah, but it was to the great discontent of the sachems on the main, and those Indians about him. News was often brought to him that his life was laid in wait for, by those that would surely take it from him. They desired him, therefore, with speed to turn back again. The man came to me once or twice, and I perceived that he was troubled. He asked my counsel about removing his habitation; yet told me, that if they should stand with a sharp weapon against his breast, and tell him that they would kill him presently, if he did not turn to them, but if he would, they would love him, yet he would rather lose his life than keep it on such terms; for, said he, When I look back on my life as it was before I prayed to God, I see it to be wholly naught, and do wholly dislike it, and hate those naughty ways; but, when I look on that way which God doth teach me in his word, I see it to be wholly good, and do wholly love it.

“ My father and I were lately talking with an Indian, who not long before had nearly lost his life by a wound his enemy gave him almost in a secret way. This man, hearing of a secret plot that was to take away his enemy's life, told my father and me, that he did freely forgive him for the sake of God, and did tell this plot to us, that the man's life might be preserved. This is a singular thing, and who among the heathen will do so?

“ I observe also that the Indians themselves endeavour to propagate the knowledge of God, to

the glory of God, and the good of others. I heard an Indian, after I had some discourse with the Indians in the night, ask the sachem and many others together, how they liked the counsel they heard together from the word of God. They answered, Very well. Then, said he, why do you not take it? Why do you not do according to it? He farther added, I can tell you why it is—because you do not see your sins, and because you do love your sins; for as long as it was so with me, I did not care for the way of God; but when God showed me my sins, and made me hate them, then I was glad to take God's counsel. This, I remember, he spake with such gravity and truth, that the sachem and all the company were not able to gainsay.

“Myoxo also lately met with an Indian who came from the main, who was of some note amongst them. I heard that he told them of the great things of God, and of Christ Jesus, the sinfulness and the folly of the Indians, the pardon of sin by Christ,—and of a good life; and so much were they both affected, that they continued this discourse two half nights and a day, until their strength was spent. He told them, in particular, how a believer lived above the world, that he kept worldly things always at his feet, (as he showed him by a sign,) that when they were diminished or increased, it was neither the cause of sorrow nor joy, that he should stoop to regard them; but he stood upright, with his heart heavenward, and his whole desire was after God and his joy in him.”

Mr. Mayhew continued to labour among the Indians till the month of November, 1657, when, considering that there were “many hundred men

and women added to the christian society, of such as might truly be said to be holy in their conversation," he resolved to visit England, with the view of reporting the Lord's dealings with them, and exciting an interest in their behalf. It was, however, the Divine will, that the ship, in which he sailed from America, should be lost on the passage. Thus was the course of an affectionate, devoted, and eminently successful minister of the gospel, unexpectedly terminated. But it did not end until he had accomplished the work that was given him to do. There remained no conversation for him to engage in; no sermon for him to deliver; no act of mercy for him to perform. The last effort was made—the last prayer was breathed, when the messenger of death arrived. At the voice of his Lord he rested from his labours, and his works followed him.

He was so affectionately beloved by the Indians, that they could not bear his absence so far as Boston, before they longed for him. For many years after his death he was seldom mentioned by them without tears; and the place on the way-side, where he took leave of his converts, was for all that generation remembered with sorrow. "The Lord has given us this amazing blow," said Mr. Eliot, "to take away my brother Mayhew. His aged father does endeavour to uphold the work, whom, by letters, I have endeavoured to encourage what I can."

The Indians, indeed, were so pleased and edified by his ministrations, that, a few years afterwards, they requested him to accept of the pastoral office; but apprehending that this would not correspond so well with the chief place which he held in the

civil government, where they also greatly needed his assistance, he advised them to choose such of the Indian preachers as he thought were most judicious, and promised to be most useful among them. Agreeably to his advice, they selected Hiacoomes and John Tackanash, who, accordingly, were both ordained to the work of the ministry among them, while the elder Mr. Mayhew continued to labour as an evangelist, both in Martha's Vineyard, and in the neighbouring islands.

In 1674, the whole number of native families on Martha's Vineyard, and a small island separated from it by a narrow strait, was about three hundred and sixty, of whom two-thirds, or, as Dr. Mather estimates them, about fifteen hundred persons were praying Indians. Among these, there were fifty in full communion, whose holy and exemplary life bore ample testimony to the work of grace in their hearts. It is also proper to add, that there were ten Indian preachers, seven jurisdictions, and six meetings were held every Lord's day.

At Nantuket, an island about twenty miles distant, often visited by Mr. Mayhew, there was a church of christian Indians. The whole number of families in that quarter, at the period now mentioned, was estimated at about three hundred. Among these were about thirty individuals in full communion, and about three hundred persons, including both old and young, who prayed to God, and observed the sabbath. They had meetings in three different places, and four Indian teachers among them.

In 1680, the venerable Mr. Mayhew died, in the ninety-third year of his age, and the twenty-third of his ministry, to the great grief of the

inhabitants of the island. Previous to his death, however, one of his grandchildren, Mr. John Mayhew, was settled as the pastor of the English families, and the Indians would not be satisfied until he became a preacher to them likewise, even though his grandfather still laboured with great acceptance. After the death of that good man, as he had now both the Indians and the English under his pastoral care, it became necessary to redouble his diligence and zeal, especially as some erroneous opinions threatened to spread in the island. The whole of his salary, as a minister among the Indians and the white people, scarcely amounted to ten pounds per annum, except during the two last years of his life, when, on account of his eminent services, it was raised to thirty pounds; but yet he pursued his labours with cheerfulness and pleasure, in the hope of a better and rich reward in heaven. His course on earth, indeed, was short. During his last sickness he expressed a wish, that, "if it were the will of God, he might live a little longer, and do some more service for Christ in the world." But such was not the appointment of Heaven. After a few months illness, he died in February, 1689, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, and the sixteenth of his ministry.

With him, however, the missionary zeal of the Mayhew family did not expire. That sacred flame, which burned with so much ardour in the breast of his excellent ancestors, continued to glow in the bosom of his posterity. He left behind him eight children, the eldest of whom was then only sixteen years of age; but it was not long before he succeeded him as a missionary among the Indians. In March, 1694, Mr. Experience Mayhew entered

on his labours among them. They were now, indeed, greatly diminished in number on Martha's Vineyard, as well as in all the English settlements; yet so great was the progress of the gospel, that a few years afterwards, out of a hundred and eighty families who still lived on that island, there were only two individuals who continued heathens. As he was considered one of the greatest masters of the Indian language that had appeared in New England, having been familiar with it from his infancy, he was employed to make a new version of the book of Psalms, and of the gospel according to John. This work was printed in 1709, the Indian and English being placed in parallel columns. Besides this, he published, in 1727, a small volume, entitled "Indian Converts," in which he gave a particular account of a considerable number of the natives who had embraced the gospel, and appeared to adorn their christian profession. It is written with great candour, and evidently with a strict regard to truth; and though the examples of piety which it records are not so distinguished for holiness, nor so free from imperfections as might be desired, yet, on the whole, it may be considered as affording pleasing evidence of the triumph of the gospel, and of the power of divine grace in the hearts of these barbarous people. Mr. Experience Mayhew continued to labour among the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, for no less a period than sixty years. He died about 1754, aged eighty-one.

An observation of the history of this devoted family may serve as a stimulus to the example, efforts, and prayers of christian parents. Even at the close of the eighteenth century, the missionary

at Martha's Vineyard was one of the Mayhews. He was a venerable man, descended from ancestors, who, through five successive generations, and for upwards of a century and a half, had been distinguished by their zeal for the conversion of the heathen. Here was, indeed, a memorable fulfilment of the promise:—"I will pour my Spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring. And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the water-courses. One shall say, I am the Lord's, and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel." And why are not such instances more numerous? Surely the feebleness of religious principle in the heads of families, and especially the want of zeal for the divine glory, will sufficiently account for their rare occurrence. The declaration is still true, "Them that honour me I will honour." Were a missionary spirit revived in our domestic circles, the effect on them, the church, and the world, would be, indeed, incalculable.

In 1720, there were, on Martha's Vineyard, six small towns, and in each of them there were five assemblies, and three churches among them; two of them congregational, and one baptist.

In 1763, there were still three hundred and fifty-eight Indians on the island of Nantuket; but a fever which attacked them about that period, committed such terrible devastation, that, in the course of a few months, no less than two hundred and twenty-two of them died.

For several years past the Rev. F. Bailies, under the patronage of the Society for propagating the

gospel among the Indians and others, has laboured here and in the vicinity. An increasing desire for instruction appears to be manifested. Mr. B. extends his efforts to several places around, at some of which he superintends schools. In 1823, he had one hundred and forty-one pupils under his care.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Richard Bourne.—Indian Preacher.—Rev. Mr. Cotton.—Rev. Mr. Treat.—Rev. Mr. Sergeant.—Indian Dancing.—The Powaws.—Superstitious Practices.—Stockbridge.—Mr. Sergeant's Labours and Trials.—Royal Benefactors.—Benevolence of Rev. Mr. Hollis.—Indian Charity School.—Mr. Sergeant's Death.—His Character and Success.—Rev. Jonathan Edwards.—Rev. John Sergeant, Jun.—New Stockbridge.—Delegation to the Delawares.—Rev. David Brainerd.—Mental Conflicts.—Privations and Support.—Translations and Labours.—Success.—Abandonment of Evil Practices.—Journey to the Forks of Delaware.—Conversation with a Chief.—Necessity of Divine Influence.—Humiliation and Prayer.—Suspensions awakened by the Whites.—Visit to the Banks of the Susquehannah.—Dangers and Trials.

ANIMATED by the example and exhortations of Mr. Eliot, who, in the course of his evangelical labours, occasionally visited the colony of New Plymouth, some ministers and others engaged in

the same noble undertaking—the christianizing of the Indians. Among these was Mr. Richard Bourne, a man of some property, in the vicinity of Sandwich. Having, with great industry and zeal, acquired a knowledge of the Indian language, he began to preach the gospel to some of the savages in his own neighbourhood; and meeting with considerable encouragement and success, he extended his labours to those in other quarters, and succeeded in bringing numbers to the profession of the christian faith. He also obtained a grant of land in a most favourable situation, and entailed it to the Indians and their children for ever. He was succeeded in his pastoral labours by an Indian preacher named Simon, who was settled over his countrymen for upwards of forty years. Latterly they have not diminished in number. In 1807, Mr. Hanley, a missionary, died there after labouring among them for about half a century.

Mr. John Cotton, pastor of the English church at Plymouth, was also distinguished for his great activity and missionary zeal. He preached every week to five Indian congregations, not far from Mashpee, who had at the same time native teachers set over them, to conduct their worship on the sabbath and on other occasions. In 1693, the Indians under his care amounted to about five hundred. About the same time, Mr. Samuel Treat, of Eastham, preached the gospel to four assemblies of Indians, in different villages, not far from Cape Cod. Over these, native preachers were placed, who were also under his instructions. Here the Indians amounted to upwards of five hundred; many were serious, civilization proceeded, and four schools were established.

In 1734, Mr. John Sergeant, who had just finished his course of study at Yale College, and was employed as a tutor in that seminary, accepted, with the greatest promptitude, an invitation to become a missionary among the Housatunnuk Indians. "I should be ashamed," said he, "to call myself a christian, or even a man, and yet refuse to do what lay in my power to cultivate humanity among a people naturally ingenious enough; but who, for want of instruction, live so much below the dignity of human nature; and to promote the salvation of souls perishing in the dark, when yet the light is so near them."

Scarcely, however, had he entered on his labours, when the Dutch traders in the neighbourhood endeavoured to frustrate the attempt, and to ruin his character by the basest and most artful means. As they derived great profits from selling the Indians rum, and by striking bargains with them when they were intoxicated, they were justly apprehensive, should christianity prevail, that they would be able thus to make gain of them no longer. They therefore declared, that the religion which Mr. Sergeant taught them was not a good religion; that the friendship he professed for them was merely pretended; and that he designed at length to make slaves of them and their children. By these, and similar insinuations, they so prejudiced the minds of the Indians, that many of them were greatly disgusted and incensed against him. By his friendly behaviour, and prudent representations, he succeeded, however, in allaying their resentment, conciliating their affections, and regaining their confidence.

But it was not long before new sources of

uneasiness arose. Among the Indians, it is customary to conclude no affair of importance without consulting the several branches of the nation; but as the Indians of Housatunnuk had proceeded so far without the consent of their brethren, they were now apprehensive lest their conduct should be condemned at the general meeting of the tribe, which was soon to take place, especially as it was reported that the Indians of Hudson's River were highly incensed with them on this account; and that there was even a design on foot to poison their two principal men. But, happily, when the assembly met, they were so far from condemning the measure, that they expressed themselves thankful on account of it, and even gave some ground to hope, that the whole nation would submit to religious instruction.

This meeting, however, was concluded with a frolic and a drinking match, agreeably to the usual custom of the Indians. Their dancing, on these occasions, is not only a laborious, but a dangerous exercise; and it is a striking proof of the power of habit over the human frame, that it is not more frequently followed by fatal consequences. They dance, Mr. Sergeant states, round a large fire, till they are nearly ready to faint, and are completely drenched with sweat. They then run out of the house, strip themselves naked, expose their warm bodies to the cold air; or if there be snow on the ground, roll themselves in it, till they are perfectly cooled. They then return to the dance; and when they are again hot and tired, cool themselves in a similar manner. This operation they repeat, probably, four or five times in the course of the night, concluding the whole with excessive

drinking: and when they are drunk, they often fall asleep in the open air, perhaps buried in snow.

Soon after this meeting, several of them were taken ill, and two of them suddenly died of a violent fever. Easy as it was to account for their death from natural causes, especially as, at the time of their dance, the weather was extremely cold, and there was a deep snow on the ground, the Indians were persuaded it was the effect of poison, and resolved to apply to the invisible powers for the discovery of the murderers. Mr. Sergeant was then absent; but Mr. Woodbridge, his assistant in the Indian school, having heard of their design, rode down to the place of their meeting; and, on his arrival, found upwards of forty of them assembled in the wigwam of one of their chiefs. The house was swept clean, large fires were kindled, and the Indians were sitting round them from one end of the hut to the other; except that, in one part, a space of about five or six feet was left for the powaws or conjurers. Each of the Indians had two sticks, about a foot and a half long, one of them split at the end, which he held under his legs. When Mr. Woodbridge arrived, they were all prepared for the exercise, but had not as yet begun it. He asked them, whether they would allow him to be present at the ceremony; but before they returned him an answer, the oldest priest lifted up his eyes to heaven, and spoke with great earnestness, after which they told him he might remain. They then began to sing and rap with their sticks, and in the meanwhile, the eldest powaw was sitting, and talking and acting a different part from all the rest. This lasted about an hour. The priest then rose from his seat, threw off all his clothes, except

a flap about his middle, and in this naked state passed from one end of the hut to the other, with his eyes closed, appearing in the most exquisite agony, and employing such frightful and distorted gestures, as it is scarcely possible to imagine. This continued about another hour. The first powaw being exhausted, at length retired; a second then rose and acted the same part; afterwards a third, and finally, a fourth. In this manner, they spent the whole night, except a few short intervals, during which, they either smoked a pipe, or they all rose up in a body and danced. They did not appear, however, to gain their object; and on Mr. Woodbridge representing to them the folly and criminality of such a mode of worship, they promised never again to have recourse to it, and some of them even seemed extremely sorry for the step they had taken.

In the course of a short time, Mr. Sergeant's hearers greatly increased in number; many of them appeared to be seriously impressed with religion; and within a few months, he had the pleasure of baptizing upwards of fifty of them, among whom were the two principal men, with their wives and children. Most of them appeared anxious to obtain religious instruction; a remarkable reformation of manners ensued; and vice, especially drunkenness, the sin to which, of all others, they are most addicted, seemed for the present nearly banished. They themselves were surprised at the change; and expressed the difference between their former and their present state, by the terms infancy and manhood, dreaming and waking, darkness and light, and similar metaphors.

In May 1736, the Indians settled together in a

new town, which was called Stockbridge, and was situated in the great meadow above the mountain Housatunnuk, the whole of which was now appropriated to their use. Notwithstanding their former jealousies, they were greatly pleased with the arrangement; and now applied so diligently to husbandry, that even in the first year, they planted at least three times more corn than they had ever done before. The government soon after ordered that a church forty feet by thirty, together with a school-house, should be erected for the Indians at the expense of the province.

So familiar did Mr. Sergeant become with the language of the Indians, that they used to declare that he spoke it better than themselves. Into it he translated great part of the Bible, some prayers, and Watts's First Catechism. Every week he composed four discourses, two for the Indians, and two for the white people under his care. The former were first written at large in English, and then translated into the Mohegan language. In addition to this he addressed his flock, in the most familiar and affectionate manner, after public worship on the sabbath afternoon, and was often, from the pronunciation of so many gutturals, scarcely able to speak when the service was concluded.

The trials of this devoted man were many; but, as his expectations often failed as to the elder Indians, he still cherished hope of more success among the children. He therefore formed and circulated a plan for their instruction, which reflected great credit on his judgment and benevolence. With the view of carrying it into effect, a subscription was commenced in England, and met with considerable encouragement, even from some

members of the royal family. Frederick, the prince of Wales, stood at the head of the list for a donation of twenty guineas; and when informed that Mr. Sergeant was not a minister of the church of England, he replied, "What though he be a dissenter; he is a good man; that is every thing. It is time such distinctions were laid aside, and the partition wall thrown down, that so christians may love one another. For my part, I love all good men alike, whether they are churchmen or dissenters." And when the duke of Cumberland was asked to contribute ten guineas, he generously replied, "It would be shameful in me to give so small a sum for so good a purpose," and accordingly he subscribed twenty. Some further sums were raised in other quarters by the generosity and zeal of a few, but they were inadequate to carry the plan into effect, even on the smallest scale. Thus, to his indescribable grief, Mr. Sergeant again beheld the disappointment of his fond hopes.

Mr. Hollis, a baptist minister near London, now requested him, with singular generosity, to take twelve boys, from nine to twelve years of age, and to educate and support them entirely at his expense. But war with France having broken out soon after, and Stockbridge being from its situation much exposed, it was deemed expedient to delay the execution of this proposal till more pacific and propitious times. Mr. Hollis being informed of this, wrote to Dr. Coleman of Boston, in 1747, insisting that it should be carried into effect without further delay. "If my money," says he, "be unemployed till the conclusion of the war, it may be a long time-indeed. Do you see the least prospect in the world of it? Would you not wish

to behold the Redeemer's cause carried on while you live? I am not willing to have my money—£350. your currency, lying useless till the war is ended." In a subsequent letter, he says, "I request that the £300. of my money in your hands may be employed in the education of twelve new boys, of heathen parents, with all convenient speed. Yea, I absolutely insist upon it, and promise hereby to make a remittance for further charge of education and maintenance, my estate being very much increased of late, as I have had a great deal left me by a relation deceased. As to the war with France, let not that hinder it. I request it may be done speedily, if there be Indian parents willing to have their children educated." Such was the zeal of Mr. Hollis in this good work. How few are so anxious to have their money expended in promoting the glory of Christ, and the salvation of souls!

Notwithstanding the war with France, Mr. Sergeant now prepared to carry into execution, on a small scale, the plan which for some years had lain so near his heart. With this view, he obtained from the Indians at Stockbridge, who were the proprietors of the undivided lands, about two hundred acres, as a situation for the building, and as a plantation to be cultivated by the children. Here he erected a house, thirty-eight feet long, and thirty-six broad, containing a number of apartments adapted to the purpose for which it was designed. Having previously committed the boys whom he had selected on Mr. Hollis's foundation, to the care of a gentleman in Connecticut, on account of the continuance of the war, he now removed them to this place; and intended, in the course of the

summer, to undertake a journey into the country of the Mohawks, commonly called the Six Nations, with the view of inviting them to send their children to the charity school; and he likewise designed that it should be open to any of the other tribes of Indians who might choose to take advantage of it.

But while Mr. Sergeant was pleasing himself with the hope of at length beholding the consummation of his favourite plan, the establishment of an Indian charity school, a period was unexpectedly put to his labours. He was attacked by an inflammation of the throat, attended with fever; but notwithstanding his illness, he preached to the Indians on the following sabbath. It was, however, the last time; and in the course of his sermon he told them, that of late he had been apprehensive some heavy judgment was hanging over them on account of their wickedness; that he feared some of them grew worse and worse, notwithstanding all God had done for them, and notwithstanding the pains he himself had taken with them; that there were many ways in which the Almighty could, and often did testify his displeasure against a sinful people; and he added, "Perhaps God may take me from you, so that I shall speak to you no more." After this he grew worse, and was soon confined to his house and to his bed. As the Indians loved him as their father and their friend, they were much concerned at his illness, and often visited him as he lay on his death-bed. On these occasions, he earnestly enforced on them the instructions, counsels, warnings, and admonitions he had frequently given them in the course of his past labours, charging them, in the

most serious and solemn manner, to attend to religion as the great concern of life, if they would meet him at last in peace. The Indians, of their own accord, assembled in the meeting-house, in order to unite together in prayer for the restoration of his health, and his continuance among them. Such, however, was not the will of God. After an illness of about four weeks, he expired, in the full hope of a glorious immortality, July 27, 1749, in the thirty-ninth year of his age, and the fifteenth of his labours among the Indians.

Thus died Mr. John Sergeant, a man of such singular worth, and such various excellences, that his equal is rarely met with in the church of Christ. The brightness of his genius, the extent of his learning, the sweetness of his temper, the agreeableness of his conversation, the strength and fervour of his zeal, the unweariedness of his diligence, were the least of those great qualities which distinguished and ennobled his character. True and undissembled piety reflected a lustre on all his other endowments, whether natural or acquired, and qualified him to be useful, in no ordinary degree, in the church and in the world. He possessed a most tender conscience, a most catholic spirit, a most benevolent heart. He maintained a happy equilibrium in his temper, and a constant control over his passions. He was never melancholy, yet always serious; never mirthful, yet always cheerful. He suffered not a hard, envious, angry word, to escape his lips; and even when he met with injurious treatment, instead of raising his indignation and resentment, it excited his pity and compassion. Perhaps, however, the best eulogium that can be passed on Mr. Sergeant,

was the tears shed by the Indians, not only at his death, but even long after, whenever they visited his house.

With regard to his success among them, though it was not equal to the desires of his generous heart, yet it was by no means inconsiderable. When he first visited them, they lived in miserable huts, were much dispersed through the country, and often moving from place to place: their whole number, including both old and young, was under fifty, and all of them were sunk in the depths of heathen ignorance and barbarity. When he died, they were collected together into a town, and, instead of their bark wigwams, they possessed twenty houses built in the English style, and amounted to no fewer than two hundred and eighteen. During the course of his labours, he had baptized one hundred and eighty-two of the Indians: of these a hundred and twenty-nine were still alive and resided at Stockbridge; and forty-two were communicants. The number who attended the school under Mr. Woodbridge was fifty-five, besides those who were in the charity-school. In the town there were likewise twelve or thirteen English families, who were encouraged to take up their residence in it, with the view of promoting, by their example, the arts of industry among the Indians.

After the death of this excellent man, the charge of the Indians devolved, for some time, on Mr. Woodbridge; and it appears that Mr. Hollis, with that generosity for which he was so remarkable, increased the number of boys to be educated and maintained at his expense, to thirty-six, for each of whom he allowed the sum of five pounds sterling a year.

At length, however, in the month of August 1751, that distinguished man, Jonathan Edwards, of Northampton, was settled at Stockbridge, where he laboured for six years, but with no remarkable success. He was succeeded by Mr. West; but the unhappy animosities which still subsisted among those who had the superintendance of the mission, rendered his situation so uncomfortable, and so clouded his prospects of usefulness, that he at length resigned the undertaking, and was succeeded by Mr. John Sergeant, son of the original founder of the settlement. Of the state of the mission for a number of years, little or no information is possessed. During the American war, the Indians suffered materially, both in their temporal and spiritual interests, by serving a few campaigns in the army of the United States. A large proportion of their most promising young men were killed in battle, while the others were confirmed in their habits of idleness and intemperance. One party had, for many years, wished to remove them from their old territory; and soon after the conclusion of the war, they procured their removal to the country of the Oneida Indians, who offered them land on which to settle. Here they built a town, which they called New Stockbridge, about 350 miles from Boston, and 160 from the place of their former residence; and since that period, their pastor, Mr. Sergeant, was under the patronage of the society in Scotland for propagating christian knowledge, though the mission likewise derived considerable assistance from various other quarters. By the removal of the Indians to this part of the country, they have been materially benefited in a temporal point of view. They now possess more territory

than before, having a tract of land six miles square; they were, for some time, less exposed to temptations, in consequence of their greater distance from the white people; they have made a division of their lands, so that each now holds his property as his own individual right; and they have become more industrious, sober, and comfortable.

In 1796, the number of Indians at New Stockbridge was about three hundred. None of them were professed pagans; but only thirty were members of the church, most of whom were females. About two-thirds of the men, and nine-tenths of the women, were considered as industrious. Husbandry, and the breeding of cattle and swine, were their chief employments; they had also a few sheep, and a little flax. The land was, in general, under cultivation, and in tolerable order. By the assistance of a grant of money from the United States, they had erected a saw-mill; and they were soon after furnished by the quakers of Philadelphia, who of late have made some laudable attempts for the civilization of the Indians in different parts of America, with a grist-mill for grinding corn. They also proposed erecting a smith's shop; and as soon as they could afford it, they designed to encourage, by premiums, the raising of flax and grain, the clearing of woods, the increase of sheep, and the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth.

Since the commencement of the nineteenth century, considerable additions have been made to Mr. Sergeant's congregation at New Stockbridge. Some of the other tribes have also manifested a disposition to receive the gospel, and to cultivate the arts of civilization. In 1802, the Stockbridge Indians sent a delegation to several of the western

nations, particularly to their grandfathers the Delawares, who are considered as the head of the other tribes. They urged them to receive the gospel; mentioned the temporal as well as spiritual advantages which they themselves had derived from it; and represented the dangers to which they would be exposed, if they continued to reject it. The Delawares thanked them for their visit; and it appears that then, or soon after, they "unanimously agreed to accept and take hold with both hands," of the offer made to them of introducing the gospel and civilization among them. In consequence of an invitation from the Onondago Indians, Mr. Sergeant visited them in June, 1806, and was graciously received by them. After he had addressed them for some time on various subjects connected with their present and future welfare, one of the chiefs made a reply, in which, after thanking him in the name of the whole assembly, for communicating to them the mind of the great Spirit, and for giving them good counsel, he said that they designed to follow his advice, to cease from working on the sabbath, to meet together and worship God, to labour diligently on their lands, and attend to their cattle, that they might have bread and clothing for their families, and to abandon the use of spirituous liquors, which had been the bane of themselves and their ancestors. There was some prospect of the establishment of a school, the introduction of christianity, and the progress of the arts of civilization, among some of the western tribes, by means of several of the Stockbridge Indians, who have been sent to settle among them for these important purposes.

In 1822, the total number of Indians at New

Stockbridge amounted to about three hundred, many of whom had made considerable progress in civilization. Through the faithful labours of Mr. Sergeant, many also enjoyed the consolations of the gospel. The church consisted of thirty-two members, Schools are likewise maintained and instructed by the Indians.

We now proceed to notice one of the most interesting characters recorded in missionary annals. In April, 1743, David Brainerd, a young man of distinguished piety, entered on his labours as a missionary among the Indians, under the patronage of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, at a place called Kanaumeeck, about twenty miles from Albany, in the province of New York. The situation was extremely lonely: it was in the midst of a wilderness, surrounded by woods and mountains, about twenty miles from the nearest English inhabitant. Here he lodged with a family who had lately come from the Highlands of Scotland, sleeping on a bundle of straw and living on the coarsest fare; while almost the only language he heard was Gaelic or Indian, neither of which he understood. As he was naturally of a dejected temper, the dreariness of the country, the solitariness of the place, and the uncomfortableness of his circumstances, contributed not a little to its increase. After he had been here about three months, he thus described his views and feelings:—
“ My soul has for a long time past been in a truly pitiable condition. Sometimes I have been so overwhelmed with a sense of my insignificance and unworthiness, that I have been ashamed, that any, not excepting the meanest of my fellow-creatures, should so much as spend a thought about me.

Sometimes when travelling among the thick brakes, I have wished that, like them, I might drop into everlasting oblivion. Sometimes I have almost resolved never again to see any of my acquaintance, thinking I could not hold up my face before them; and have longed for the remotest corner on earth, as a retreat from all my friends, that I might never be seen or heard of more. Sometimes, the consideration of my ignorance has occasioned me great anxiety and distress; but my soul has, in a particular manner, been full of anguish from fear, and guilt, and shame, because I had ever preached the gospel, or had any thought of that important work. Sometimes I have been in deep distress, on feeling some particular corruption rise in my breast, and swell like a mighty torrent; while, at the same time, ten thousand sins and follies presented themselves to my view, in all their native blackness and deformity. Such things as these have weighed down my soul, combined as they are with those unfavourable external circumstances, in which I am at present placed: destitute of most of the conveniences of life, at least of all its pleasures; without a friend to whom I may unbosom my sorrows, and sometimes without a place of retirement, where I may unburden my soul before God."

The place where Brainerd lodged being at some distance from the Indians, he found this extremely inconvenient, as it obliged him to travel backwards and forwards, almost daily, on foot; and notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not be with them in the morning and evening, the seasons when they were most generally at home, and when they were most at liberty to attend his instructions. He therefore took up his residence

among them, and lodged at first in one of their wigwams, until he succeeded in erecting a small cottage for himself. Here he lived quite alone; and though his situation was far from agreeable, yet it was much more comfortable than before. Scarcely, however, had he removed into his little hut, when he was attacked with such extreme weakness and severe pains, that he thought his mortal frame would soon sink into the grave, and mingle with its kindred dust. But though he was so very ill, he was obliged to labour hard from day to day, in order to procure fodder for his horse, while at the same time he was in a great measure destitute of provisions suitable for himself. "I had no bread," says he, "neither could I obtain any. I am forced either to go or send ten or fifteen miles for all the bread I need; and if I get any considerable quantity, it is sometimes sour and mouldy before I have used the whole, and then, perhaps, I have none for some days together. Such is my situation at present; but, through the goodness of God, I had some Indian meal, of which I made little cakes and fried them. Still, however, I felt satisfied with my situation, and sweetly resigned to the will of Heaven. In prayer I enjoyed great freedom, and blessed God as cordially for my present circumstances, as if I had been a king. I thought, indeed, I found a disposition to be contented in any situation."

When Brainerd came to Kanaumeeek, he found the Indians much more favourably disposed toward christianity than might naturally have been expected, a circumstance which he attributed to the beneficial influence of Mr. Sergeant's exertions among a number of the same tribe at Stockbridge,

which was only about twenty miles distant. In labouring among them, he studied to instruct them chiefly in those principles of religion which he deemed most important, and best calculated to promote their conversion to God; at the same time adapting himself to the weakest and most ignorant among them. Having written some forms of prayer suited to their circumstances and capacity, he made an Indian translation of them by the help of his interpreter, and learned from him to pronounce the words, so as to pray with them in their own-language. He translated, in the same manner, several of the psalms of David, and taught his people to sing them in praise to God. There was also an English school taught by his interpreter, which he used often to visit, in order to give the children some serious instructions and exhortations, adapted to their tender years.

Though these labours of Brainerd were not productive of any remarkable effects, yet neither were they altogether in vain. The knowledge of christianity, which some of the Indians acquired, was far from contemptible; the proficiency which the children at school made in the English language was considerable; and on the consciences of several the word appeared to make a serious impression. Some of them came to Brainerd of their own accord, to converse with him about the things which belonged to their eternal peace; and several inquired, with tears in their eyes, what they should do to be saved. He had not, indeed, satisfactory evidence of the conversion of any, but there was a considerable reformation of manners among them. Their idolatrous sacrifices were entirely abolished; their heathenish dances were, in a great degree,

abandoned ; their habits of drunkenness were, in some measure, corrected ; and the sabbath was observed by them and their children.

After spending about a year among the Indians in this quarter, Brainerd informed them, that he expected soon to leave them, and to go among a tribe of their brethren at a great distance. On hearing this, they appeared extremely sorrowful ; some of them tried to persuade him to remain, urging, as a reason, that, as they had now heard so much about religion, they could no longer live as before, without a minister to instruct them in the way to heaven. In reply to this, Brainerd told them, that they ought to be willing that their brethren also should hear the gospel, as they stood in no less need of it than themselves. Still, however, they endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, saying, they had heard the Indians, to whom he proposed to go, were not willing to become christians. He then told them, they could enjoy religious instruction merely by removing to Stockbridge, where Mr. Sergeant was labouring as a missionary ; but the Indians to whom he expected to go could not obtain such a privilege, there being no minister in the neighbourhood to teach them. To this proposal they agreed, and most of them having soon after removed thither, he was at full liberty to prosecute his journey to the Forks of Delaware, in the province of Pennsylvania, where he was now appointed to labour.

In May, 1744, Brainerd set off for that part of the country, though he was then extremely ill. In the course of his journey, he visited a number of Indians at a place called Minissinks, about a

hundred and forty miles from Kanaumteek; and, after some friendly conversation with one of the principal men, told him, that he wished to instruct them in the principles of christianity, and that this would materially promote their happiness, both in this world and in the world to come. The chief, however, on hearing this, laughed, turned his back, and went away. After some time, Brainerd followed him into his hut, and renewed the conversation; but he still declined talking on that subject, and referred him to one who appeared a rational kind of man. This person, after speaking with great warmth for nearly a quarter of an hour, asked Brainerd, why he desired the Indians to become christians, seeing the christians were so much worse than the Indians. "The white people," said he, "lie, and drink, and steal more than their red brethren. It was they who first taught my countrymen to drink; and they stole from one another to such a degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them; yet even this did not deter others from committing the same crime. But, added he, the Indians were never hanged for stealing; yet, should they become christians, it is probable they would soon be as bad as the white people. They were resolved, therefore, to live as their fathers had lived, and to go to the same place as their fathers when they died." In reply to these charges, Brainerd readily acknowledged the ill conduct of many of his countrymen; but these, he told him, were christians only in name, not in heart; that as for himself, he abhorred such practices, and should never desire the Indians to learn them. The man now appeared more calm; but yet, when Brainerd asked,

if they were willing that he should come and visit them again, he replied, they would be willing to see him as a friend, if he would not desire them to become christians:

Having taken leave of these Indians, he prosecuted his journey to the Forks of Delaware; but, on his arrival in that quarter, he was greatly disordered in body, and still more distressed in his mind. It was the sabbath morning; but here there was no sabbath: the children were all at play; the Indians were few in number, and greatly scattered; he was a stranger in the midst of them, and was disappointed of an interpreter. Every thing, in short, seemed to unite in increasing his distress, and in rendering the prospect before him dark and cloudy.

After saluting the chief, and some others of the Indians, in a friendly manner, he mentioned his desire of instructing them in the principles of christianity; and having received from them a favourable answer, he preached to the few who were present, most of whom were very attentive, particularly the chief, who seemed both pleased and surprised at what he heard, was afterwards very friendly to Brainerd, and gave him full liberty to preach in his house whenever he thought proper. The number of his hearers, however, was at first very small, often not exceeding five-and-twenty; but afterwards they were increased to forty, and upwards. The Indians in this quarter were now greatly diminished, most of them being either dispersed, or removed further back into the country. There were not more than ten houses which continued to be inhabited, and even some of these

were several miles distant from the others, so that it was very difficult for his little congregation to assemble together as often as he wished.

But though he pursued his labours among these Indians with unwearied diligence and zeal, he did not rest short in any exertions of his own. Deeply impressed with the necessity of the influences of the Holy Spirit for the conversion of sinners, he combined with his assiduous endeavours the most earnest and affectionate supplications for the Divine blessing upon them. Of his importunity in prayer, as well as of his elevated piety, the exercises of his mind, one day soon after his arrival in this part of the country, afford an interesting example. "This morning," says he, "I was greatly oppressed with a sense of guilt and shame, from a view of my inward vileness and depravity. About nine o'clock, I withdrew to the woods for prayer, but had not much comfort. I appeared to myself the meanest, vilest creature upon earth: I thought I could scarcely live with myself, and that I should never be able to hold up my face in heaven, if God, of his infinite mercy, should bring me thither. Towards night, the burden of my mind, respecting my work among the Indians, began to increase, and was much aggravated by hearing several circumstances of a discouraging nature, particularly, that they designed to meet together next day for an idolatrous feast and dance. My mind was agonized at the prospect. I thought it would be my duty to endeavour to break up the assembly; but how to do it, I knew not. In this dilemma, I withdrew for prayer, hoping for strength from on high. While engaged in this exercise, I was ex-

ceedingly enlarged : my soul was as much drawn out as I almost ever remember it to have been in my life. I was in such anguish, and pleaded with so much importunity, that when I rose, I felt so extremely weak that I could scarcely walk ; my joints were loosed ; the sweat ran down my body ; nature seemed as if ready to dissolve. What I experienced, indeed, was inexpressible. All earthly things vanished from my sight. Nothing appeared of much importance to me, except progress in holiness, and the conversion of the heathen to God. All my cares, desires, and fears, which might be considered as of a worldly nature, disappeared, and seemed of little more importance than a breath of wind. I longed exceedingly that God would glorify his name among the heathen. I appealed to him with the greatest freedom, that he knew I preferred him 'above my chief joy.' Indeed, I had no idea of joy from this world : I cared not where or how I lived, or what hardships I might have to endure, if I might only gain souls to Christ."

Though Brainerd was now settled in the Forks of Delaware, he did not confine his labours to the Indians in that part of the country. Having heard of some about thirty miles to the westward, he proceeded thither ; but as they were then on the point of removing to the river Susquehannah, he had only an opportunity of preaching twice to them. In general, they appeared sober, friendly, and attentive. Two or three, indeed, suspected he had some ill design, urging that the white people had maltreated them, and taken their lands from them ; it was not reasonable therefore, to think they were now concerned for their happiness, but rather that they designed to make them slaves, or to carry

them on board their ships, and cause them to fight with the people over the water, meaning the French and Spaniards. But, notwithstanding these insinuations, most of them appeared to entertain no jealousy of Brainerd's labours, and invited him to visit them after their return home, and to instruct them in the principles of religion.

Encouraged by this, he proceeded shortly after to visit these Indians on the Susquehannah, accompanied by the Rev. Mr. Byram, a neighbouring minister, his interpreter, and two of his principal people from the Forks of Delaware. After the first day's journey, they had nothing before them but a vast and dreary wilderness. Here they had by far the most difficult and dangerous travelling they had ever experienced, having to make their way over lofty mountains, through deep valleys, and among hideous rocks. One evening, Brainerd's horse fell under him; but, providentially, he escaped without injury. The poor animal, however, broke its leg, and being nearly thirty miles from any house, nothing could be done to preserve its life. He was, therefore, obliged to kill it, and prosecute his journey on foot. At night they kindled a fire, cut up a few bushes, and placed them over their heads as a shelter from the frost; and after committing themselves to God in prayer, they lay down on the ground and slept till morning. At length, on the fourth day, they arrived at an Indian town on the banks of the Susquehannah, called Opeholhaupung, containing twelve huts and about seventy people, including men, women, and children. Being received by them in a friendly manner, Brainerd continued several days, preaching regularly when the Indians

were at home, while they, in order to hear him, put off their general hunting match, upon which they were just about to enter. Before leaving them, he intimated that he would visit them again the following spring—a proposal to which the chief and others of the people readily assented.

Many were the fatigues, dangers, and distresses which he endured in the course of his frequent journeys among the Indians; and no less singular were the faith, patience, and self-denial he manifested under such trials. A few weeks after his return from the Susquehannah, in travelling from the place of Mr. Byram's residence to the Forks of Delaware, a distance of about forty miles, he lost his way in the wilderness, wandered over rocks and mountains, down hideous declivities, through dreadful swamps, and other places no less dangerous. The night was dark and cold; and, to add to his misfortune, he was troubled with a severe pain in his head, accompanied with sickness, which rendered every step he took exceedingly distressing. He had little or no expectation for several hours but that he should have to lie out all night in the woods in this melancholy condition. Providentially, however, about nine o'clock, he discovered a house, and was kindly received by its inhabitants. Yet, distressing as was his situation, no expression of discontent, no murmur of complaint, dropped from his lips. His reflections on this occasion are not unworthy of an apostle. "Thus," says he, "I have been frequently exposed, and sometimes have lain out the whole night; but hitherto God has preserved me. Such fatigues and hardships serve to wean me from the earth, and, I trust, will make heaven the sweeter. Formerly, when I have been

exposed to cold and rain, I was ready to please myself with the hope of a comfortable lodging, a warm fire, and other external accommodations; but now, through Divine grace, such things as these have less place in my heart, and my eye is directed more to God for comfort. In this world, I lay my account with tribulation; it does not now appear strange to me. On meeting with difficulties, I do not flatter myself it will afterwards be better, but rather think how much worse it might be with me; how much greater trials many of God's children have endured; how much greater, perhaps, are yet in reserve for myself. Blessed be God, he makes the prospect of my journey's end a comfort to me under my sharpest trials; and instead of allowing the thought of my dissolution to excite terror or melancholy, he often accompanies it with exquisite joy."

According to his promise, Brainerd renewed his visit to the Indians on the river Susquehannah, in May, 1745, accompanied by his interpreter from the Forks of Delaware. In travelling through the wilderness, he suffered, as usual, excessive fatigues and hardships. After lodging one night in the woods, he was overtaken by a terrible storm, in which he was in danger of losing his life. Having no shelter, and unable to kindle a fire on account of the rain, he resolved to prosecute his journey in the hope of finding some place of refuge, without which, he thought it was impossible he should survive the night. But, unfortunately, the horses, having eaten poison for want of other food, now became so sick, that Brainerd and his interpreter could neither ride nor lead them, but were obliged to drive them on before, and to pursue

their way on foot. Providentially, however, about the dusk of the evening, they came to a bark hut, where they took up lodgings for the night. Having at length reached the Susquehannah, Brainerd travelled about a hundred miles along that river, visited many of the Indian towns, and preached the gospel to some of different tribes through the medium of interpreters. Sometimes he was greatly disheartened by the opposition which they made to christianity, and at others he was much encouraged by the disposition which some of them manifested to hear the word. He spent about a fortnight among the Indians in this part of the country, and suffered considerable hardships, frequently sleeping on the cold ground, and sometimes in the open air. He was at last taken very ill as he was riding in the wilderness, and thought, from the extremity of his sufferings, that the time of his departure was at hand. Having reached, however, the hut of an Indian trader, he obtained liberty to stop there; and though without medicine or food proper for one in his situation, he so far recovered, that after about a week's illness, he was able to resume his journey homeward.

After his return from the Susquehannah, Brainerd was ready to sink into the depths of despair. As his body was extremely feeble, in consequence of his late illness, so his hopes of the conversion of the Indians were scarcely ever so low. But as the night is darkest before the dawn, so from the midst of this dark cloud the prospect of this laborious and devoted servant of Christ began to brighten.

CHAPTER V.

Brainerd's Visit to Crosweeksung.—Baptism of his Interpreter.—His State of Feeling.—Zeal in Instruction.—Outpouring of the Holy Spirit.—Female Convert.—Strong Convictions of many.—Several Indians baptized.—Affecting Scene.—Journey to the Susquehannah.—Indian Scoffers.—Idolatrous Feast.—A Restorer of the ancient Worship.—Brainerd's Exercises and Devotedness.—Labours at Crosweeksung resumed.—Animating Results.—Deep Interest in Divine Things.—Catechetical Engagements.—Settlement at Cranberry.—Celebration of the Lord's Supper.—Remarkable Conversion.—The Divine Blessing attends appointed means.—Self-Examination.

HAVING heard of a number of Indians at a place called Crosweeksung, in New Jersey, about eighty miles from the Forks of Delaware, Brainerd proceeded to visit them about the middle of June; but, on his arrival, he found them scattered in small settlements, six, ten, twenty, and even thirty miles distant from each other, and not more than two or three families residing in the same place. He preached, however, to the few he found, consisting only of four women and several children; so inconsiderable was the congregation, and so inauspicious seemed the spot which was soon to be the scene of a most remarkable work of Divine grace. After hearing Brainerd, these people set off and travelled ten or fifteen miles to give notice to

their friends that a minister had arrived, by which means their little company was in a few days increased to between forty and fifty, including old and young. No objection, no cavilling, no murmur of opposition was heard, though in time past they had manifested as strong a dislike to the gospel as any of the Indians, and several of them had even lately been much enraged at his interpreter for telling them something about christianity. Now, however, they were extremely anxious to obtain instruction; they asked Brainerd to preach to them twice a day, that so they might learn as much as possible during his stay; and they appeared to listen to his discourses with the utmost seriousness and attention. This favourable disposition he attributed to the exertions of one or two of their own people, who, having heard him some time before, had on their return endeavoured to show their friends the evil of idolatry, and of other practices common among them; a circumstance which may afford the christian missionary some consolation under his severest trials—the want of success; for should none for a season crown his labours in his own neighbourhood, yet, perhaps, some who have heard the gospel from his lips, may, meanwhile, be instrumental in preparing the way for its introduction even among distant tribes.

After spending about a fortnight at Croswee-
sung, Brainerd returned to the Forks of Delaware,
and from this period these two places were alter-
nately the principal scenes of his labours. Soon
after his arrival, he had the pleasure of baptizing
his interpreter, together with his wife, the first of
the Indians whom he received into the bosom of the
church. As the history of this man is somewhat

remarkable, a short account of him may not be uninteresting. When first employed as interpreter, he was, in some respects, well qualified for the office, as he was not only acquainted with the Indian and the English languages, but had a strong desire that his countrymen should abandon their heathenish notions and practices, and adopt the manners and customs of the white people, particularly as to their mode of living. But he had little or no impression of religion, and on this account was very unfit for his work, being incapable of communicating to others many truths of the first importance, for want of an experimental, as well as a more doctrinal, knowledge of the gospel. Having fallen, however, into a weak and languishing state of body, he became deeply concerned about the salvation of his soul. His spiritual distress was so urgent, that he had little rest night or day, for he now saw plainly that he was a sinful and miserable creature. He knew, he said, he was not guilty of some crimes with which many others were chargeable; he had not been used to steal, to quarrel, or to murder; but still, "he had never done one good thing;" meaning, that he had never done any thing from a right principle, or with a right end. He now thought he must certainly go to hell, that there was no hope for him; because, though God should let him alone ever so long, though he should try him ever so much, still he should do nothing but sin. With this view, he was more calm and composed than before, when striving to help himself by his own endeavours, which he now saw would be for ever in vain. After some time, he obtained peace of mind; and though in this respect his experience was not altogether so satisfactory as

might be wished, yet it was attended with so great a change in his character and conduct, as to afford ground of hope, that he was become a new man. In his efforts as interpreter, there was a material improvement, a circumstance of peculiar importance. Though it might naturally be supposed, that a discourse in passing to the audience through the medium of a second person, would necessarily lose much of its meaning and force, yet now Brainerd's sermons did not ordinarily lose any thing of their original energy, unless it was sometimes owing to the want of suitable expressions in the Indian tongue, a defect which his own knowledge of the language could not have supplied. His interpreter addressed the Indians with admirable fervency; he scarcely knew when to give over; and sometimes when Brainerd had concluded his discourse and was returning home, he would stay behind to repeat and enforce what had been spoken. Nor did this appear to arise from spiritual pride, or from an affectation of being a public teacher, but from a spirit of faithfulness, and a sincere concern for their souls. As his indifference to religion was formerly a source of great distress to Brainerd, so now his zeal for the salvation of his countrymen was no small comfort to him.

In the beginning of August, Brainerd paid a second visit to the Indians at Crosweeksung; and, on his arrival, was happy to find them not only still favourably disposed toward christianity, but a number of them under serious concern for their souls; their convictions of their sinfulness and misery having been much promoted by the labours of the Rev. William Tennant, to whom he had

advised them to make application. Scarcely had he returned, when these impressions increased and spread in a surprising manner. In two or three days, the inquiry was general among them, "What must we do to be saved?" Such was their tenderness of heart, that a few words concerning their souls would make the tears flow in streams down their cheeks; often, in their public assemblies, a dry eye was scarcely to be seen; and it was astonishing to observe, how they were melted with the love of the Redeemer, and with the invitations of the gospel, when not a word of terror was uttered.

One day after Brainerd had preached on the parable of the great supper, and when he was speaking with such as were under concern about their souls, the Spirit of God appeared to descend on the whole assembly, and with astonishing energy overpowered all opposition, like a mighty torrent, that, with irresistible force, sweeps before it whatever comes in its way. It seemed as if he now beheld a second Pentecost. Almost the whole congregation, the old, the middle-aged, and the young, were overwhelmed with its influence. Even the most stubborn hearts were made to bow. One of the principal Indians, who previously had felt secure in the armour of self-righteousness, because he possessed more knowledge than most of his countrymen, and who only the day before had asserted, with the utmost assurance, that he had been a christian for upwards of ten years, was now impressed with deep concern on account of his sinful, miserable state; his self-confidence vanished like a vision of the night, and his tears flowed in streams down his cheeks. There was also a young woman, who was so thoughtless and ignorant, that she

seemed scarcely to know she had a soul, but who having heard of something strange among the Indians, came to see what was the matter. Having called at Brainerd's lodgings by the way, he informed her of his design to preach immediately, at which she laughed and seemed to mock. She came, however, to hear him, and before he had concluded his discourse, was so impressed with her sinfulness and misery, that she seemed like one pierced through with a dart; she could neither walk, nor sit, nor stand, without being supported. When public worship was over, she lay prostrate on the ground, praying in the most fervent manner, and neither took notice of others, nor returned them any answer when they spoke to her. The burden of her cry was, "Have mercy on me, O God, and help me to give thee my heart." In this manner she continued most importunate in supplication for several hours together; and thus she who came to scoff returned to pray.

The whole assembly indeed appeared, like some of old, pricked in their hearts. Almost all of them were crying for mercy, either within or without the house. So overwhelmed were they with a sense of sin, so absorbed in serious reflection, that no one appeared to observe another; but each prayed as freely, and, probably, in his own apprehension, as secretly, as if he had been in the midst of a desert, far removed from every human eye. Such as had been awakened for some time, it was observed, complained chiefly of the corruption of their hearts; those who were newly impressed, of the wickedness of their lives. It is also worthy of notice, that those who had lately obtained relief, appeared, on this occasion, calm and composed, rejoicing in Christ

Jesus as their God and Saviour. Some of them took their weeping friends by the hand, telling them of the love of Christ, and of the comfort which is enjoyed in him; and on this ground invited them to come and give him their hearts. The whole scene, indeed, presented a striking and interesting illustration of that prediction of the prophet Zechariah, "I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem, the spirit of grace and of supplications: and they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him, as one mourneth for his only son, and shall be in bitterness for him as one that is in bitterness for his first-born: and the land shall mourn; every family apart, and their wives apart."

This effect was not transient; it lasted, in a greater or less degree, for a considerable time. Every sermon seemed now productive of good; some were newly awakened, further impressed, or comforted. No sooner did any come from remote places, than they were seized with concern about their souls. It was common for strangers, before they had remained a day, to be convinced of their sinfulness and misery, and to inquire, with the utmost solicitude, about salvation. Others, who previously had experienced only some slight emotion, were now wounded to the heart; their tears, and sighs, and groans, bore witness to their inward anguish. On the other hand, such as had obtained comfort, appeared humble, serious, and devout, endowed with remarkable tenderness of conscience, and concerned to regulate their lives by the laws of Christ. Observing a woman one morning very sorrowful, Brainerd inquired into the cause of her grief, and found she had been angry with her child

the evening before, and was now afraid, lest her anger had been immoderate and sinful. This had so grieved her, that she awoke before day-light, and continued weeping for several hours. A man, who some time before had put away his wife, and taken another woman, (a practice common among the Indians,) was now much concerned about this circumstance in particular, being fully convinced of the evil of his conduct, and anxious to know what was his duty. Inquiry being made into the cause of his leaving his wife, it appeared she had given him no just occasion to desert her; and as it was found that she was willing to forgive his past misconduct, and to live peaceably with him in future, he was told it was his indispensable duty to renounce the woman he had last taken, and to receive back the other, who was properly his wife, and to cleave to her alone as long as they lived. With this advice he readily complied, a striking proof of the power of religion on his mind; for it is likely, a few weeks before, the whole world would not have induced him to conform to the law of christianity on the subject of marriage. Brainerd was apprehensive lest this decision should prejudice some of the Indians against the gospel, when they saw the strictness it enjoined, and the sacrifices it demanded; but so far was it from having any such effect, that most of them acknowledged the wisdom and excellence of the regulation.

As there was now a considerable number of the Indians, who gave satisfactory evidence of the sincerity of their conversion, Brainerd, after explaining to them the nature of baptism, administered that ordinance to twenty-five of them in one day, namely, fifteen adults, and ten children, in the

presence of a large congregation of white people. After the crowd of spectators had retired, he called the baptized together, and addressed them in particular. He warned them of the evil and danger of indifference in religion, after making so public a profession of it; he reminded them of the solemn obligations under which they were placed, to live devoted to God; he gave them some directions respecting their conduct in life; encouraged them to watchfulness, stedfastness, and devotion; and set before them the comfort on earth, and the glory in heaven, which await the faithful followers of the Lamb. To all of them, this was a most interesting and delightful season. The baptized Indians appeared to rejoice in their solemn dedication to the service of God; their hearts were engaged, and cheerful in duty; love reigned among them, and displayed itself in the most simple and unaffected manner. Several of the other Indians, when they saw and heard these things, were much impressed, weeping most bitterly, and longing to be partakers of the comfort and joy that their countrymen appeared to possess.

On the following day, Brainerd, after appealing for some time to the Indians, addressed himself to those in particular, who hoped they were partakers of Divine grace, representing to them the happiness which Christ confers on his people on earth, and the glory he prepares for them in heaven. Scarcely had he begun to speak in this strain, when the christian Indians appeared dissolved in love to the Redeemer, mingled with desire after the full enjoyment of Him, and of a state of perfect holiness of heart and life. They wept affectionately, yet joyfully. Their tears, and sobs, and sighs,

were accompanied with inward peace and comfort; a circumstance which seemed to manifest, that the whole was the effect of a spirit of adoption, not of that spirit of bondage, under which many of them had so lately groaned. The sacred influence spread over the whole assembly, which now consisted of nearly one hundred Indians, including both old and young, almost all of whom were either animated with joy in Christ Jesus, or impressed with concern for an interest in Him.

Having now been nearly a month in this quarter, Brainerd proposed undertaking a new journey to the Susquehannah, as this was the best season of the year for finding the Indians at home. After informing his congregation of his design to leave them for the present, and to go to their countrymen far remote, to preach among them also the glad tidings of salvation, he asked them, whether they would not employ the remainder of the day in prayer for him, that God would crown the attempt with his blessing, and render it effectual for the conversion of their brethren. To this proposal they cheerfully assented. They soon after began the exercise, and continued praying till near the dawn of day, not supposing it was past their usual bed-time, until having gone out and viewed the heavens, they beheld the morning star a considerable height in the horizon; so earnest and unwearied were they in their devotions.

In his way to the Susquehannah, Brainerd visited the Forks of Delaware, where he now found the Indians much more impressed with religion, and more deeply affected in hearing the word than before. Several of them, indeed, had been at Crosweeksung, and had there beheld, and, it was

hoped; felt the power of Divine truth. Observing a man, who had obtained comfort, and who appeared truly pious, dissolved in tears, Brainerd asked him, why he now wept. To this he replied, "When I thought how Christ was slain like a lamb, and how he shed his blood for sinners, I could not help weeping." Then he burst into tears, and cried again. Brainerd afterwards asked his wife, who had also obtained consolation, why she wept. "Because," answered she, "the Indians here will not come to Christ, as well as those at Crossweeksung." He then inquired whether she had of late enjoyed the presence of Christ in prayer, as in time past. She replied, He had been near to her: sometimes when she was at prayer alone, her heart so loved to pray, she could not bear to leave the place. In this part of the country, however, there were several Indians who had always refused to hear Brainerd preach, and even manifested an inveterate hatred to those who attended his ministry. These now became more violent in their opposition than ever, scoffing at religion, and asking the converts the most insulting questions, as "How often they had cried? Whether they had not cried enough to do the turn?" Thus the christian Indians began soon to have "trial of cruel mockings," the uniform reward of serious, vital religion in every age, and in every part of the globe.

Leaving this place, Brainerd proceeded on his journey to the Susquehannah, directing his course toward an Indian town named Shomokin, about a hundred and twenty miles to the westward. Here, there were upwards of fifty houses, and, it was said, about three hundred inhabitants, though he

never saw much above the half of that number. They were reckoned a most worthless, drunken, mischievous race, yet they received him kindly, listened to the gospel with great attention, and expressed a desire for further instruction; but most of them, after a few days, set off into the wilderness on a hunting expedition. Leaving this town, therefore, Brainerd travelled down the river to Juneau, an Indian town through which he had passed in his last journey. At that time the inhabitants appeared extremely friendly, and less under the influence of prejudice against christianity than most of their countrymen, but now they seemed quite rooted in their pagan notions, and strongly averse to the gospel. They were at this time busy making preparations for celebrating a great idolatrous feast on the following day. Having provided no fewer than ten fat deer for this purpose, about a hundred of them assembled in the evening, and danced round a large fire which they had previously kindled. During the dance, they threw the fat into the fire, which sometimes raised the flame to a prodigious height, while, at the same time, they yelled and shouted in a most hideous manner. After continuing this exercise nearly the whole night, they devoured the flesh of the animals, and then retired to their huts. Such a scene was extremely distressing to Brainerd; it pierced him, like a dagger, to the heart. After walking about till he was almost overwhelmed with grief and fatigue, he crept into a little crib made for corn, laid himself down on the poles, and slept in this situation. As soon, however, as the Indians rose next morning, he attempted to collect them together, with the view of instructing them in the

truths of religion; but he soon found they had other business to pursue. About noon, they assembled all their powaws, in order to discover, by their charms and incantations, the cause of the sickness which at that time raged among them, many of them being attacked with flux, attended with fever. In this exercise, they made such wild, ridiculous, and frantic motions, as it is scarcely possible to imagine: sometimes singing, sometimes howling, sometimes extending their arms to the utmost, spreading their fingers, and seeming to push with them, sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then spurting water as fine as mist, sometimes sitting flat on the earth, then bowing their faces to the ground, moving their sides as if in the utmost anguish, distorting their faces, turning up their eyes, puffing, grunting, &c. Some of them appeared much more earnest in these exercises than others; they chaunted, peeped, and muttered with as much ardour and energy, as if they were determined to awaken the powers beneath, and extort the secret from them. After continuing these hideous charms and incantations, with some intervals, for upwards of three hours, they were completely exhausted, and broke up the meeting.

In this part of the country, Brainerd met with a zealous reformer of the Indian religion, or rather a restorer of what he considered their ancient mode of worship. But of all the spectacles he ever saw, none appeared so horrible, none excited such images of terror in his mind, none corresponded so nearly with the common idea of the infernal powers. He presented himself to him in his priestly garb, consisting of a coat of bear-skins

hanging down to his toes, a bear-skin cap on his head, and a pair of bear-skin stockings on his feet; a large wooden face, the one half painted black; the other of a tawny colour, like the Indians, with an extravagant mouth, cut extremely awry. In his hand was the instrument he employed for music in his idolatrous worship: it was a tortoise-shell with some corn in it, fixed on a piece of wood for a handle. As he came forward he beat time with his rattle, and danced with all his might; but allowed no part of his body, not even his fingers, to be seen. His appearance and gestures were so unlike all that was human, that when he came near, Brainerd could not help shrinking back with horror, though it was then noon-day, and he knew perfectly who it was. It appears he had a house, in which were several images, and the ground was beaten almost as hard as a rock by his frequent and violent dancing. Brainerd conversed with him about the principles of christianity: some of them he liked; others he disliked. God, he said, had taught him his religion; and he never would relinquish it: he was anxious, however, to find some who would cordially join with him in it, for the Indians were grown very careless and degenerate: he had thoughts, therefore, of leaving all his friends, travelling abroad, and searching for some who would unite with him; for he believed God had some good people in the world, who viewed things in the same light as himself. He had not always felt as he now did: formerly he was like other Indians; but, about four or five years ago, he became greatly distressed in his mind; he could no longer dwell among his countrymen, but retired into the woods, and lived there

alone for several months. At length God comforted his heart, and showed him what he should do: since that period, he had known God, and endeavoured to serve him; he also loved all men, whoever they were, in a manner he never did before. It further appeared from the accounts of the Indians themselves, that he was a great enemy to their drinking spirituous liquors, and when he could not dissuade them from that ruinous practice, he used to leave them, and go crying into the woods. Some of his sentiments, indeed, were rational and just; and Brainerd even informs us, there was something in his temper and disposition more like true religion than any thing he ever beheld in a pagan. He appeared to be sincere, honest, and conscientious in his own way; and, on this account, was derided by his countrymen as a precise zealot, who made a needless noise about religion.

In Brainerd's Diary, July 1, there is the following interesting, yet affecting relation of the exercises of his mind:—"After I came to the Indians my mind was confused, and I felt nothing sensibly of that sweet reliance on God, that my soul has been comforted with in days past. Spent the forenoon in this state of mind, and preached to the Indians without any heart. In the afternoon I felt still barren when I began to preach; and, after about half an hour, I seemed to myself to know nothing, and to have nothing to say; but soon I found a spirit of love, and warmth, and power, to address the poor Indians; and God helped me to plead with them, to 'turn from all the vanities of the heathen to the living God.' I am persuaded, also, that the Lord touched their con-

sciences, for I never saw such attention among them before. When I came away from them, I spent the whole time while riding to my lodgings, three miles distant, in prayer and praise to God. After I had ridden more than two miles, it came into my mind to dedicate myself to God again, which I did with great solemnity and unspeakable satisfaction; especially giving myself up to him renewedly in the work of the ministry. And this I did, by Divine grace, I hope, without any exception or reserve; not in the least shrinking back from any difficulties that might attend this great and blessed work. I seemed to be most free, cheerful, and full, in this dedication of myself. My whole soul cried, 'Lord, to thee I dedicate myself: O accept of me, and let me be thine for ever. Lord, I desire nothing else; I desire nothing more. O come, Lord, and accept a poor worm. Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee.' After this I was enabled to praise God with my whole soul, that he had enabled me to devote and consecrate all my powers to him in this solemn manner. I rejoiced in my work as a missionary; rejoiced in the necessity of self-denial, and still continued to give up myself to God, and implore mercy of him; praying incessantly, every moment with sweet fervency. My nature being very weak of late, and much spent, I was now considerably overcome. My fingers grew very feeble and numb, so that I could scarcely stretch them out straight; and, when I lighted from my horse, could hardly walk, my joints seemed all to be loosed. But I felt abundant strength in the inner man. Preached to the white people. God helped me much, especially in prayer.

Several of my poor Indians were so moved as to come to meeting also, and one appeared much concerned."

Having again failed in his attempts to introduce christianity on the Susquehannah, Brainerd returned to Croswick, and, on his arrival, was much struck with the vast difference between the Indians there and his congregation at this place. To dwell with the one was like being banished from God and all his saints; to live with the other, like being received into his presence and family. Yet, only a few months before, these were as thoughtless, as barbarous, as averse to christianity, as those on the Susquehannah; but now, instead of engaging in idolatrous feasts and drunken revels, they worshipped the God of heaven, received his word, and lived devoted to his glory. Such is the power of Divine grace! Such the transforming influence of the gospel!

On resuming his labours, Brainerd beheld the same powerful and happy effects attend his ministry as before. He was often wonderfully assisted in his public discourses, being enabled to adapt his sentiments and expressions to the understanding of the Indians, in such a manner, as he never could have done by the most careful study; yet he spoke with as much ease and freedom, as if he had been addressing an ordinary congregation, who had been instructed in the principles of christianity from their early years. Great emotion was often perceptible; yet there was no disturbance of the public worship: a deep impression was made on their hearts; but there was no boisterous agitation of their passions. All was powerful and efficacious; yet calm and peaceful.

One day, after a sermon on the transfiguration of Christ, Brainerd asked a woman, whom he observed weeping most affectionately, what she now wanted. To this she replied: "Oh! to be with Christ: I know not how to stay." On another occasion, when a number of them were assembled in Brainerd's house, a woman burst forth in prayer and praises to God before them all, with many tears, crying, sometimes in English, and sometimes in Indian: "O blessed Lord, do come, do come! O do take me away; do let me die and go to Jesus Christ. I am afraid, if I live, I shall sin again! O do let me die now; do come! I cannot stay, I cannot stay! O how can I live in this world! do take my soul away from this sinful place! O let me never sin any more! O what shall I do! what shall I do!" In this ecstasy she continued for some time, incessantly uttering these and similar expressions, and employing as her grand argument with God, to enforce her prayer, that if she lived, she should sin against him. When she had recovered a little, Brainerd asked her, if Christ was now precious to her soul. Turning to him, she replied, with tears in her eyes, and with the deepest tokens of humility: "I have often heard you speak of the goodness and the sweetness of Christ; that he was better than all the world. But, oh, I knew nothing of what you meant; I never believed you; I never believed you. But now I know it is true." Brainerd then asked, if she saw in Christ enough for the greatest of sinners. "O, enough, enough," she replied, "for all the sinners in the world, if they would but come." On hearing something of the glory of heaven, particularly that there was no sin there, she again fell into the same kind of ecstasy,

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and employed similar expressions as before: "O dear Lord, do let me go! O what shall I do! what shall I do! I want to go to Christ! I cannot live! O do let me die." In this pleasing frame she continued more than two hours; before she was well able to go home.

At another time, after a sermon on the new birth, by which a general and deep impression was made on the minds of the Indians; many of them followed Brainerd to his lodgings, and begged to be further instructed in the way of salvation; but he had not spoken long, when they were so affected with what he said, that they filled the house with their cries and groans. Almost all whom he considered in an unconverted state, were seized with concern for their souls; it seemed as if none, whether old or young, would now be left. No one can describe the interesting scene. Numbers might be beheld rejoicing that God had not taken his Holy Spirit from them, and delighted to see so many of their countrymen "striving to enter in at the strait gate." Others, both men and women, young and old, might be seen deeply affected, some of them so overwhelmed with anguish, that they seemed like malefactors on the way to execution. The whole scene exhibited a striking emblem of the day of judgment, of heaven and hell, of infinite joy and of inexpressible misery.

With the view of improving the Indians in christian knowledge, Brainerd now began a catechetical exercise. Sometimes he examined them on some important point of divinity; at others on the discourses he had delivered to them; but most commonly on the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. In these engagements he had much satisfaction. As

a specimen of them the following is given, "On the benefits which believers receive from Christ at the resurrection."

Q. You have already heard, said Brainerd, what good things Christ gives his people while they live, and when they come to die: now, will he raise their bodies, and the bodies of others, to life again, at the last day? A. Yes, they shall be raised.

Q. Will they then have the same bodies they now have? A. Yes.

Q. Will their bodies then be weak: will they feel cold, hunger, thirst, and weariness, as they now do? A. No, none of these things.

Q. Will their bodies die any more after they are raised to life? A. No.

Q. Will their souls and bodies be joined together again? A. Yes.

Q. Will God's people be more happy then, than they were while their bodies were asleep? A. Yes.

Q. Will Christ then own them to be his people before all the world? A. Yes.

Q. But God's people find so much sin in themselves, that they are often ashamed of themselves, and will not Christ be ashamed to own such for his friends at that day? A. No, he will never be ashamed of them.

Q. Will Christ then show all the world that he has put away these people's sins, and that he looks upon them as if they had never sinned at all? A. Yes.

Q. Will he look upon them as if they had never sinned, for the sake of any good things they have done themselves, or for the sake of his righteousness, accounted to them as if it were theirs? A. For

the sake of his righteousness accounted to them, not for their own goodness.

Q. Will God's children be then as happy as they can desire to be? A. Yes.

Q. The children of God, while in this world, can but now and then draw near to him, and they are ready to think they can never have enough of God and Christ; but will they have enough then, as much as they can desire? A. O yes, enough, enough.

Q. Will the children of God love him then as much as they desire; will they find nothing to hinder their love from going out to him? A. Nothing at all; they shall love him as much as they desire.

Q. Will they never be weary of God and Christ, and the pleasures of heaven, as we are weary of our friends and enjoyments here, after we have been pleased with them awhile? A. No, never.

Q. Could God's people be happy, if they knew God loved them, and yet felt at the same time that they could not love and honour him? A. No, no.

Q. Will this then make God's people perfectly happy, to love God above all, to honour him continually, and to feel his love to them? A. Yes.

Q. And will this happiness last for ever? A. Yes, for ever, for ever.

All these questions were answered by the Indians without hesitation, and without a single mistake.

In February, 1746, a school was opened for instructing the Indians in reading and writing the English language, &c. under the care of an excellent schoolmaster, whom Brainerd had procured

for this purpose. About thirty children immediately entered it, and made such surprising progress, that the teacher remarked, he never had English scholars, who, speaking generally, learned so rapidly. Of the whole of this number, there were not more than two, though some of them were very young; but what made themselves masters of all the letters of the alphabet within three days after the opening of the school; some in that short time even made some progress in spelling, and in less than five months were able to read the New Testament. There were, -also, about fifteen or twenty of the old people, who attended the school at night, when the length of the evenings would admit of it.

Besides attending to the religious and moral improvement of the Indians, Brainerd was anxious to obtain for them a fixed settlement, and to form them to habits of industry. Having in time past incurred debts by their excessive drinking, and several having been arrested by the white people on this account, he was apprehensive they might be deprived of a great part of their lands. Being convinced, moreover, that they could not remain in that quarter of the country, nor maintain the order of a christian congregation, should their ground be taken from them, he prevailed on the gentlemen who had the superintendance of the mission, to expend a considerable sum of money in discharging the debts of the Indians, and thus averted the threatened danger. Having thus secured their lands, he was anxious to excite and cultivate in them a spirit of industry. By his advice they fixed on a spot at Cranberry, about fifteen miles from the place of their present

residence, and proceeded to form a regular settlement upon it. Here they began to clear and plant their lands; and in little more than a twelvemonth, they had upwards of forty acres of English grain in the ground, and nearly as much Indian corn. In general, indeed, they followed their secular occupations as well as could reasonably be expected, considering that, during the whole of their life, they had been habitually idle and slothful. Much of the burden, however, of their temporal affairs devolved on Brainerd, as by themselves they were utterly incapable of arranging and managing them.

Thinking that a number of them were now prepared to become partakers of the Lord's supper, Brainerd, after instructing them more particularly in the nature and design of that ordinance, resolved on its administration. Having observed a day of fasting and prayer, for the purpose of humbling themselves, because of the partial withdrawal of that spiritual influence which had of late been so prevalent, and on account of the carelessness, vanity, and vice, of some who not long before seemed impressed with a sense of their sinfulness and misery, as well as for imploring the presence and blessing of God in the sacred service which they had in prospect, twenty-three of the Indians sat down together at the Lord's table on the following sabbath; and there were several absent, who would otherwise have also been admitted. The ordinance was attended with great solemnity, with singular devotion, and with a sweet, yet powerful melting of their affections. During its administration, especially in the distribution of the bread, they were affected in so lively a manner, that it seemed as if "Christ Jesus had been set forth crucified

among them." Brainerd afterwards walked from house to house to converse with the communicants; and he was happy to find that almost all of them had been refreshed "as with new wine." Never did he witness such an appearance of christian love among any people. Even among the primitive christians, there could scarcely be greater tokens of mutual affection, than were apparent among these converted Indians. In the evening he preached on the design of Christ's death, "that he might redeem his people from all iniquity." On this occasion many of them were much refreshed. So delightful was their frame of mind; so full were they of love, and peace, and joy; so ardently did they long to be delivered from the power of sin, that some of them declared, they had never felt the like before. It seemed almost grievous to them to conclude the service; and even when it was closed, they appeared loath to leave a place which had been so endeared to them by the sacred engagements of that day.

A few days after, a man was baptized, who had been a most notorious sinner, a drunkard, a murderer, a conjurer; but who now appeared to be an illustrious trophy of the power and grace of God. He lived near the Forks of Delaware, and occasionally attended on Brainerd's ministry, but, like many others, was nowise reformed by the means of instruction which he enjoyed. About this very time, he murdered a promising young Indian, and still followed his old trade of conjuration, being held in high reputation among his countrymen. Hence, when Brainerd told them of the miracles of Christ, and represented these as a proof of his divine mission, and of the truth of his religion,

they immediately mentioned the wonders of the same kind which this man had wrought by his magical charms. As he was, in this manner, a powerful obstruction to the progress of the gospel among the Indians, Brainerd often thought it would be a great mercy if God would remove him from the world, for he had little or no hope that such a wretch would ever be converted; but He, "whose thoughts are not as our thoughts," was pleased to make him "a vessel unto honour."

Having been impressed by witnessing the baptism of Brainerd's interpreter, he followed him to Crosweeksung shortly after, and continued there several weeks, during the season of the most remarkable and powerful awakening of the Indians. He was now brought under deep concern for his soul, and then, "upon his feeling the word of God in his heart," as he expressed it, his spirit of conjuration entirely left him; from that time, he had no more power of that description than any other man; and afterwards he declared, that he no longer even knew how he used to charm and conjure, and that he could not do any thing of the kind, though he were ever so desirous of it. These circumstances are simply stated. To account for them is not intended.

His convictions of his sinfulness and misery became by degrees more deep, and the anguish of his mind was so increased, that he knew not what to do. One day he was in such extreme distress, that he trembled for several hours together, and apprehended he was ready to drop into hell, without any power to escape or help himself. Soon after this, indeed, he became quite calm and tranquil, his trembling ceased, his burden vanished;

but yet, in his own view, he had little or no hope of mercy. Observing him so remarkably composed, Brainerd asked him how he did. To this he replied, "It is done, it is done, it is all done now." On being asked what he meant, he answered, "I can do no more to save myself, it is all done for ever, I can do no more." But," said Brainerd, "can you not do a little more, rather than go to hell?" "My heart," he replied, "is dead; I can never help myself." Being asked, if he thought it right that God should send him to hell, he answered, "Yes, it is right. The devil has been in me ever since I was born. My heart has no goodness in it now, but is as bad as ever." Brainerd says, he scarcely ever saw a person more completely weaned from dependence on his own endeavours for salvation, or lying more humbly at the foot of sovereign mercy, than this poor Indian conjurer.

He continued in this frame of mind for several days, pronouncing sentence of condemnation on himself, and acknowledging the justice of his punishment; yet it was evident he had a secret hope of mercy, though probably it was imperceptible to himself. During this time, he repeatedly inquired of Brainerd when he would preach again, and seemed desirous of hearing the gospel every day. On being asked why he wished to hear the word, seeing, according to his own account, "his heart was dead, and all was done for ever?" He replied, "Notwithstanding that, I love to hear about Christ." "But," said Brainerd, "what good can that do you, if you must go to hell at last?" "I would have others," replied he, "come to Christ, if I must go to hell myself." It is not unworthy

of notice, that, at this very time, he appeared to have a great love to the people of God, and nothing affected him so much as the thought of being for ever separated from them; this seemed a very dreadful ingredient in the state to which he considered himself as doomed. He was likewise exceedingly diligent in the use of the means of grace, though he had at the same time the clearest views of their insufficiency to afford him help. "All he did," he would frequently say, "signified nothing;" yet never was he more constant in attending to the ordinances of religion, not excepting even secret and family prayer.

After continuing in this state of mind upwards of a week, he obtained, one day as Brainerd was preaching, such a lively and delightful view of the excellency of Christ, and of the way of salvation through him, that he burst into tears, and was filled with admiration, gratitude, and praise.

From that time he appeared a humble, devout, affectionate christian, serious and exemplary in his behaviour, often complaining of his barrenness and want of spiritual life, yet frequently favoured with the refreshing influences of the Holy Spirit. In a word, he seemed as one "created anew in Christ Jesus unto good works."

Let none then limit the Holy One of Israel. While the expectations indulged in reference to the salvation of some are disappointed, others whose cases are deemed hopeless, are not unfrequently brought to God. The young ruler went away sorrowful, but without a desire for the blessings he needed; while the malefactor cried, "Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy

kingdom!" To men, whose sins are as scarlet, the gospel should therefore be preached, with a deep concern that it may prove the power of God to their salvation. No mind is too dark to be enlightened, no heart too hard to be softened, by Almighty energy. Of this a full persuasion should be cherished by every christian. In the devout and zealous employment of the means, the effectual blessing of the Lord may be anticipated. The charge to go into all the world, and preach the gospel to every creature, is accompanied by the promise, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world;" and this is but one form of presenting the assurance that labour in his cause shall not be in vain. For it is only in as far as his servants feel the Redeemer's power sustaining their efforts, and commanding success, that they have the enjoyment of that presence. It plainly intimates, that wherever the gospel is preached, the presence of Christ will be found, and his presence cannot be without a blessing.

The following quotation from Brainerd's diary ought not to be omitted, illustrative as it is of his character, and likely also to be useful to the minds of others: "How I was the first day or two of my illness, with regard to the exercise of reason, I scarcely know, but believe I was something shattered with the violence of the fever at times. But the third day of my illness, and constantly afterwards, for four or five weeks together, I enjoyed as much serenity of mind, and clearness of thought, as perhaps I ever did in my life; and think I never penetrated with so much ease and freedom into divine things, and never felt so capable of demonstrating the truth of many important doctrines of

the gospel as now. And as I saw clearly the truth of those great doctrines, which are justly styled the doctrines of grace, so I saw, with no less clearness, that the essence of religion consisted in the soul's conformity to God, and acting above all selfish views for his glory, longing to be for him, to live to him, and please and honour him in all things; and this from a clear view of his infinite excellency and worthiness in himself, to be loved, adored, worshipped, and served by all intelligent creatures. Thus I saw, that when a soul loves God with a supreme love, he therein acts like the blessed God himself, who most justly loves himself in that manner; so when God's interest and his are become one, and he longs that God should be glorified, and rejoices to think that he is unchangeably possessed of the highest glory and blessedness, herein also he acts in conformity to God: in like manner, when the soul is fully resigned to, and rests satisfied and contented with the Divine will, here it is also conformed to God.

“I saw further, that as this divine temper, by which the soul exalts God, and treads self in the dust, is the effect of God's discovering his own glorious perfections ‘in the face of Jesus Christ,’ by the special influences of the Holy Spirit, so he cannot but have regard to it as his own work; and as it is his image in the soul, he cannot but take delight in it. Then I saw again, that if God should slight and reject his own moral image, he must needs deny himself, which he cannot do. And thus I saw the stability and infallibility of this religion, and that of those who are truly possessed of it, the most complete and satisfying evidence of their being interested in all the benefits of Christ's

redemption, having their hearts conformed to him; and that these, and these only, are qualified for the enjoyments and entertainments of God's kingdom of glory. None but these have any relish for the business of heaven, which is to ascribe glory to God, and not to themselves; and that God (though I would speak it with great reverence of his name and perfections) cannot, without denying himself, finally cast such away.

“The next thing I had then to do was to inquire, whether this was my religion. Here God was pleased to help me to the most easy remembrance and critical review of what had passed, during several of the latter years of my life: and although I could discover much corruption attending my best duties, and many selfish views and carnal ends, much spiritual pride and self-exaltation, and innumerable other evils which compassed me about; yet God was pleased, as I was reviewing, quickly to put this question out of doubt, by showing me that I had from time to time acted above the utmost influence of mere self-love, and had longed to please and glorify him as my highest happiness. This review was, through grace, attended with a present feeling of the same divine temper of mind. I now felt pleased to think of the glory of God, and longed for heaven as a state wherein I might glorify him perfectly, rather than as a place of happiness for myself. This feeling of the love of God in my heart, which I trust the Holy Spirit excited in me afresh, was sufficient to give me full satisfaction, and make me long, as I had many times before done, to be with Christ.”

CHAPTER VI.

Brainerd's disinterestedness.—Consecration to the Divine Glory.—Self-abasement.—Serious Illness.—Animated Prospect of Dissolution.—Brainerd's Death.—His Character.—Influence of Natural Temperament.—Contrast between Brainerd and Fletcher.—Rev. John Brainerd.—Pretended Revelation.—Settlement of Indians.—Statement of Dr. Dwight as to the Causes of Failure.—Rev. Samuel Kirkland.—Imminent Danger.—Seizure of spirituous Liquors.—Awful Intemperance.—Pleasing change at Old Oneida.—Letter from the Oneidas.—Interruption of Labour.—Interesting Application.—Appeal of the Oneidas.—Success of Mr. Kirkland's Exertions.—State of the Mission.—Indian Address on Temperance.—Effects of Intemperance.—Neglect of Agriculture.—Recent Efforts.

INCESSANT as Brainerd was in his labours, numerous as were the difficulties he had to encounter, dreadful as were the hardships he had often to endure, yet so far was he from being weary of the life of a missionary, that now when he had the prospect of settling as the pastor of the Indian flock he had collected in the wilderness, he looked forward to it with apprehension, and considered it as a kind of trial. So ardent, so unabated was his zeal for the conversion of the heathen, that it was still his desire to spend his life in preaching the gospel from place to place, and in gathering souls afar off to the Redeemer. The feelings of that man, how-

ever distinguished he may be for birth, or talents, or learning, are not to be envied, who can read the exercises of his mind on this occasion, without admiration, mingled with self-abasement; they display a disinterestedness, zeal, and deadness to the world, which perhaps have scarcely a parallel in modern times. "Having apprehended for several days," he says, "that it was the design of Providence I should settle among my people, I had in my own mind begun to make provision for it, and to contrive means for furthering it. My heart was somewhat pleased with the prospect, hoping I might then be in more comfortable circumstances than before; yet I was never fully determined, never quite satisfied with the thought of being confined to one place. Nevertheless, I seemed to have some freedom in that respect, because the congregation I thought of settling with, was one which God had enabled me to gather from amongst pagans; for never since I began to preach, could I feel any liberty to 'enter into other men's labours,' and settle in the ministry where the gospel was preached before; but God having made me instrumental in gathering a church from among the Indians, I was ready to think it might be his design to grant me a quiet settlement, and a stated home of my own. This, considering the late frequent depression of my spirits, the need I had of some agreeable society, and my great desire of enjoying opportunities of useful study, was not altogether disagreeable to me; and though I still wished to go about far and wide, spreading the gospel among the benighted pagans, yet I never had been so willing to settle in any one place for more than five years past as of late. But now this prospect seemed wholly dashed in pieces, not

of necessity but of choice; for it appeared to me, that the dispensations of Providence toward me, had fitted me for a life of solitude and hardship; it seemed to me I had nothing to lose, nothing to do with earth, and consequently nothing to sacrifice by a total renunciation of it; it appeared to me quite right that I should be destitute of house and home, and many comforts of life, which I rejoiced to see others of God's people enjoy. I saw, at the same time, so much of the excellency of Christ's kingdom, and the infinite importance of its extension in the world, that it swallowed up every other consideration, and made me not only willing, but even rejoice, to be a pilgrim or a hermit in the wilderness to my dying moment, if I might by this means promote the interest of the Redeemer. The language of my heart was, 'Here am I, Lord, send me; send me to the ends of the earth; send me to the rough, the savage pagans of the wilderness; send me from all that is called comfort on earth; send me even to death itself, if it be but in thy service, and to extend thy kingdom.' At the same time, I had as strong and lively a sense of the value of worldly comforts as ever I had, but only I saw them infinitely overmatched by the worth of Christ's kingdom, and the propagation of his gospel. The quiet settlement, the certain place of abode, the tender friendship I had the prospect of enjoying, appeared as valuable to me as ever before, considered absolutely in themselves, but, comparatively, they seemed as nothing, they vanished like the stars before the rising sun. I was constrained, yea chose to say, 'Farewell, friends and earthly comforts, the dearest of them all, the very dearest, if the Lord calls for it: adieu, adieu!

I'll spend my life to my latest breath in caves and dens of the earth, if the kingdom of Christ may thereby be advanced.' Oh! with what reluctance did I find myself obliged to consume time in sleep! I longed to be a flame of fire, continually glowing in the service of God, and extending the kingdom of Christ to my latest, my dying moment."

With Brainerd, these were not vain or empty expressions. Notwithstanding his constitution was now broken, by the trials and hardships he had endured; notwithstanding he now harboured in his breast the seeds of a disease which would certainly soon prove fatal; notwithstanding the small success, and even the little encouragement which had hitherto attended his journies to the Susquehannah, yet he shortly after proceeded on a new visit to the Indians in that direction, accompanied by several of his congregation, whom he judged best qualified to assist him in his labours. In the course of this journey, however, he suffered not a little from a cough, cold night sweats, and spitting of blood; yet was he often obliged to sleep in the woods. One evening he was so extremely faint, that he was apprehensive that should he lie out in the open air, it would prove fatal; but, as some of his companions were absent, and the others had not an axe, he had no resource but to climb up a young pine tree, to lop the branches with his knife, and so make some kind of shelter from the dew. Thus exposed, as he was to all the coldness of the night, he perspired so profusely, that his linen was completely drenched. He was now, indeed, so extremely feeble, that he was scarcely able to ride: sometimes he felt as if he should fall from his horse, and have to lie in the open woods.

And with this great debility was combined depression of spirits, which, as it unfitted him for exertion among the Indians, gave rise to the most humbling reflections upon himself. "I was scarcely," says he, "ever more confounded with a sense of my own unfruitfulness and unfitness for my work. Oh, what a dead, heartless, barren, unprofitable wretch, did I now see myself to be! I knew there were numbers of the people of God, who understood I was then travelling on a design, (or at least a pretence,) of doing something for God and his cause among the poor Indians, and that they were ready to suppose I was fervent in spirit; but, oh, the heartless frame of mind I felt, filled me with confusion. Alas! methought, if they knew me, as God knows me, they would not think so highly of my resolution and zeal, as perhaps they now do. I could not but desire they should see how heartless and irresolute I was, that they might be undeceived, and 'not think of me above what they ought to think;' and yet, I thought, if they saw the utmost of my flatness and unfaithfulness, the weakness of my courage and resolution for God, they would be ready to shut me out of their houses, as unworthy of the company or friendship of christians."

Brainerd originally intended to have remained a considerable time longer among the Indians on the Susquehannah, but was prevented from executing his design, not only by his own state, but by the sickness which then prevailed, and the indisposition of his companions. After being absent upwards of a month, he again arrived among his own people, and though now very ill, resumed his labours among them, so far as his exhausted

strength would permit, often discoursing to them even from his bed. He once more administered the Lord's supper to his beloved flock, and on this occasion the number of communicants amounted to nearly forty, besides some serious white people from the neighbourhood. After the service was concluded, he could scarcely walk home; but was supported by his friends, and laid on bed, where he lay in pain till the evening. But, though his body was exhausted, his soul was refreshed by the sacred exercises of the day, and the delightful tokens of grace among his people.

His disorder now increased so rapidly, that he was obliged to leave his beloved people in the beginning of November. On the sabbath before, he was unable to preach, and was scarcely able to sit up the whole day. It grieved him exceedingly, to see them destitute of the means of grace, especially as they could not read, and thus were under great disadvantages for spending the time profitably. This was a heavier trial to him than all his bodily illness. Before his departure, the following day, he visited them all in their houses, weak as he was, and conversed with each individual, as he thought was most suitable to their particular circumstances. He scarcely left a family where there were not some in tears, not only on account of his being about to leave them, but from the solemn addresses he delivered to them. After spending most of the day in this manner, he left home and rode about two miles, happy that he had been so much assisted in taking leave of those for whom he was so much concerned.

Brainerd's complaints now made rapid and alarming progress. Sometimes he was so low, that his

friends despaired of his life, and even thought he could scarcely survive a day. He afterwards, however, recovered in a considerable degree; and in the following spring, he once more visited his beloved Indians, but was obliged to leave them almost immediately, and to continue riding about for his health. The loss of time which this occasioned was a severe trial to him, and often contributed, with other circumstances, to inspire him with the most gloomy reflections. But though he was at first troubled with melancholy, an affection to which he was constitutionally subject, he afterwards became more cheerful, especially as the prospect of death drew near. One evening, when symptoms appeared, which he justly considered as a further token of the fatal progress of his disorder, he exclaimed: "Oh, the glorious time is now coming! I have longed to serve God perfectly; now he will gratify my desires." As other indications of approaching dissolution appeared, he became still more animated and cheerful. When he spoke of the period of his death, he used to call it, "that glorious day;" nor was this because he should then be delivered from sorrow and pain, and raised to dignity and honour, for he considered that as comparatively a low and ignoble consideration, but because he should then be able to glorify God with a pure and perfect heart. One night, when he was attempting to walk a little, he thought within himself: "How infinitely sweet is it, to love God, and to be all for him." Upon which it occurred to him: "You are not an angel, not lively and active." To this, his whole soul instantly replied: "I as sincerely desire to love and glorify God, as any angel in heaven." The same evening, he ex-

claimed: "My heaven is to please God, to give all to him, to be wholly devoted to his glory; that is the heaven I long for; that is my religion; that is my happiness, and always was, ever since, I suppose, I had any true religion. I do not go to heaven to get honour, but to give all possible glory and praise. It is no matter where I shall be stationed in heaven, whether I have a high or a low seat there; but to love, and please, and glorify God is all. Had I a thousand souls, if they were worth any thing, I would give them all to him; but I have nothing to give when all is done. My heart goes out to the burying ground; it seems to me a desirable place; but, oh, to glorify God! that is it, that is above all. It is a great comfort to me to think, that I have done a little for God in the world. Oh! it is but a very small matter; yet I have done a little, and I lament I have not done more for him. There is nothing in the world worth living for, but doing good, living to God, pleasing him, and doing his whole will."

He was now daily growing worse; but yet ill as he was, he eagerly employed the little strength which still remained, in some attempts to promote the glory of the Redeemer and the salvation of souls. It greatly refreshed him amidst all his sufferings, that he was enabled to contribute a little towards these important objects. Nature, however, was, at length, exhausted. He gradually sunk under the ravages of his disorder, and, after a severe struggle, breathed his last, October 9, 1747, in the thirtieth year of his age.

Thus died David Brainerd, a young man, whose extraordinary worth and piety entitle him to the warmest admiration and respect of the christian

world, and whose memory deserves to be embalmed to the latest generations. The whole number of Indians whom he collected together amounted to about a hundred and fifty; though, when he first visited that part of the country, they did not amount to ten. Of these, near ninety were baptized, of whom about one half were adults, the other children, and nearly forty were communicants. It is proper, however, to observe, that he baptized no adults, but such as gave satisfactory evidence of their sincere conversion to Christ. There were many others of the Indians also under deep concern for their souls. Some months before his death, the children in the school amounted to upwards of fifty, of whom nearly thirty were reading in the New Testament, most of them were able to repeat the whole of the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, and many of them appeared under serious impressions of religion.*

It is as truly as eloquently remarked by the Rev. Robert Hall, that "The Life and Diary of David Brainerd, exhibits a perfect pattern of the qualities which should distinguish the instructor of rude and barbarous tribes; the most invincible patience and self-denial, the profoundest humility, exquisite prudence, indefatigable industry, and such a devotedness to God, or rather such an absorption of the whole soul in zeal for the Divine glory and the salvation of men, as is scarcely to be paralleled since the age of the apostles. Such was the intense ardour of his mind, that it seems to have diffused the spirit of a martyr over the most

* The reader will find many interesting particulars, both of Brainerd and Eliot, in their lives, which are among the volumes of "The Christian Biography."

common incidents of his life. His constitutional melancholy, though it must be regarded as a physical imperfection, imparts an additional interest and pathos to the narrative, since we more easily sympathize with the emotions of sorrow than of joy. There is a monotony in his feelings, it must be acknowledged, and consequently a frequent repetition of the same ideas, which will disgust a fastidious or superficial reader, but it is the monotony of sublimity."

Prone as many are to err on the point, in the estimate of themselves as well as others, no apology is required for an illustration of it, by the same eminently gifted writer, in the following paragraph:—

"The Life of Fletcher, of Madeley, affords in some respects a parallel, in others a contrast, to that of Brainerd: and it is curious to observe how the influence of natural temperament varies the exhibition of the same principles. With a considerable difference in their religious views, the same zeal, the same spirituality of mind, the same contempt of the world, is conspicuous in the character of each. But the lively imagination, the sanguine complexion of Fletcher, permits him to triumph and exult in the consolatory truths and prospects of religion. He is a seraph who burns with the ardours of divine love; and, spurning the fetters of mortality, he almost habitually seems to have anticipated the rapture of the beatific vision. Brainerd, oppressed with a constitutional melancholy, is chiefly occupied with the thoughts of his pollutions and defects in the eyes of Infinite Purity. His is a mourning and conflicting piety, imbued with the spirit of self-abasement, breathing itself

forth in 'groanings which cannot be uttered;' always dissatisfied with itself, always toiling in pursuit of a purity and perfection unattainable by mortals. The mind of Fletcher was habitually brightened with gratitude and joy for what he had obtained; Brainerd was actuated with a restless solicitude for farther acquisitions. If Fletcher soared to all the heights, it may be affirmed, with equal truth, that Brainerd sounded all the depths of christian piety; and while the former was regaling himself with fruit from the tree of life, the latter, on the waves of an impetuous sea, was 'doing business in the mighty waters.'

"Both equally delighted and accustomed to lose themselves in the contemplation of the Deity, they seemed to have surveyed that Infinite Object under different aspects; and while Fletcher was absorbed in the contemplation of infinite benignity and love, Brainerd shrunk into nothing in the presence of immaculate purity and holiness.

"The different situations in which they were placed, had probably considerable effect in producing or heightening their respective peculiarities. Fletcher exercised his ministry in the calm of domestic life, surrounded with the beauties of nature; Brainerd pursued his mission in a remote and howling wilderness, where, in the midst of uncultivated savages, he was exposed to intolerable hardships and fatigues."

The successor of this distinguished missionary was his younger brother, Mr. John Brainerd, under whom prosperity was for some time enjoyed. The number of the Indians was increased to about two hundred, including old and young, though a serious mortality prevailed for some time among them.

Most of those who appeared to have been converted under the ministry of his brother, adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour, though several, as might have been expected, became backsliders. Some of those who had lately joined the settlement, were brought under serious concern, and others appeared to be made partakers of Divine grace. Besides, daily progress was made in civilization, and in the arts of life. The men cultivated the ground; the women learned to spin; and both, in a great measure, abandoned that slothful course which is so habitual to all the tribes of Indians. The school also was in a flourishing state; even the old people were so anxious to learn to read and understand the scriptures, that many of them attended it in the evening, some of them being forty or fifty years of age. Several of the boys were put out to trades, and it was proposed to erect a working-school for the girls.

Mr. John Brainerd also made frequent journies among the Indians in distant places, though with no other material effect than inducing some of them to come and settle with his people. In one of his visits to the Susquehannah, besides the obstacles common to undertakings of that kind, he had to encounter a difficulty of rather an extraordinary nature. On his arrival, the Indians pretended that they had just received a revelation from heaven, which, after representing the evil of some particular vices, and recommending the sacrifice of a deer, and certain other superstitious practices, concluded by telling them, that God made two worlds, one for the white people, the other for the Indians; that the white people had no business to come into the Indian country, much less to

persuade them to embrace their religion, for that he had commanded them to worship him in their own way, and their red brethren to worship him in another: that though the white people made some pretences of instructing them, yet they had no design of doing them good, but merely to put money into their own pockets. This revelation, it is probable, was the production of some interested Indian, perhaps of some artful powaw; but, in consequence of it, Mr. Brainerd was able to do little amongst these people, though, in other respects, they seemed more civilized than any he had hitherto seen.

Among the many difficulties attending the christianizing and civilization of the Indians, their living in small villages scattered through the wilderness was not the least. It was therefore an object for some years, with the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge, to collect them together into one place, and to fix them in regular habitations. This, indeed, had been accomplished in part by David Brainerd, previous to his death; and in 1759, John Brainerd settled upon a tract of land, which was purchased on their account by the government of New Jersey. The extent of country under his charge, was a hundred miles east and west, and near eighty north and south. The land for the use of the Indians consisted of about four thousand acres, and was situated near the centre of the country, between the river Delaware and the Atlantic ocean. The soil was suitable for Indian corn, rice, beans, potatoes, English clover, and various kinds of fruit-trees, and wanted nothing but cultivation to supply the Indians with plenty of vegetables.

It does not appear, however, that this new arrangement was attended with that success which was expected or desired; and there is reason to fear that considerable declension took place.

During the American war, Mr. John Brainerd's correspondence with the society in Scotland was suspended, and toward the close of it, he died. He was succeeded, in 1783, in the charge of the Indian congregation, by Daniel Simon, an Indian, who had been ordained to the ministry; but it was soon after found necessary to suspend him from his office, on account of drunkenness and other irregularities. No missionary was appointed to succeed him; and though the people were sometimes addressed by the neighbouring ministers, they grew, it appears, very wicked, and were, in consequence, in a miserable state. The following testimony, however, deserves to be recorded:—

“About forty years since,” says Dr. Dwight, “there stood within the limits of Yarmouth an Indian church, in the neighbourhood of which, called Indian Town, resided a small congregation of praying Indians, of the Paukunnakut, or Wampanoag tribe. This was among the last relics of the efforts successfully made by our ancestors for the conversion of the Indians to christianity. From the obstinate belief which extensively prevails, that these people can never become christians until they shall have been first civilized, one would naturally suppose the trial never to have been made, or to have been made without any success; yet history informs us, that our ancestors spread the religion of the gospel among them, with as few obstacles and as happy effects, as were, perhaps, ever known to attend efforts of the like nature

among any barbarians since the early days of the church.

“ From major-general Gookin, a perfectly unexceptionable witness, we learn with certainty, that in the colony of Massachusetts’ Bay there were, in his time, eleven hundred praying Indians in fourteen villages. In the colony of Plymouth there were, at the same time, including those of all ages, not far from six thousand. In Martha’s Vineyard and Nantucket there were, perhaps, fifteen hundred more. When to these we add those in Connecticut, the number may be estimated at not far from ten thousand. These facts perfectly refute the opinion, that there is some peculiar difficulty attending the conversion of Indians, which is inherent in their character or manners. It cannot, however, be denied, that the attempts which have been made in modern times to spread the influence of the gospel among them, have, in a great measure, been successful. Two great causes have, in my apprehension, produced this effect. The first of these was the general persuasion, excited by Philip, that the English were enemies to the Indians, and were embarked in a general design to possess themselves of their lands. This persuasion appears to have spread by the agency of that crafty chieftain, throughout the greatest part of New England, in a manner remarkably rapid and efficacious. So firmly were the Indians satisfied of the hostility and sinister designs of the colonists, that the impression has never been effectually erased. Whenever our people approach them, therefore, they are met with apprehension and dislike, strongly cherished by the sense of their own inferiority and diminution,

and of the population and power of the Americans. The other cause of this difficulty is found in the character and conduct of those who are called Indian traders. These are a class of men, who, for a long period, employed themselves in exchanging coarse European goods and ardent spirits, muskets, powder and ball, flints, hatchets, knives, and some other commodities, with the Indians, for furs and peltry. Sometimes they resided among them permanently, and sometimes occasionally, and in either case often acquired considerable ascendancy over them. Generally they were men of loose lives, as well as of loose principles. In their trade they were greedy and oppressive, and in their ordinary conduct licentious. A great part of their gains arose from the sale of ardent spirits; a business, to the success of which, the vice, particularly the intemperance, of the Indians was indispensable. Against christianity and its missionaries, therefore, these men arrayed themselves, and made the most unfavourable impressions concerning both on the minds of their customers. At the same time, they themselves were white men, and, in the view of the Indians, were of course christians. With christianity, therefore, these ignorant people almost necessarily connected the unprincipled and profligate lives of the traders, as being often the only, and always the prominent, examples of what they supposed to be the proper effects of the christian religion.*

* The same effects are produced in the minds of the Hindoos, by the loose lives of the British inhabitants of Hindostan. The most solid, the most operative objection brought by them against the christian religion, and that which is obviated with the greatest difficulty, has been

“ To these great causes must, in certain cases, be added a third, which sometimes was not inferior to either in its efficacy; I mean the very censurable character of that class of men, who usually plant themselves upon the frontier of the English settlements, a class composed principally of foresters. These men almost, of course, alienate the minds of the Indians from every thing adopted by the colonists.

“ Independently of these causes, there is nothing in the Indian character which can rationally discourage efforts for their conversion. They are savages, it is true, and a savage life is hostile to religion; but how often has christianity triumphed over this obstacle. What I especially intend is, that there is nothing of a peculiar nature in their circumstances, which would make their conversion more hopeless and difficult than that of other savages. Of this decisive proof is furnished in the facts which have been already stated. A strong illustration of the same proof is also exhibited in the remarkable success of the excellent Brainerd, who, at Crosweeksung, converted by his preaching, so far as the human eye can judge, seventy-five Indians, out of one hundred, to the faith and obedience of the gospel, within twelve months. What minister can boast of greater success in any congregation of civilized life? Such a fact is a flaming proof, that the difficulty here complained of

derived from this source. The Mexicans made the same objection, and, as they thought, irresistibly, against the religion that was taught them by the Spaniards. But the inhabitants of Tanjore, after having been a short time witnesses of the life of Swartz, never thought of questioning either the reality or the excellence of his religion.

does not lie in the mere character of these people."

In November 1764, Mr. Samuel Kirkland, son of a minister at Norwich in Connecticut, after finishing his education at Nassau Hall, in New Jersey college, set off for the country of the Senecas, with the view of learning their language, and of introducing christianity among them. Having been obliged to stop some weeks by the way for a convoy, he afterwards proceeded on his journey, under the conduct of two Indians of that tribe. As the ground was then covered with snow, he travelled in snow shoes, with his pack of provisions on his back, about two hundred and fifty miles, through a wilderness where there was no path, and no houses in which to lodge. After journeying in this manner for seventeen days, he reached a Seneca town called Kanasadago. Here he met with a kind reception from the Indians; but it was not long before he was involved in unforeseen difficulties. A few days after Mr. Kirkland's arrival, the chief man of the town in whose hut he lodged, died very suddenly. He lay down in his usual health at night, and was found dead in the morning. Upon this a general suspicion arose among the Indians, that the white man had either killed him with magic, or had brought death and destruction to the town. After this they gave him nothing to eat for two days, and they even held a consultation among themselves, whether it would not be best to kill him. They resolved, however, only to set a guard upon him, and to kill him, should he attempt to make his escape. Soon after a famine arose in that quarter of the country, and for two months Mr. Kirkland lived without

bread, flesh, or salt, excepting once, when he tasted part of a bear. His common food was small fish, roots, acorns, and a handful of pounded corn boiled in a large quantity of water. The Indians, seeing his patience and perseverance, began to conceive a good opinion of him; and at length many of them were persuaded that it was the great Spirit who had disposed him to come and visit them. Still, however, there were many who threatened his life; and one of the warriors in particular, declared that he would kill him, let the consequences be what they would.

In May, 1766, Mr. Kirkland returned from the country of the Senecas, and after being ordained to the office of the ministry, set off for Kanonwarohare, one of the principal towns of the Oneida Indians, accompanied by two or three other missionaries and schoolmasters from Dr. Wheelock's Indian school at Lebanon in Connecticut. A school had already been established in that village; the children who attended it made great progress in learning; and the Indians in general were extremely anxious to have a minister settled among them. Taking advantage of this circumstance, Mr. Kirkland, soon after his arrival, called them all together, and told them, that if they would solemnly engage to abandon the practice of drunkenness, and enable him to carry their determination into execution, by appointing six or eight of their principal men to assist him, with full power to seize all spirituous liquor, and either to destroy it, or dispose of it as he should think proper, he would remain among them; but if they would not consent to this proposal, he would then leave them. After some days consideration, they agreed to this plan, and ap-

pointed eight persons, nominated by Mr. Kirkland, as his assistants, who proved very active and faithful in executing it. Such, indeed, was the success of this measure, that though, in a short time, about eighty casks of rum were carried through the town, and offered to the Indians for sale, and even, in some instances, offered them as a present, yet in no instance were they persuaded to accept of it. For a period of about three months, only two were guilty of intoxication; and one of these was the only person in the town who opposed Mr. Kirkland's measures.

In the summer of 1767, Mr. Kirkland, and the Indians under his care, suffered no inconsiderable distress from the scarcity of provisions. For two years past their corn had been destroyed by the frost, and this year the worms threatened to lay waste at least one half of the crop, which was then in the ground. "From week to week," says Mr. Kirkland, "I am obliged to go with the Indians to Oneida lake, to catch eels for my subsistence. I have lodged and slept with them till I am in a filthy and wretched state. Flour and milk, with a few eels, have been my only living. Such diet, with my hard labour abroad, is not sufficient to support nature: my strength, indeed, begins to fail. My poor people are almost starved to death. There is one family, consisting of four persons, whom I must support in the best way I can, or they would certainly perish. Indeed, I should myself be glad of an opportunity to fall upon my knees for such a bone, as I have often seen cast to the dogs. Without relief I shall soon perish. My constitution is almost broken; my spirits sunk: yet

my heart still bleeds for these poor creatures. I had rather die than leave them alone in their present miserable condition."

Mr. Kirkland's necessities were no sooner known than they were supplied by his friends. But he had not long escaped from danger of perishing by hunger, when he was in no small hazard of his life from one of the Indians, in consequence of his endeavours to execute the law respecting spirituous liquors. Having learned that two or three women were drinking near the town, and that they had a great quantity of rum, he went immediately to them; and though they had concealed the liquor for fear of him, yet he soon discovered it, and destroyed it without further ceremony. One of them afterwards fell upon her knees, and, with bitter cries and tears, mourned over the loss of her beloved liquor, and even licked up what was not soaked into the earth, uttering many imprecations against her cruel minister. The husband of the woman to whom the spirits belonged (a man who, by his own confession, had murdered no fewer than fourteen persons), was so enraged, that he threatened to kill Mr. Kirkland, and even brought some Indians from a neighbouring town to assist him in executing his barbarous design. "The matter," said he, "is now settled; the minister shall never see another rising sun." Being apprized of his design, Mr. Kirkland was persuaded to leave the village that night, and to retire to a sugar-house about a mile and a half distant. He returned, however, to the town next morning; and though some of the Indians were still much enraged against him, yet most of them seemed more than ever at-

tached to him, and expressed the utmost concern for his safety. One of them even offered three times to die in his stead.

Soon after this event, Mr. Kirkland visited the neighbouring town of Old Oneida, the inhabitants of which had manifested the utmost aversion to the gospel, and were so violent against the new regulation respecting spirituous liquors, that they employed every artifice to check the progress of the reformation; and even near relations, such as brothers and sisters, would not visit each other after the agreement was made. Now, however, they were much impressed by the word; and the inhabitants of the two villages not only came to hear the gospel with each other, but their mutual differences were completely removed, and a formal reconciliation was effected. The people of Old Oneida even expressed their determination to enter into the same engagement as their brethren, with regard to spirituous liquors; and it was agreed among them, that Mr. Kirkland should preach every other sabbath at the two places. This change in the temper of the inhabitants of that town was the more extraordinary, as only a few months before, they were loading Mr. Kirkland with imprecations, and wishing that he was dead. The whole transaction, indeed, was remarkably solemn. The tears flowed from many eyes, which formerly were seldom known to weep.

The mission among the Oneidas now assumed a most promising aspect; it seemed as if "the wilderness would soon rejoice and blossom as the rose." The Lord's day was observed by the Indians with the utmost strictness; drunkenness was

in a great measure banished from among them; and a number appeared to be sincere converts to the faith of Christ. Even the poor wretch who had lately sought Mr. Kirkland's life was under deep convictions of sin, and made a public confession of his guilt in a most humble manner.

The following extract of a letter, which some of the Oneidas wrote in December, 1770, on receiving some small pecuniary assistance, exhibits no unfavourable idea of their powers of expression, as well as of the state of religion among them:—
“The holy word of Jesus has got place amongst us, and advances. Many have lately forsaken their sins to appearance, and turned to God. There are some among us who are very stubborn and strong; but Jesus is Almighty and has all strength, and his holy word is very strong too. Therefore we hope it will conquer and succeed more and more. We say no more, only we ask our fathers to pray for us, though they are at a great distance. Perhaps by and bye, through the strength and mercy of Jesus, we shall meet in his kingdom above. Farewell.

“TAGAWAROW, chief of the Bear tribe.

“SUGHNAGEAROT, chief of the Wolf tribe.

“OJEKHETA, chief of the Turtle tribe.”*

In June, 1778, the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, took Mr. Kirkland under their patronage, and agreed to pay his salary in conjunction with the corporation of Harvard College in New England. During the American war, which began not long after, Mr. Kirkland was

* The Oneida nation is divided into three tribes, the Bear, the Wolf, and the Turtle.

much interrupted in his labours among the Indians, as the country was in a very unsettled state; but yet he often visited them, preaching the gospel, and performing other ministerial duties, notwithstanding the danger and fatigue to which it necessarily exposed him. During this period, the Oneidas were likewise severe sufferers. A few of them joined the British; but the greater part adhered to the Americans. Many of their warriors were slain in battle; and after the destruction of their villages and churches by the English, they removed to the plains of Skenectady, or wandered among the neighbouring towns, till the cessation of hostilities permitted them to return to their own settlements.

After the conclusion of the war, the Oneidas made a grant of land to a considerable number of other Indians of different tribes, that they might come and settle in their neighbourhood; and they expected that, in the course of two years, there would be upwards of a thousand of their countrymen in their vicinity disposed to listen to the word of God, and to cultivate the arts of civilized life. Having now the prospect of being again settled in their own country, they were extremely anxious that Mr. Kirkland should return and live among them. "We have been attending," said they, "for many years to the vast difference between white people and Indians. We have laboured much to investigate the cause; for the one are in prosperous circumstances, the other are indigent and wretched. The one appear to be the favourites of Heaven, and honourable in the sight of men; the other to be despised and rejected of both. We Indians, therefore, must alter our conduct. We must give up our pagan customs. We must unite with all

our wisdom and strength, to cultivate the manners and civilization of the white people, who are thus distinguished by the favour and protection of the great Spirit above, and embrace the religion of Christ, or we shall, before many years, be not only despised by the nations of the earth, but utterly rejected by the Lord Jesus, the Saviour of the white people.

“ We entreat our Father to make one trial more for christianizing the Indians, at least for one, if not for two years; and if there be no encouragement after this, that we shall be built up as a people and embrace the religion of Christ, he may leave us, and we shall expect nothing but ruin.”

About the same time the Indians addressed a letter to the commissioners in Boston, who were invested by the society in Scotland with the superintendence of the mission; and in this letter they beseech them to send Mr. Kirkland among them, in the following energetic language:—

“ Fathers, attend to our words! It is a long time since we heard your voice. We hope you have not forgotten us. The great Spirit above hath preserved us, and led us back to our country, and rekindled our fire in peace, which we hope he will preserve to warm and refresh us and our children to the latest posterity.

“ Fathers, we have been distressed with the black cloud that so long overspread our country. The cloud is now blown over. Let all thank the great Spirit, and praise Christ Jesus. By means of his servants, the good news of salvation have been published to us. We have received them. Some of us love the Lord Jesus, who hath preserved us through the late storm. Fathers, our fire just

begins to burn again. Our hearts rejoice to see it. We hope it will burn brighter and brighter than ever, and that it will enlighten the Indian nations around us.

“Fathers, we doubt not but your hearts will rejoice in our prosperity; and as the great Spirit above hath given us the light of peace once more, we hope he will, by your means, send to us the light of his holy word; and that you will think of our father, Mr. Kirkland, and enable him to eat his bread by our fire-side. He hath for several years laboured among us, and done every thing in his power for our good. Our father, Mr. Kirkland, loves us, and we love him. He hath long had the charge of us, hath long watched over us, and explained the word of God to us. Fathers, we repeat our request, that you will continue our father to sit by our fire-side, to watch over us, to instruct us, and to lead us in the way to heaven.”

Agreeably to the request of the Indians, Mr. Kirkland returned and settled among them in the autumn of 1785. In several villages, particularly Kanonwarohare, Old Oneida, and Kanadesko, he found the people extremely desirous of religious instruction, with the exception of only two or three who were professed pagans, so that they would assemble for that purpose at almost any time of the day. On the sabbath, he generally conducted divine service at Kanouwarohare, as it was not only their principal village, but the most central of the whole. Here the Indians collected in such numbers from the other towns, which were four, six, ten, and even near thirty miles distant, that there was no house sufficiently large to contain them, and therefore they were often obliged to

assemble for public worship under the trees in the open air. The order, attention, and solemnity which appeared in their meetings, were often truly delightful. They never seemed tired of hearing the word of God; their applications for instruction were frequently so incessant, that Mr. Kirkland had scarcely leisure to take his food. Upwards of seventy of them appeared to be under serious impressions of religion. Their views of divine truth were, in general, scriptural and rational, though some appeared to have a tincture of enthusiasm. Their convictions of sin were deep and pungent; and, in many instances, the sense of its evil seemed to rise higher than the fear of punishment. There was, at the same time, a remarkable reformation of manners among them. Many who had been guilty of the foulest crimes, and had led an extremely dissipated life, now became sober, regular, and industrious: for some months there was not a single instance of intoxication in two of the villages; but this fair prospect was afterwards overcast, religion declined among them and even sunk to a very low ebb.

In the summer of 1796, the Rev. Drs. Morse and Belknap proceeded, by desire of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, to the Oneida country, in order to inquire into the state of the mission among the Indians. By their report, it appears, that at the last annual enumeration, the number of Indians, including men, women, and children, under the care of Mr. Kirkland, amounted to six hundred and twenty-eight. For some years past, however, there had been no pure Oneidas. There was scarcely, indeed, an individual among them who was not descended on

one side or other from English, Scotch, Irish, French, German, or Dutch parents, and some also from negroes. Among them there were only eight persons who were professed pagans; 'but though the others called themselves christians, the greater part of them appeared to have nothing of christianity but the name. Of the women, there were thirty-six who were reputed sober, and among these Mr. Kirkland reckoned twenty-four to be serious christians. Of the men, there were only three or four of a sober character; and at the last communion only one attended.

Though the number of professed pagans was small, yet the whole nation, notwithstanding their opportunities for religious improvement, were still influenced in a great degree by their ancient mythology. They were all firm believers in witchcraft and the agency of invisible beings; they paid great regard to dreams and omens, and attributed the most common events to causes with which they could not have the most distant connexion. Some time before, an Indian was drowned in one of the Oneida creeks, which were annually visited by salmon. When the fishing season returned, they imagined that none of these creatures could be found in that stream, until a gentleman from Albany, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, persuaded them that he had put something into the water to purify it; upon which, they resorted to the creek, caught the fish as formerly, and thought themselves much obliged to this person for his kindness.

In the savage state, it was usual for them to live in licentious habits.

Murders were said to be less frequent than

formerly; but still they were by no means uncommon. A melancholy instance of this kind, which happened a few days before the arrival of Doctors Morse and Belknap; exhibits a striking proof of the relaxed state of society among them. Two young Oneidas having had a quarrel, the one shot the other dead. The father of the deceased immediately went and dispatched the murderer, and no further notice was taken of the matter.

To excessive drinking of spirituous liquors they were generally addicted, when they had them in their power, except the few persons already mentioned. The chiefs, indeed, have frequently attempted to prohibit the introduction and sale of that pernicious article; but from the small degree of power they possess, and the unquenchable desire which the people have for ardent spirits, these efforts have hitherto proved ineffectual, nor does it seem likely that any measures of this kind will be attended with success.

No external circumstance has contributed more to impede the progress of christianity, and the arts of civilization among the Indians of North America, than the introduction of spirituous liquors among them by the white people. Of this they have long been sensible; but though they have occasionally displayed much eloquence in declaiming against the rum trade, and have frequently passed excellent laws with regard to it, yet so little resolution have they, that they often fall before the first temptation that presents itself.

It is, however, worthy of remark, that, in June, 1802, when a chief, named Little Turtle, passed through Baltimore, on his way to visit the president of the United States, the quakers in that town, who

had for several years before been making some laudable attempts to promote the civilization of the Indians, had an interview with him, and having adverted to the pernicious effects of the rum trade, in preventing the success of their endeavours, he made a very impressive and pathetic speech on the subject, of which the following is an extract:—

“Brothers and friends,—When our forefathers first met on this island, your red brethren were very numerous; but since the introduction amongst us of what you call spirituous liquors, and what we think may justly be called poison, our numbers are greatly diminished. It has destroyed a great part of your red brethren.

“My brothers and friends,—We plainly perceive that you see the very evil which destroys your red brethren. It is not an evil of our own making. We have not placed it amongst ourselves, it is an evil placed amongst us by the white people; we look to them to remove it out of the country. We tell them, brethren, fetch us useful things; bring us goods that will clothe us, our women, and our children, and not this evil liquor, that destroys our health, that destroys our reason, that destroys our lives. But all that we can say on this subject is of no service, nor gives relief to your red brethren.

“My friends and brothers,—I rejoice to find that you agree in opinion with us, and express an anxiety to be, if possible, of service to us, in removing this great evil out of our country; an evil which has had so much room in it, and has destroyed so many of our lives, that it causes our young men to say, ‘We had better be at war with the white people. This liquor which they introduce

into our country, is more to be feared than the gun or tomahawk.' There are more of us dead since the treaty of Greeneville, than we lost by the six years' war before. It is all owing to the introduction of this liquor among us.

"Brothers,—When our young men have been out hunting, and are returning home loaded with skins and furs, on their way, if it happens that they come where this whisky is deposited, the white man who sells it, tells them to take a little drink. Some of them will say, 'No, I do not want it.' They go on till they come to another house, where they find more of the same kind of drink. It is there offered again; they refuse; and again the third time; but, finally, the fourth or fifth time one accepts of it, and takes a drink, and getting one he wants another, and then a third, and fourth, till his senses have left him. After his reason comes back to him, when he gets up and finds where he is, he asks for his peltry. The answer is, 'You have drank them.' 'Where is my gun?' 'It is gone.' 'Where is my blanket?' 'It is gone.' 'Where is my shirt?' 'You have sold it for whisky!' Now, brothers, figure to yourselves what condition this man must be in. He has a family at home; a wife and children who stand in need of the profits of his hunting. What must be their wants, when even he himself is without a shirt?"

After mature deliberation, the committee of the quakers, convinced that no progress could be made in the civilization of the Indians, while they were so abundantly supplied with ardent spirits, resolved to address congress on this subject. The memorial they presented was favourably received by the legislature, and a law was passed, which, in

some degree, provided a remedy for this enormous evil. From this measure the most beneficial effects immediately resulted. So early as the summer of 1803, a letter was received from the agent for Indian affairs, in which he says:—
“Since there have been no spirituous liquors in the Indian country, they have appeared very industrious, and fond of raising stock. In this neighbourhood, there has not been one Indian killed for a year past, although in no preceding year, since the treaty of Greeneville, had there been fewer than ten, and, in some instances, as many as thirty killed.” He further adds, “the Indians appeared to be very desirous of procuring for themselves the necessaries of life in our way, but say they do not know how to begin. Some of their old men say, ‘The white people want for nothing. We wish them to show us how to provide the many good things we see amongst them. If it is their wish to instruct us in their way of living, as they tell us it is, let them do it quickly, for we are old, and must soon die; but we wish to see our women and children in that path, that will lead them to happiness before we die.’ Happily these wishes have not been vain. In the course of a very short time, the progress of the Indians in civilization, in the cultivation of their lands, in spinning, knitting, &c., far surpassed the expectations of their most sanguine friends.”

In the speech of Little Turtle to the quakers at Baltimore, there are some striking allusions to the diminution of the Indian tribes. This is a subject to which their orators often refer in very feeling and energetic terms. In a letter, which the Stockbridge Indians addressed a few years ago to the

New York Baptist Association, the following graphic language was employed :

“Wise men and brothers,—We beg your attention to the voice of your Indian brethren, commonly called the Stockbridge Indians, having our fire-place near the front door of the different tribes of Indians ; we desire to speak to your ears.

“In the first place, we will remind you, that we believe it was the will of the great good Spirit, that your forefathers were brought over the great waters to this island for a certain good purpose. Our forefathers then appeared like tall trees, but were under the dark clouds, yet they contended well in them.

“Brothers, with sorrowful hearts we now desire you to look back a little, and view the ruins of our mighty trees ; you can scarcely find where they have fallen ; scarcely find any stumps or roots remaining ; but, if you look down near your feet, you will see the remnant of your brethren, like small bushes, who now looking up speak to you, for you are become very great ; you reach to the clouds, you can see all over this island, but we can scarcely reach to your ankles.”

This is no exaggerated picture, it is a simple representation of facts,

Dr. Holmes says, In New England, there is scarcely a collection of Indians sufficiently numerous to be called a tribe. The Massachusetts, the Pennakooks, the Agawomes, the Naumkeeks, the Piscataways, the Wampanoags, the Saconets, the Nipmugs, and many other tribes are now totally extinct.

As to agriculture, it is yet in its infancy among the Oneidas, and the labour of cultivating the fields is still performed chiefly by the women. Idle-

ness is the besetting sin, and the natural parent of many other of their vices. "Indians cannot work," is a saying often in their mouths. They have an idea that the cultivation of the ground is degrading to the character of a man, who they affirm "was made for war, hunting, and holding councils; while women and hedgehogs were made to scratch the earth." It is also a proverbial tradition among them, that "the great Spirit gave the white man a plough, and the red man a bow and arrow, and sent them into the world by different paths, each to get a living in his own way."

Among the Oneidas, the land is still held in common; and though an agreement was recently made, "to set apart to any person who should require it, two hundred acres of land, to be held by him and his posterity, with power to let it to any other person of their own nation, but not to any of the white people;" yet nothing had been done in consequence of this arrangement.

The zeal and perseverance, the piety, benevolence, and activity which Mr. Kirkland displayed in promoting christianity and civilization among the Indians, had afforded the highest gratification to the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge; but after receiving a report, they were much dissatisfied with his conduct, and judged it proper to dismiss him from their service. His health, indeed, was now on the decline, and for two years he was entirely disabled from all public duty. Afterwards, however, he recovered not only his health, but, in a considerable degree, his reputation, and continued to labour among the Indians under the patronage of the corporation of Harvard college. At length, after having spent upwards of

forty years as a missionary among the Indians, he died at Paru, in the county of Oneida, March 28, 1808, aged sixty-seven.

Since the death of Mr. Kirkland, the Northern Missionary Society have taken the Oneida Indians under their patronage, and sent the Rev. Mr. Jenkins to settle among them. An Indian named Abram also laboured with great activity and zeal in promoting religion among his countrymen.

The episcopal church of New York, supported Mr. Eleazar Williams for several years at Oneida Castle. He is the son of a chief of the Iroquois nation, and was licensed by the bishop of New York, in 1816, in compliance with the earnest request of the Oneida chiefs. He became eminently useful to the pagan party, who, in 1817, removed their idols, professed the faith once delivered to the saints, and united with the old christian party in erecting a new place for public worship. In 1821, there were between forty and fifty communicants. A school has also been established by other friends of religion, and considerable progress has been made in civilization.

CHAPTER VII.

Spirit of Primitive Christianity—Colonization by the United Brethren.—Their First Labours.—Conversion of Tschoop.—New Chapel at Shekomeko.—Early Converts.—Visit of Bishop Spangenberg.—Interesting Service.—Retirement to Bethlehem.—Settlement at Gnadenhuetten.—Wanderers restored.—Native Teachers.—The Convert Nicodemus.—The Converts John and David.—Visit to other Towns.—Acts of Friendship.—Extraordinary Message.—Trophies of Divine Grace.—Dreadful Attack.—Evil overruled for Good.—Rise of Fanatics.—Refuge at Bethlehem.—The Convert Papunhank.—Sudden Alarm.—Journey to Philadelphia.—White Savages.—Trials of the Indians.—The Convert Renuatus.

IN reference to primitive times, it has been said, "Every christian was, in his degree, an apostle and a martyr; a witness to the truth by his life, and often by his heroic death; and called upon, in all circumstances, to choose between this world and the next; and as frequently life, and always fortune and ease, were in readiness to be resigned; any efforts, whether of expense or of exertion, were undertaken with a promptitude of which there are no surviving models; while their virtues, eminently apostolic, self-devotion, mutual union, unbounded charity, contempt of this life, and joyful expectation of another, struck even the heathen with astonishment, at zeal, which no adverse circumstance could damp, and courage, which death

itself could not quell.* But instances have already been given of a spirit nearly approximating to that of these illustrious saints, and others are yet to follow. Christian missions in North America, have not only had their apostles, but their martyrs; and though, in some cases, life was preserved amidst appalling dangers and trials, it is easy to perceive in them a devotedness of heart, which, had it been required, would have promptly and cheerfully sacrificed it. Hitherto, attention has been given to the energetic and zealous exertions of Anglo-Americans; it is necessary now to detail the self-denying and laborious efforts of that interesting people who claim descent from the Hussites of Bohemia, and whose labours among the North American Indians during the middle and latter part of the eighteenth century, were pre-eminently blessed.

The trustees of Georgia having offered Count Zinzendorf a tract of land to be colonized by the United Brethren, it was gladly accepted, in the hope that a way would be prepared for preaching the gospel to the Indians. In this service many were found willing to engage, who left Germany in November, 1734, and formed a settlement on the river Ogache. But as their labours were soon interrupted, they retired to Pennsylvania; and after the lapse of a few years, others were induced to join one of them, brother Spangenberg, and to resume the arduous work. Among these devoted men was Christian Rauch, who having heard that an embassy of Mohikans were in the city, went in search of them, and, to his great joy, found they understood

* Douglas's Hints on Missions.

the Dutch language. Their appearance was ferocious, and they were much intoxicated. When, however, they had become sober, he addressed two of them, Tschoop and Shabash, and, as they accepted his offer of christian instruction, he was, with due Indian solemnity, declared their teacher. His removal to the Indian town Shekomeko was afterwards arranged.

Although at first received with great kindness, he was soon assailed by ridicule, and had to encounter many hardships. But continuing his self-denying and zealous labours, he was, after a time, allowed to behold some success, and Tschoop and Shabash became trophies of Divine power and grace. Grievous trials then arose; for the white people conceiving their interests would be injured, tried to prejudice the Indians against him, and to seduce them to inebriety, and even threatened the missionary's life. At length, however, his meekness, courage, and perseverance, gained the admiration of the Indians, and removed the obstacles to intercourse. He frequently went among them, ate and drank with them, and even lay down to sleep in their huts with the greatest composure.

Many were now powerfully impressed, but in no instance was the saving efficacy of truth more remarkable than in that of Tschoop. Before his conversion he was distinguished by every act of outrage and sin, and had even crippled himself by his debaucheries; but now the lion was tamed, and the slave of Satan became a child of God and a preacher of righteousness. The account he once gave of his conversion, will best elucidate the striking change he experienced. "Brethren,"

said he, "I have been a heathen, and have grown old amongst them; therefore, I know how heathen think. Once a preacher came, and began to explain to us that there was a God. We answered, 'Dost thou think us so ignorant as not to know that? Return to the place from whence thou camest.' Then again another preacher came and said; 'You must not steal, nor lie, nor get drunk, &c.' We answered, 'Thou fool, dost thou think us ignorant of this? Learn first thyself, and then teach the people to whom thou belongest to leave off these things. For who steal, lie, or are more drunken than thine own people?' And thus we dismissed him. After some time brother Rauch came into my hut, sat down, and spoke nearly as follows: 'I am come to you in the name of the Lord of heaven and of earth; he sends to let you know that he will make you happy, and deliver you from the misery in which you lie at present. For this end, he became a man, gave his life a ransom, and shed his blood for sinners, &c.' When he had finished his discourse, he lay down, fatigued with his journey, and fell into a sound sleep. I thought—What kind of a man is this? There he lies and sleeps; I might kill him and throw him into the wood, and who would regard it? But this gives him no concern. However, I could not forget his words. They constantly recurred to my mind. Even when asleep I dreamt of the blood Christ shed for us. I found this to be widely different from any thing I had heard before; and I interpreted Rauch's words to the other Indians. Thus, through the grace of God, an awakening commenced among us. I say, there-

fore, brethren, preach Christ our Saviour and his sufferings and death, if you would wish your words to gain entrance among the heathens."

He and three others were subsequently admitted into the church of Christ, by baptism; ten christians partook of the Lord's supper in March, 1743, and their number was augmented each succeeding month. In July, a new chapel was opened at Shekomeko, thirty feet long and twenty broad, and entirely covered with smooth bark. Many heathen visited the place; and once, when above a hundred were present, the missionaries observed, that whenever two or three were standing together, the love of God, and the sufferings of Christ, formed the subject of their conversation. Such, indeed, was the zeal of the converts, that they often spake of Jesus to their countrymen till after midnight. Mr. Weiser, a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania, writing to one of the missionaries after a visit, says: "The faith of the Indians in our Lord Jesus Christ, their simplicity and unaffected deportment, their experience of the grace procured for us by the sufferings of Jesus, have impressed my mind with a firm belief that God is with you. I thought myself seated in a company of primitive christians. They attended with great gravity and devotion; their eyes were steadily fixed upon their teachers, as if they would eat his words. John (Tschoop) was the intrepeter, and acquitted himself in the best manner. I esteem him as a man anointed with grace and spirit. The text of scripture, 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to day, and for ever,' appeared to me as an eternal truth, when I beheld the venerable patriarchs of the American Indian church sitting around me, as

living witnesses of the power of our Lord Jesus Christ and his atoning sacrifice. Their prayers are had in remembrance in the sight of God ; and may God fight against their enemies. May the Almighty give to you and your assistants an open door to the hearts of all the heathen."

The bitterest persecution arose in the midst of success; and after the brethren had triumphed over some of the machinations of their foes, the sheriff and three justices of the peace arrived at Shekomeko, and, in the name of the governor and council of New York, prohibited all religious meetings, commanded the missionaries to appear before the court, when an act was read to them, by which they were expelled from the country, under the old pretence of being in league with the French. The injustice of this act was acknowledged by every candid and unprejudiced person; and bishop Spangenberg made the following remarks in his journal :

"The nearer we approached to Shekomeko, the more veneration we found among all ranks of people for the great work of God in that place. The justice of the peace at Milsy accompanied us, and declared that he would rather suffer his right hand to be cut off, than treat the brethren conformably to the act passed against them, for he was thoroughly convinced the grace of God had, by their means, wrought miracles in that place. But when, upon our arrival, we were witnesses of it, then, dear brethren, dead indeed must that man be, who could refrain from shedding tears of joy and gratitude for the grace bestowed upon this people. It is impossible to express what is felt here; God has done the work. As we rode into

the town, we met a man standing by the road side, with a most remarkable countenance. We immediately thought of John, as described to us, and ventured to address him by that name; nor were we mistaken; he received us with great kindness, and brought us immediately to the missionaries. Then the venerable elder, Abraham, came to see us, saluted us, and though he was marked, after the Indian custom, with the figure of a snake on each cheek, yet the grace of our Saviour was so visible in his countenance, that we were struck with awe and amazement. The rest of the assistants came one after the other, and bade us welcome in the most affectionate manner. Indeed, there was not one of the congregation that did not express joy at our arrival. They appeared altogether as meek as lambs. While we were thus surrounded by our Indian brethren and sisters, I took up a Bible, and the following text occurred to me: 'Who-soever shall do the will of my Father who is in heaven, the same is my mother, and sister, and brother.' An Indian who had deviated from the right path, wished to be re-admitted; but the brethren could not trust him as yet. When we afterwards held a love-feast with all the baptized, seventy in number, he came likewise, stood at a distance, and looked upon his brethren with repentance and contrition in his countenance. We called him forward; upon which he went and sat down in a corner. During the love-feast the presence of the Lord was powerfully felt. I spoke of the happiness granted unto us, by virtue of the sacrifice made by Jesus Christ, appealing to their own experience, and they affirmed what I said to be true. Afterwards, Isaac exhorted the brethren to

be continually humble and low in their own eyes, never to forget the sufferings and death of Jesus, and not only to think on it in Shekomeko, but in the woods, and when out hunting. We closed our love-feast with prayer and supplication, and with tears commended these precious souls, and our venerable brethren who have laboured amongst them, to God, our Almighty Saviour, being greatly comforted and edified by their faith and firmness under such heavy trials."

The missionaries now deemed it not only prudent, but obligatory to obey the lawful authority of the State, and therefore retired, with heavy hearts, to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, which was originally built by colonists from Germany, being members of the brethren's church. To the minister, elders, and warden of this settlement, the superintendence of the Indian mission was committed. The meetings of the converts were, however, continued, and occasionally they were visited by their teachers. Once, when a large company was returning to Bethlehem, the circumstance of the wife of one of the missionaries being an Indian woman, furnished some ill-disposed justices at Sopus with a pretext for detaining them. They were insulted by the mob, and had to suffer much in the open street from cold and violent rain; and when at length they were permitted to proceed, they were loaded with curses and reproaches. On another occasion, two brethren were arrested at Albany, and after enduring many indignities, were taken to New York, and confined in prison for seven weeks.

Compelled to leave Shekomeko, ten families of christian emigrants went to Bethlehem, in

April, 1746; and land having been purchased, a town was laid out and built, to which they gave the name of Gnadenhuetten, or tents of grace. Other christian Indians from Shekomeko and Pachgatgoch, where zealous effort had been made, removed hither; so that, in a short time, it contained more inhabitants than the two former. The church stood in a valley; on one side, upon rising ground, were the Indian houses, forming a crescent, and on the other, the mission-house and the burying ground. Every Indian family had a plantation; and the road to other Indian towns lay through the settlement. In these various operations the brethren joined the Indians, and had their meals in common with them; but as the latter were unacquainted with building and husbandry, and unable to bear much fatigue, the greater part of the work fell on their teachers, which they cheerfully endured, considering it as done in the service of Christ. Meanwhile, the situation of the converts, who yet remained at Shekomeko and the neighbouring towns, became every day more embarrassing and trying. Some had been seduced to sinful practices, and others had imbibed prejudices against the missionaries. Most of them, however, became sensible of their errors, and were received by the brethren with open arms. One of them said, in the figurative style of the Indians, "I am a child, whose father loves him dearly, clothes him well, and gives him all he stands in need of; afterwards, the child becomes refractory, deserts his parent, and despises his counsel. At length the child, through his folly, loses all the good things he possessed, his clothes become ragged, nakedness and want

follow. Then, remembering how well he fared, he repents and weeps day and night, scarcely presuming to return. This is precisely my case."

The temporal support of the congregation was an object of constant care, and a neighbouring plantation was purchased for cultivation. A saw-mill was erected, many earned a little money, by cutting timber and conveying it to Bethlehem in floats; but hunting continued to be their chief support, and when provisions were scarce, they gathered wild honey, chestnuts, and bilberries in the woods. The congregation too increased to about five hundred persons; useful regulations were made, schools were established, and the christian spirit was happily exemplified, not only in peace and harmony, but in contentment amidst difficulties, and in patience under trials.

Assistants were raised up to the missionaries from the most experienced and gifted of the converts, who laboured with great zeal and fidelity, and always made the scriptures the foundation of their discourse; adding, "Thus hath God our Creator loved us; this he hath done to save us; every sinner may approach confidently unto him. Thus we have been taught; we have received the gospel, and experienced the truth of it." Sometimes they met with opposition. Once a savage declared, "That he had firmly resolved to continue in his Indian belief and manner of living; that he had once endeavoured to reform, and in this view spent some time with a christian moralist, who told him what he ought to do, but lived contrary to his own precepts; that he had also resided a long time among the white people, who had the 'great book' which taught them how to live, but that they lived

like Indians, committing all manner of evil; in short, that he had never seen a man who lived agreeably to the directions contained in that book." To this the assistants promptly replied: "Observe our teachers, they live according to the precepts contained in the 'great book,' we also endeavour to do it, and are happy in so doing." Others, who acknowledged the excellency of the doctrine, affirmed, "that it would be very impolitic in them not to have bad hearts, lest the white people, who were now afraid of them, chiefly on account of their bad hearts, should afterwards do with them what they pleased." The native teachers contradicted this statement, by quoting their own example: "When the traders come," said they, "and offer their rum to you, you suffer yourselves to be immediately deceived; you get drunk, and then they do with you what they please; therefore, your bad hearts cannot defend you against them, but make you an easy prey to their cunning. But when they come to us, we refuse their rum, and thus they cannot treat us as they please; our hearts, which believe in Jesus, resist their temptations and defend us against them."

Among the fruits of labour at this settlement, was Nicodemus, who, as a heathen, was exceeded by none in the practice of evil. He was, however, one of the first who experienced the power of the doctrines of the cross, and from being a man of turbulent spirit, he became patient and lowly, but strong in faith. In his conduct he was an example to all, and the change wrought in him was regarded with amazement. Gradually increasing in knowledge, he was appointed elder of the

congregation, and in this office obtained universal respect.

His language was highly figurative. Once, when looking at the mill, he said to a missionary, "Brother, I discover something that rejoices my heart. I have seen the great wheel, and many little ones; every one was in motion, and seemed all alive, but suddenly all stopped, and the mill was as dead. I then thought—surely all depends upon one wheel; if the water runs upon that, every thing else is alive; but when that ceases to flow, all appears dead. Just so it is with my heart, it is dead as the wheel; but as soon as Jesus' blood flows upon it, it gets life, and sets every thing in motion, and the whole man being governed by it, it becomes evident that there is life throughout. But when the heart is removed from the crucified Jesus, it dies gradually, and at length all life ceases."

On another occasion he said: "I crossed the Lecha to-day in a boat, and being driven into the rapid current, was forced down the stream, and nearly upset. I then thought—this is exactly the case of men who know not the Lord Jesus Christ, they are irresistibly hurried away by sin, cannot help themselves, and are in danger of being eternally lost; but as soon as our mighty Saviour takes the helm, we receive power to withstand the rapid stream of this world and sin."

When the doctrine of the Holy Spirit became more clear to his mind, he compared his body to a canoe, and his heart to the rudder; adding, "that the Holy Spirit was the master, sitting at the rudder and directing the vessel."

In his last illness, he thought much of the resurrection, and said: "I am now an old man, and shall soon depart to the Lord; my body will soon be interred in our burying ground, but it will rise most glorious; and when our Saviour shall call those who have fallen asleep in him, they will rise to newness of life and glory. At the same time, his countenance appeared as serene as that of an angel; he repeated his ardent desire to be at home with Christ, and assured his friends that his joy in the Lord had almost overpowered all sensation of pain, adding, "I am poor and needy, and therefore amazed at the love of my Lord Jesus Christ, who is always with me."

John was also an eminent christian and exceedingly useful. Few could vie with him as to Indian oratory; his discourses were full of animation, and his words penetrated like fire into the hearts of his countrymen. Whether at home, or on a journey, he could not forbear speaking of the great salvation, testifying of it alike to christians and heathens. As a chief he was also greatly respected, and no affairs of state were transacted without his advice and consent. He was faithful unto death, and was carried to the grave with many lamentations.

Another convert, named David, was of a kindred spirit. He was once conversing with a white man who visited the settlement, and inquired how it was, that though the white people could read and write, and knew enough of our Lord's incarnation, sufferings, and death, they could yet be so indifferent about him, and even hate him. The white man asked him in reply, whether he could read; he answered, "I have five significant letters,

which I study at home, and in the forest." The European asked, with astonishment, what letters they were, when the answer was—"They are the five wounds of my crucified Saviour; these I consider daily, and always find new lessons for my heart."

Other cases equally interesting might be given, but for the limits of this volume.

The labours of the brethren, at this period, were not confined to Gnadenhuetten. They improved every opportunity that offered for propagating the gospel, and undertook many difficult and perilous journeys. To gain entrance among the Iroquois, they made several visits to Shomokin and other towns on the Susquehannab, and by degrees established themselves there. The inhabitants of Shomokin being noted for ferocity and licentiousness, the missionaries witnessed many barbarous and profligate scenes, and were more than once in danger of being murdered by the intoxicated natives. During a journey to Onondago, the chief town of the Iroquois and the seat of the great council, a solemn league, executed with due Indian formalities, was made between the council and brethren, by which the latter obtained permission for two of them to reside in that country for the purpose of learning the language. But no permanent advantages were gained by these exertions. Their endeavours in other places were more successful.

In the summer of 1752, an embassy of Nantikoks and Shawanose, consisting in all of one hundred and seven persons, arrived at Gnadenhuetten, and formed a solemn league of friendship with the brethren. Another embassy of these tribes, attended

by three Iroquois Indians, and consisting of twenty-two persons, came to them in the following spring, and, to their no small astonishment, proposed to them to quit that settlement and remove to Wayomik, a town belonging to the Shawanose. They assigned no particular reason for this unexpected proposal. It appeared, however, in the sequel, that it was in reality an act of friendship; for as the savages were secretly determined to join the French in hostilities against the English, they wished to furnish a safe retreat to their countrymen of Gnadenhuetten, that they might the more easily fall upon the white people in those parts. In this view the Iroquois had called the Nantikoks from Wayomik into their neighbourhood, to make room for the christian Indians.

However unpleasant the projected removal was, the brethren would not interfere, lest the old calumny of intending to enslave the Indians should be revived; and, therefore, left their converts to act entirely as they pleased. After evincing considerable reluctance at quitting their pleasant settlement, and real sorrow at being thus separated from their teachers, upwards of eighty finally determined to remove to Wayomik and Neskopeko. After their arrival in these places, they were occasionally visited by some of the missionaries, who found them still walking in the fear of God, and that, by their zealous testimony of Christ and his atonement, they were made a blessing to their heathen countrymen. But their external situation was by no means desirable.

The missionaries were still lamenting the emigration of so many of their converts from Gnadenhuetten, when their sorrow was unexpectedly

turned into joy, by the arrival of the Indians from Meniologomekah. This enlivened the congregation, and animated the native assistants in the discharge of their duties. Their external troubles, however, did not end: they had not only a kind of tax imposed, to show their dependence on the Iroquois, but the following very singular message was sent them: "The great head, that is, the council in Onondago, speak the truth and lie not: they rejoice that some of the believing Indians have moved to Wayomik, but now they lift up the remaining Mahikans and Delawares,* and set them down also in Wayomik; for there a fire is kindled for them, and there they may plant and think on God; but if they will not hear, the great head will come and clean their ears with a red-hot iron (meaning they would set their houses on fire) and shoot them through the head with musquet-balls." The chief of the Shawanose, who delivered this message, then turned to the missionaries, earnestly requiring them not to hinder their converts from removing to Wayomik.

This message spread general consternation through Gnadenhuetten, especially the concluding address to the missionaries. It was soon discovered, that this proposal did not originate in the great council at Onondago, but with the Oneida tribe and the warlike Mahikans and Delawares, aided by some persons of consequence in Philadelphia, who thereby hoped to obtain some sinister end they had in view. The brethren left the inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten to their free choice, whether to go or stay, only warning them in an affectionate

* The inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten belonged to these nations.

manner, of the danger to which their souls might be exposed by their removal. This warning was addressed to them not without good reason, as some of the baptized had lately relapsed into heathenism, and even become the seducers of others. The address had the desired effect. Most of those whose conduct had been blameable, ingenuously owned their transgressions, begging forgiveness of the rest; which was granted with joy. The grace of God was, perhaps, never more evident, than in seeing an Indian, naturally obstinate and inflexible, appear before a whole body of people as a humbled sinner, and asking pardon of God and those whom he had offended. Thus most of them resolved to stay, and they remained firm to their resolution. When, shortly after, the message was repeated in a more stern tone, an Indian brother said: "What can the chief of the six nations give me in exchange for my soul? They never consider how that will fare at last." Another remarked: "God who made and saved me, can protect me, if he please; I am not afraid of the wrath of man; for not one hair of my head can fall to the ground without his will. And a third observed: "If even one of them should lift up his hatchet against me, and say, 'Depart from the Lord and the brethren,' I would not do it."

The congregation at Gnadenhuetten had now a short season of rest, and, walking in the fear of the Lord and the comforts of the Holy Ghost, was edified. The gospel had also free course in other places; but repose was of short duration. A cruel Indian war, occasioned by the contest between the English and French, broke out, spreading terror and confusion through the whole country. The first outrage was committed near Shomokin, where three of

the missionaries resided, but, through the mercy of God, they were all preserved, though exposed to continual danger. The inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten were not so fortunate. Being considered as friends to the British government, they were in the most imminent danger of being attacked by the Indians, in league with the French, and as the most dreadful reports reached them from all quarters, some were so much intimidated, that they fled into the woods. The greater part, however, stayed in the settlement, resigned to the Divine will, giving the most encouraging assurances, that they would not forsake each other, but remain united in life and death.

But God had otherwise ordained. Late in the evening of the 24th of November, 1755, while the missionaries were at supper, their attention was suddenly roused by the continual barking of dogs, which was followed by the report of a gun. On opening the door of the mission-house, they observed a party of hostile Indians standing before the house, with their pieces pointed towards the door. They immediately fired, and Martin Nitschman was killed on the spot. His wife and some others were wounded, but ran up stairs into the garret and barricadoed the door with bedsteads. Hither the savages pursued them; but not being able to force it open, they set fire to the house, which was soon enveloped in flames. Two of the brethren had previously made their escape by jumping out of a back window; and now a boy leaped down from the flaming roof, though not till one of his cheeks had been grazed by a ball, and his hand much burned. Sister Partsch, whose husband had escaped out of the window, likewise

ventured to leap down from the burning roof. Unobserved by the enemies, she hid herself behind a tree on rising ground, from whence she had a full view of the tragical scene. Brother Fabricius, in attempting to make his escape in the same manner, was perceived by the Indians, and instantly wounded by two balls. They then seized him, and having dispatched him with their hatchets, took his scalp and left him dead on the ground. Eleven persons belonging to the mission were burned alive, among whom was a child only fifteen months old. Sister Senseman, already surrounded by the flames, was heard to exclaim: "'Tis all well, dear Saviour! I expected nothing else." The murderers now set fire to the barns and stables, by which all the corn, hay, and cattle were consumed; and, having made a hearty meal, they departed.

How often may it be said, "Thy way, O Lord, is in the sea, and thy path in the great waters, and thy footsteps are not known!" At other times we may behold his goings, or, if a mystery appears in the Divine dispensations, it is soon unravelled. Thus the melancholy occurrence just related, proved the deliverance of the christian Indians; for on hearing the report of guns, seeing the flames, and learning the dreadful cause from those who escaped, they offered to attack the enemy without delay; but, being advised to the contrary, they all fled into the woods, and the settlement was thus in a few minutes cleared of its inhabitants. By the exertions and persuasions of the missionary Shebosh, who alone remained at Gnadenhuetten, most of the fugitive converts returned the next day. They now hoped to remain in safety, as, in consequence of a petition presented by the brethren at Bethlehem,

the governor of Pennsylvania sent a party of soldiers into these parts, for the protection of the christian Indians and the country in general. But, on new year's day, 1756, the savages attacked these troops, set fire to the settlement, and laid waste all the plantations; by which both the congregation and the missionaries were reduced to the greatest poverty.

Disastrous as were these events, they served to avert a far greater calamity. The adversaries of the brethren had secretly formed a design of overthrowing their whole establishment in North America. The most unfounded reports of their being in league with the French were industriously disseminated, and a base fabrication, purporting to be a letter written by a French officer, was inserted in the newspaper, in which he was represented as saying, that "the Moravians were their good friends, and would give them every assistance in their power against the English." A general suspicion was thus excited against them throughout the country, which went so far, that, in the Jerseys, proclamation was made, with beat of drum, that Bethlehem should be destroyed; and the most dreadful threats were added, that, in Bethlehem, Gnadenhuetten and other places, a carnage should be made, such as had never before been heard of in North America. It was afterwards ascertained that a party of a hundred men, who came to Bethlehem, was sent for the express purpose of raising a mob; but the kind and hospitable manner in which they were treated by the inhabitants, who were ignorant of their design, overcame their malice and softened their rage. It was not, however, till after the burning of Gnadenhuetten, that the

public feeling respecting the brethren underwent a complete revolution. Their adversaries were now convinced of the falsehood of the charges brought against them, as they were the first sufferers from the French. Many exclaimed, even with tears, "How greatly have we sinned against an innocent people! What should we have had to answer for, had we accomplished our design of exterminating the brethren, and murdering their men, women, and children, on the vague supposition that they were our enemies."

The reason thus given for the sufferings endured, should tend, with other considerations, to calm the mind. Jehovah is the same when his designs are impenetrable, as he is when they are fully explained. When "clouds and darkness are round about him, righteousness and judgment are still the attendants of his throne." This truth it will be well to remember, and particularly through the subsequent part of this narrative; while the faith that trusts in God, where it cannot trace him, may be strengthened and animated by the assurance, "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter."

A few of the Indian converts now fled to Wayomik, which they reached in safety; but the greater part flocked to Bethlehem, where they were lodged, clothed, and fed, with brotherly kindness. But this very circumstance rendered the situation of the brethren there peculiarly critical. The savages, on the one hand, insisted upon their taking up arms against the English, threatening to murder them in case of refusal. On the other hand, a set of fanatics arose, who demanded the total extirpation of all the Indians, lest God's vengeance

should fall upon the christians for not destroying them as the Israelites were commanded to do in the case of the Canaanites. These people were greatly incensed against Bethlehem, on account of the protection and assistance which were there granted to a race of beings, whom they considered accursed. The inhabitants of Bethlehem, therefore, looked upon themselves as sheep ready for slaughter; and never knew, when going to bed at night, whether they would rise the next morning.

In this critical and alarming situation, they preserved unshaken confidence in God. Their courage in maintaining their station, proved a comfort and protection to their neighbours; for, if they had fled, nothing could have obstructed the inroads of the savages. But, while they firmly relied on the help of the Lord, they neglected nothing that might tend to their safety. The settlement was surrounded by pallsades, and guarded, both night and day, by Europeans and Indians. This precaution proved the means of preserving the settlement, while many adjacent villages were laid in ashes.

The firmness of the brethren, and their good political regulations, induced great numbers of their distressed neighbours to take refuge with them. Several hundred women and children came from a distance, and with tears begged for shelter. All were admitted as long as there was any room; and thus not only Bethlehem, but the four contiguous settlements of Nazareth, Christiansbrun, Friedensthal, and the Rose, were crowded with fugitives. Though, in consequence of the war, their own resources were greatly exhausted, the brethren exerted themselves to the utmost of their

power to provide for their numerous guests. Thus wonderfully did the wisdom of God overrule passing events. The very people, who were but lately suspected of a secret correspondence with the enemy, now became the protectors and defenders of those, who, through ignorance, had aspersed their character and meditated their destruction.

Under the wings of Bethlehem the Indian congregation now enjoyed a season of repose. Some additional temporary dwellings were erected for them; the schools commenced anew, and were diligently attended, and three missionaries were appointed for their immediate service. Portions of the scripture, the litany, and several hymns were translated, and the children often met together, and in the German, Mahikan, and Delaware languages, sang the praises of God their Saviour. Thus Bethlehem assumed the appearance of a missionary settlement. Amidst much external poverty and distress, the grace of God ruled in the hearts of its inhabitants; and both the Indian converts and the original European colonists "showed forth the praises of Him, who had called them out of darkness into his marvellous light."

The residence of the Indians at Bethlehem, however, was attended with various difficulties; both the missionaries and the Indians themselves, therefore, wished to have a settlement of their own. Application being made to the governor, he readily acceded to this measure; and in June, 1757, a piece of land was assigned them, about a mile from Bethlehem, on which they erected a town, and called it Nain. Most of the converts who had been scattered by the late troubles, now sought permission to live here, and thus the new settlement

rapidly increased. The visits of savages to this place and Bethlehem, issued in the conversion of many. Among these instances of usefulness, one deserves particular mention. Papunhank had for some time set up for a preacher of morality among his people; but as his instructions had no influence, either on himself or his hearers, the latter began to doubt whether his doctrines were true. Having afterwards visited Nain, heard the gospel, and been present at a baptism, he was so overcome, that he burst into tears, and exclaimed: "O God, have mercy upon me, and grant that the death of my Saviour may be made manifest unto me!" On his return, he thus addressed his countrymen: "My dear people, I have told you many good things, and pointed out what I considered a good way, but I have now learnt that it was not the right way. If we wish to be saved, we must look to that Saviour whom the brethren preach." He was the first in Machwihilusing that was admitted to baptism, and his subsequent conduct gave good evidence of a real change. Intelligence was now received that the Indians had commenced fresh hostilities near the Canadian lakes and on the Ohio, where they had murdered several hundred settlers, and renewed their incursions into Pennsylvania. While contemplating a flight, the brethren were urged in the strongest manner to retire to the settlement at Nazareth, which like Bethlehem, was a colony of European brethren and sisters: While preparing for their departure, they were suddenly alarmed by the report of several muskets. The christian Indians, supposing that the savages had attacked the white people, resolved to go and defend them; but the missionary dissuaded them from this,

exhorting them to stand by each other, and expect deliverance from God. "Very true," replied one of them, "only don't you stand before me, but go behind, for I will be shot first." It was afterwards discovered that the firing proceeded from a party of soldiers. It was not, indeed, without extreme regret, that they left so pleasant a place, where they possessed excellent houses and large plantations; especially as they had to leave their harvest, and a great part of their cattle behind them.

Having joined their christian countrymen of Wechquetank, who had previously removed to Nazareth, the whole company set out on their pilgrimage in the afternoon of the 8th of November, accompanied by the missionaries Grube, Schmick, David Zeisberger, and John Rothe, with the wives of the two former, under the conduct of the sheriff; who cared for them like a father. It was a most affecting sight to behold these people, among whom were many aged, infirm, and sick, besides pregnant women and young children, proceeding patiently along the road, ignorant of their future fate. Though waggons were provided for the sick, the aged, and the children, yet they suffered much from fatigue and other hardships, and still more from the malice of some settlers, who loaded them with abuse and execrations.

Having, on the 11th of November, arrived at Philadelphia, they were ordered to be lodged in the barracks; but, notwithstanding the positive order of government, the soldiers forcibly refused them admittance. The poor Indians were kept standing in the street for five hours. A mob soon collected, who derided, reviled, and charged them with all the outrages committed by the savages, threatening

to kill them on the spot, which they would no doubt have done, had the Indians returned evil for evil. The zealous interference of the missionaries in behalf of their beloved converts, exposed them to the most imminent danger from the fury of the populace.

The magistrates at length interposed, ordering them to proceed six miles further to Province Island, in the river Delaware, where they were lodged in some large buildings. In passing through the city, thousands followed them with such tumultuous clamour, that they appeared like sheep among wolves. Here they settled as well as circumstances would permit, and regulated their daily meetings for worship, which proved a great comfort to them. Several gentlemen in Philadelphia, especially some quakers, humanely interested themselves in their behalf, and they were kindly supplied by government with whatever they needed.

They had not been here long, when intelligence was received that Wechquetank had been burnt by some of the settlers, and that some incendiaries had endeavoured to set fire to Bethlehem, and actually laid the oil-mill in ashes, the adjoining water-works having been with great difficulty saved from destruction. The brethren, therefore, were truly thankful, that the christian Indians had found a safe retreat in Province Island; and their gratitude was increased when they were informed of an act of horrid cruelty, committed by some white people, calling themselves christians. Fifty-seven of these barbarians attacked a party of peaceable Indians in the village of Canestoga near Lancaster, and murdered fourteen of them in their huts. The rest fled to Lancaster, where the magistrates lodged

and protected them in the workhouse, a strong and well secured building. But the white savages pursued them, marched into the town at noon-day, broke into the workhouse, and though the Indians on their knees begged their lives, they inhumanly murdered them all, and threw their mangled bodies into the streets. They then departed with a dreadful shout of victory, threatening that the Indians in Province Island should share the same fate.

So general and inveterate was the rage of the white people, and such the state of anarchy and insubordination in the country, that, in defiance of every proclamation from government, they boldly avowed their determination to massacre all the christian Indians. This induced the government to send them, by way of New York, to the English army. Late in the evening of January 4, 1764; they received orders to this effect, and before midnight embarked in some boats, proceeding by water to a place about five miles from Philadelphia, which city they reached almost unobserved early in the morning. The commissary, Mr. Fox, having kindly supplied them with blankets, and provided waggons for the aged, the sick, and the children, and for the heavy baggage, they set out accompanied by the missionaries. The pressure of the immense crowd which had collected was so great, that they could hardly proceed; the mob, in the most shocking manner, cursed and reviled them; but, being escorted by a company of seventy Highlanders, no one ventured to lay hands on them. In every town through which they passed, they were insulted by the populace; but God mercifully prevented serious mischief, and in about a week they safely reached Amboy, where two sloops lay

ready to carry them to New York. They were just preparing to embark, when, very unexpectedly, strict orders arrived from the governor of New York, that no Indian should set foot on that territory; and even the ferry-men were prohibited, under a severe penalty, from conveying them across the river.

They were now lodged in the barracks at Amboy, waiting for further orders. Here they held their daily meetings; and, as great numbers of strangers attended, divine service was performed in the open air. Their devotion and good behaviour excited general admiration, and many conceived a more favourable opinion of them. A soldier once said: "Would God, that all the white people were as good christians as these Indians."

Orders having meanwhile arrived from Philadelphia for their return to that city, the Indians cheerfully obeyed, confident that the Lord, in his inscrutable wisdom, had directed their toilsome peregrinations for some gracious purposes. This journey was often rendered peculiar dangerous in crossing the frozen rivers, the ice not being every where sufficiently firm. Their daily meetings, which they never suspended during their travels, were attended by many white people with astonishment and edification.

Having safely reached Philadelphia on the 24th of January, 1764, they were for security lodged in the barracks, and attended by a military guard day and night. As the fury and number of the mob still increased, the magistrates were obliged to adopt more serious measures. The guard was doubled, eight pieces of cannon were planted before the barracks, and a rampart thrown up in the middle of the square. The citizens, some of whom

were young quakers, took up arms and repaired to the barracks in defence of the Indians. Twice the rebels prepared for an attack, but being fully informed of the measures of defence taken by government, abandoned their murderous design. Upon this some gentlemen were deputed to inquire into their complaints. After much insolent behaviour, they asserted that there were several murderers among the christian Indians, whom they had seen at Pittsburg, and demanded that they should be delivered up. To pacify them, one of the ring-leaders was admitted into the barracks; but after very strict examination of all the Indians, he did not find an individual chargeable with the smallest crime. Another allegation, that the quakers had secreted six of them, proving equally unfounded, tranquillity was finally restored.

During their residence in the barracks, which lasted rather more than a year, they regularly held their meetings for religious worship, which, on Sundays, were frequented by such crowds of people, that the chapel could not contain them; yet the greatest silence and order were preserved, and in several instances the gospel was accompanied with saving power. At stated times they observed the ordinance of the Lord's supper, and some were admitted to baptism. The missionary Grube even commenced an English school, and the Indian youths took great delight in learning. Though the visits of strangers were occasionally inconvenient, yet they tended to convince many ill-disposed persons of the innocence of the Indians, and of their true conversion to God.

To the Indians, however, their present situation was a severe trial, and to some even more afflicting

than all their past dangers. The food, to which they had not been accustomed, was no more conducive to their health, than the want of exercise and proper employment was congenial to their minds and habits. Their close confinement became insupportable and revolting to their notions of independence and liberty. This was especially the case with the young people; some grew low-spirited, others dissatisfied and even refractory; and many suffered harm by their intercourse with the unconverted Indians, quartered in the same barracks. This caused the missionaries much grief and perplexity, being, on the one hand, obliged to bear all the complaints of the dissatisfied, and, on the other, aware that government justly looked to them for the maintenance of good order and subordination. As summer advanced, fevers and the small-pox broke out amongst them, which occasioned such terror, that many meditated an escape from the barracks. But God so evidently blessed the endeavours of the missionaries, that their uneasiness was changed into resignation to the will of the Lord. No less than fifty-six persons departed this life, many of them not only with composure, but in full assurance of eternal glory.

Among the christian Indians lodged in the barracks, none suffered more than one named Renatus. He had been thrown into prison on a charge of murder; and, during his confinement of eight months, three of his nearest relatives were the prey of infectious disease. When informed of this, he burst into tears, and said: "This is almost too much to bear; to lose my father, my wife, and my child, while I myself am confined in prison." The missionaries frequently visited him in his cell, where

he spent his time in reading and prayer. On his trial, a verdict of "not guilty" was returned, and he was immediately set at liberty. This decision was of great service to the brethren, as it frustrated the aim of their enemies to cast odium on the Indians, and general suspicion on the mission.

CHAPTER VIII.

Cessation of Hostilities.—Perilous Journey.—Settlement at Friedenshuetten.—Delawares and Senecas.—Settlement at Friedenstadt.—The Chief Glikkikan.—Settlement on the Muskingum.—Violence of the Savages.—The Murderer Converted.—Striking Comparison.—Effect of the Christian Spirit.—Settlement at Lichtenau.—Translations.—Embassy to the Hurons.—Favourable Issue.—Increasing Danger.—Hasty Flight.—Treatment of Prisoners.—The Missionaries Peace-makers.—Painful Circumstances.—Providential Escape of Brother Zeisberger.—Advancement of Religion.—Interesting Converts.—Eagerness for Instruction.—The Shawanose converted.—Suspicion against the Indians.—The Delaware Chief.—Alarming Outrages.—The Missionaries made Prisoners.—Emigration Necessary.

HOSTILITIES having at length terminated, and peace being restored, the directors of the mission.

lost no time in endeavouring to obtain an eligible place as a settlement for the christian Indians, and for this purpose preferred the country on the banks of the Susquehannah. The government readily acceded to their proposal, permitted them to leave the barracks, and liberally supplied them with all necessaries. Mr. Fox even procured a grant, by which they were provided with flour, from the time of their arrival on the Susquehannah, till their newly planted Indian corn should be ripe. Before their departure, the Indian brethren delivered an address of thanks to the governor, for the kindness he had manifested towards them, which was signed by four in the name of the rest, and graciously received.

On March 20th, 1765, they left the barracks in Philadelphia and commenced their journey, resting a few days at Nain and Bethlehem. The animosity of the white people not having yet subsided, they were obliged to take a very circuitous route, which rendered the journey tedious and difficult. The road lay through extensive forests, frequently without a path, so that they had to cut their way for miles through the woods, and to ford many rivers. The men generally waded through, and constructed rafts for the women and children. Some rivers were so broad and deep, that they were obliged to encamp on the banks till they had built a sufficient number of canoes to cross them. In some places they were obliged to unload the wagons, and carry the luggage over high, steep, and craggy hills. When they halted in the evening, every family erected a hut for the night, keeping up a large fire. All the fatigue and toils of the day were forgotten, when, at night, they as-

sembled in the open air, round a large fire, to return thanks to the Lord for his mercies during the day, and to supplicate his protection for the night. Their greatest difficulty arose from the want of provisions, whenever they passed through a territory which afforded neither game nor fish. Those who had any thing in store were always ready to divide it with the rest. Their whole stock of flour being at length nearly consumed, it was a truly affecting sight to see them receive their last portion. They occasionally found wild potatoes, and hunger overcame the unpleasant taste of these roots. At other times they peeled chestnut trees, and sucked the juice oozing out under the bark, which is very sweet, and was particularly palatable to the children. Frequently they had no other drink than muddy water found in puddles. One night they were greatly terrified, the woods being on fire, and burning with great fury round their encampment till one o'clock in the morning. Some died by the way, in consequence of these various hardships. Having, after many toilsome wanderings, reached the Susquehannah, they obtained a few boats, some sailing up the river, and others travelling along its banks, and arrived at Machwihilusing, after a journey of five weeks.

Having fixed on a convenient spot, they immediately began to erect a town, which, when completed, consisted of thirteen Indian huts, and upwards of forty houses built of wood in the European manner, besides a dwelling for the missionaries. In the middle of the street, which was eighty feet broad, stood a large and neat chapel. The adjoining ground was laid out in gardens, and between the town and the river, about two hundred and fifty

acres were divided into regular plantations of Indian corn. The burying-ground was situated at some distance at the back of the buildings. Each family had its own boat. To this place they gave the name of Friedenshuetten.

This new settlement soon assumed a very flourishing appearance. The inhabitants were industrious, and dwelt together in peace and unity. Many Indians visited the place, admiring the fine situation and the good order maintained in the town. But, what afforded the missionaries the greatest delight, was the salutary impressions which appeared to be made on some, so that the number of the congregation rapidly increased, and, in less than two years, rendered the erection of a larger chapel necessary. Indeed, the change observable in the believing Indians was so striking, that the heathen visitors were not unfrequently constrained to confess, "that the words of the brethren must be true, for otherwise it would be impossible that the mere belief of them should make their converts willing to deny the world and every ungodly lust, and, at the same time, be so serene and cheerful in their looks and behaviour."

This pleasing and tranquil course was occasionally interrupted by the unbecoming behaviour of some of the heathen visitors, and still more by the white traders, who dealt chiefly in rum, and often came to the settlement for the purpose of traffic, occasioning much levity and dissipation among the young people. The missionaries, not wishing to have the appearance of usurping any jurisdiction over the Indians, left it to the native assistants and heads of families, to whom the police of the town was committed, to adopt such measures as might

prevent this evil in future. And their exertions in this respect were in a great measure successful.

In autumn, 1767, the missionary Zeisberger and two of the Indian assistants made a journey to the Ohio, intelligence having been received, that some Indians in that part of the country were desirous of hearing the gospel. Their intention was first to visit Goshgoshuenk, though they everywhere received the most unfavourable accounts of its inhabitants. On this journey they had to encounter many difficulties, having to travel through an extensive wilderness.

Their road lay partly through the territory of the Delawares, and partly through that of the Seneca Indians. On reaching the first town, inhabited by the latter, the appearance of a white man was so unusual a sight, that one of the inhabitants immediately rode off to announce his arrival to the chief of the next town, a distance of nearly thirty miles. Having reached this place, the chief, taking brother Zeisberger for a spy, at first treated him rather roughly; but, won by his conciliatory and affable manner and the disinterestedness of his views, he became very friendly, and conducted him to his house. Zeisberger seized this favourable opportunity to preach the gospel to him; but the chief declared, with great warmth, that this word of God was not intended for the Indians. He, however, granted them permission to proceed to Goshgoshuenk; adding a serious caution against trusting the people of that place, who had not their equals in wickedness and cruelty.

Not intimidated by this and similar reports, but rather considering the profligacy of the place the most cogent reason for visiting it, they prosecuted

their route and reached it in safety. They soon found that the reports they had heard were but too true. Zeisberger remarks, that he had no where seen the abominations of heathenism practised in such a horrid and shameless manner as in this place: it seemed to be the very seat of Satan. Notwithstanding the crying wickedness of the inhabitants, the missionary and his companions were well received, and their doctrine, from its novelty, so engaged the attention of the inhabitants, that they could not hear enough of it, and requested the Indian brethren to repeat and explain it to them more fully. Before their departure, the Indians assembled a council, and Zeisberger asked whether they would permit a teacher to reside among them. To this they unanimously assented; and, though obstacles afterwards arose, a settlement was made at Lawunhakhamick, about fifteen miles distant. Another place was also visited by one of the missionaries. His testimony concerning Jesus was accompanied with great power. The people were frequently melted into tears; and this was more remarkable, because weeping is an expression of feeling which the Indians consider unmanly. One of them remarked: "I would not have wept, if my enemies had cut my flesh from my bones: that I now weep is of God, who hath softened the hardness of my heart."

The re-commencement of hostilities, after a season of success, required another removal, and led to the building and planting of Friedenstadt, or the Town of Peace, near the Delaware town of Kaskaskunk, on a site allotted by the chiefs, who had repeatedly urged their settlement among them. Still grievous trials were their lot. But the number

of hearers was daily augmented, among whom was a man who had lost his scalp in the war, and another who had belonged to the party that murdered the brethren at the settlement on the Mahony, some years before. This man was often so much affected in hearing the word, that he shed floods of tears. The first person baptized at this place, was the wife of a blind and aged chief, who formerly opposed, with the utmost violence, his embracing the gospel, but who now submitted to the yoke of the Redeemer. On the occasion of administering the sacred rite, the presence of God seemed to pervade the whole assembly; and the missionaries, overcome with joy, determined to maintain their post, though it should be at the expence of life. Among others, a chief named Glikkikan, who first came to dispute with them and to confound them, now took their side, notwithstanding the obloquy and danger to which it exposed him. One day, after hearing a discourse, he wept aloud on his way home. The Indians were amazed at the sight, but the brethren rejoiced in this evidence of the power of the gospel to melt the proud and stubborn heart even of a wild and savage chief. He, and another of their captains, were, at length, baptized together, and both of them adorned the doctrine of God our Saviour.

Meanwhile, the congregation at Friedenshuetten resolved to leave that place and retire, at least for a time, to Friedenstadt. Powerful reasons urged them to this course. Amidst many difficulties and trials they arrived at their place of destination, and met with a most affectionate reception.

Friedenshuetten was not designed for a permanent settlement. Both the congregations, indeed, had lately received a kind invitation from the chief

and council of a town on the river Muskingum, to reside in that part of the country, on whatever tract of land they chose. Zeisberger, accordingly, undertook a journey thither in order to fix on a suitable spot. Here he pitched on a place about seventy miles south of Lake Erie, with an excellent spring, a small lake, good planting grounds, plenty of game, and various other conveniences for an Indian town. This had been actually destined for them; it was, therefore, granted to them, and every arrangement was made to secure their peace and usefulness. Here a new town was begun, called Shoenbrun, or the beautiful spring. Not long after, a great part of the Indian congregation removed from Friedenstadt to the Muskingum, and built a settlement, which was named Gnadenhuetten.

The situation of the congregation at Friedenstadt now became more alarming than ever. The daily encroachments of their Indian neighbours occasioned extreme perplexity, and the pernicious consequences of the trade in rum were altogether insupportable. Sometimes the savages brought a great quantity of spirits close to the town, and there they drank, and danced, and raved, like so many maniacs. After becoming intoxicated, they frequently entered the settlement, rambled through the town, and broke every window that happened to be open, so that the inhabitants were at last under the necessity of fastening their shutters, and burning candles even by day. Nothing, indeed, but the providence of God, preserved the settlement from destruction. In several instances, when they entered the town, intent on mischief, they quarrelled among themselves, and, instead of injuring the missionaries, or the christian Indians, they

attacked and mangled one another with their knives in the most brutal manner. Some, however, burst open the doors of several houses, and rushed forward, brandishing their arms, and threatening to murder every one of the family. These outrages rose at length to such a height, that the christian Indians, much against their inclination, were under the necessity of seizing several of the rioters, and keeping them bound till they became sober, lest they should proceed to still greater excesses. One day, a savage came running into the settlement, exclaiming, he would kill the white man. Having proceeded at full speed to the house of the missionary, he burst open the door, and entered the room with all the fury of a wild beast. The missionary's wife being extremely terrified, snatched up her child, and instantly fled; but the missionary himself, who was confined by sickness, sat up in bed, and looked at him with the utmost composure. Disconcerted by this, he suddenly stopped short, and the Indian brethren hastening to the assistance of their teacher, seized and bound the wretch with ease. Their circumstances, indeed, were so extremely troublesome, that the remainder of the congregation removed, in the spring of 1773, and proceeded to join their friends on the banks of the Muskingum.

Meanwhile, the congregation in that quarter was not without its vicissitudes and trials. Not only did the petty wars of the Indians still continue, but hostilities, at length, commenced between some of them and the inhabitants of Virginia, which created such trouble and confusion throughout the whole country, that, for a considerable time, the brethren's settlements scarcely enjoyed a single day

of rest; and, in consequence of the rage of the savages against the white people, the missionaries, in particular, were often in danger of their life. Numerous troops of warriors marched through the settlements, some upon murdering expeditions, others returning with scalps and prisoners, uttering frequent and dreadful threatenings that both places should soon be surprised and burnt to the ground.

But, in the midst of these external trials, the settlements of the brethren were not only preserved in safety, but enjoyed internal prosperity. The chapel at Shoenbrunn, though it held about five hundred people, was now too small for the number of hearers. Multitudes of strangers visited the settlement, and heard the gospel; many of the warriors were impressed by the word, and several even of the chiefs were at length baptized. About this time, a man, who was sent away from Gnadenhuetten on account of his ill behaviour, was so exasperated at his expulsion, that, having painted himself all over black, he entered the house of brother Schmick, the missionary, armed with a large knife, and intent on revenge. Not finding him at home, he went away, and having soon recollected himself, acknowledged his guilt and his unhappy condition. He then earnestly begged to be re-admitted into the congregation, and it was not long before Schmick had the pleasure of baptizing his intended murderer. Another Indian, who had been appointed successor to a neighbouring chief, declined the offer, choosing rather to embrace christianity than obtain that honour. The observations which some of them made were often remarkably pleasing, and the similes they employed peculiarly striking: "When my first born

came into the world," said a stranger, "I was impatient to see the child. When I saw it, I thought, 'This child has God made.' Indeed, I loved it so much that I could not forbear looking at it continually. Soon after, however, the child died, and I mourned over it to such a degree, that nothing would comfort me. I had no rest night nor day; my child was always in my thoughts, for my very heart cleaved to it. At last I could bear the house no longer, but ran into the woods, and almost lost my senses. The Indians then advised me to take an emetic, to get rid of my sorrow. I did so; but my love for the child, and my sorrow for its loss, were not diminished, and I returned to the woods. From this," added he, "I conclude that those who love God are disposed towards him, as I was toward the child I so dearly loved; they can never forget him, nor find rest or pleasure in any thing else." Another of their visitors expressed his surprise that he was required to pay nothing for the missionary's sermons: "I have been here," said he, "three days, and have heard many excellent words without paying any wampom. It is not so among the Indians. When you want to learn any thing from the old and wise men, you must first give them strings and belts of wampom, otherwise they will not instruct you."*

* Wampom is an Iroquois word, signifying a muscle. A number of these muscles, cut and polished, and strung together, is called a "string of wampom," and several of these strings tied together, a "belt of wampom." Every transaction of moment, either between the Indians themselves, or with the white people, is ratified and made valid by strings or belts of wampom. Upon the delivery of a string, a long speech is made; but when a belt is given, a few words only are spoken. Whenever the speaker has pronounced some

During the war, there was such a striking contrast between the conduct of the christian and the pagan Indians, even with regard to external circumstances, as places, in a striking and interesting light, the beneficial influence of the gospel, in ameliorating the tempers, views, and manners of the wildest and most uncultivated savages. The former, notwithstanding the frequent interruptions to which they were exposed, laboured with diligence at their usual avocations,—sowing their fields, planting their gardens, boiling sugar, &c.; while the latter neglected work of every kind, and would, at length, have been reduced to starvation, had not their christian countrymen generously relieved their wants so long as it was in their power. Indeed, they not only supplied the needy, but provided many of the warriors who marched through their settlements, with food and other necessaries,—a circumstance which not only surprised the pagan Indians, but had a happy effect in lessening their prejudices. On one of these occasions, a

important sentence, he delivers a string of wampom, adding, “I give this string of wampom as a confirmation of what I have spoken.” But the chief subject of his discourse he confirms with a belt. The answers returned must also be confirmed by strings and belts of wampom of the same size and number with those received. Neither the colour nor other qualities of the wampom are matters of indifference, but have an immediate reference to those things which they are designed to confirm. Brown or deep violet (called black by the Indians), always means something of severe and doubtful import; but white is the colour of peace. Thus a warning against evil, or a serious reproof, is confirmed by a black string or belt of wampom. In case of war, the belt is black, or marked with red, called by them the “colour of blood,” having in the middle the figure of a hatchet in white wampom.

captain said, "I have found your people to be very different from what I heard of them in our towns. There, it is declared, that when a strange Indian comes to you, he is sent to make his fire in the wood, and can get nothing to eat; but it is false, for we have all been fed and lodged by you. In the neighbouring town, the inhabitants made wry faces at us; but here, all the men, women, and even the children, made us welcome." Such was the success with which the brethren had infused their own mild benevolent spirit into the Indians under their care.

Indeed, the Indians who had originally invited them into this part of the country, were now so much impressed in their favour, that they not only ratified their former acts, but sent an embassy to them, requesting that a third settlement might be established in their neighbourhood. Their address, on this occasion, was to the following effect:—"Brothers and friends! You told us, upon your arrival, that you intended to build two or three towns for the believing Indians. Two are erected, and we perceive that they are already filled with inhabitants. We, therefore, having long ago resolved to receive the gospel, have thought, upon mature deliberation, that it is now time to build the third town, that those of our people who believe, may have a place of refuge. We, therefore, desire you to begin as soon as possible. We wish particularly to see our children instructed in reading the holy scriptures, that they may never forget them. Our eyes look towards you, for we are not able to accomplish it ourselves." Encouraged by this message, the brethren proceeded to form a new missionary station, which they called Lichtenau,

and they had soon the satisfaction to find that a better situation could not have been chosen for the purpose. In the neighbouring town, and in other places, many of the Indians became concerned about their souls; and as all who appeared truly in earnest were permitted to reside in the settlement, it was not long before it increased both in numbers and extent.

At the end of 1776, the christian Indians amounted to four hundred and fourteen persons, who now resided in three different settlements, at no great distance from each other, and promoted one another's comfort and edification by the intercourse which subsisted between them. About this time, the Delaware Spelling-book and Grammar, compiled by David Zeisberger, and printed at Philadelphia, was introduced into the schools, and afforded great pleasure to the young people. Besides this work, the missionaries translated various passages of scripture, and a number of hymns, both into the Mohegan and Delaware languages, which were in constant use in the congregation. But while the mission was, in this manner, extending its boundaries, its progress was suddenly checked by the war which had now commenced between Great Britain and the colonies. And as, in consequence, various evils arose, the brethren retired with their people, for a season, to the other two settlements.

In August, 1777, the brethren received information that two hundred Huron warriors, under a chief called Half-king, were on their march to the settlement of Lichtenau. This intelligence caused, at first, no small alarm; but, after mature deliberation, they resolved to show no symptoms of apprehension or fear, but rather to gain the savages

by hospitality and kindness. They accordingly lost no time in killing oxen and pigs, and preparing other kinds of provision for them; and it may be remarked, to the honour of the christian Indians, that their liberality on this occasion was truly remarkable, for they considered it as the only means of saving their beloved teachers. The warriors, on their arrival at the neighbouring town, were no less pleased than surprised at meeting a number of the congregation from Lichtenau with provisions for them; and, as this put them in good-humour, an embassy was sent to the Half-king, and the other chiefs of the Hurons, when the christian Indian, Glikkikan, addressed them in the following manner:—

“ Uncle! We, your cousins,* the congregation of believing Indians at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, rejoice at this opportunity to see and to speak with you. We cleanse your eyes from all the dust, and whatever the wind may have carried into them, that you may see your cousin with clear eyes and a serene countenance. We cleanse your ears and hearts from all evil reports, which an evil wind may have conveyed into them on the journey, that our words may find entrance into your ears, and a place in your hearts.” Here he delivered a string of wampom, and then proceeded: “ Uncle, hear the words of the believing Indians, your cousins, at Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten. We wish you to know that we have received and believed the word of God for upwards of thirty years, and meet daily to hear it, morning and evening. You

* The several tribes of Indians consider themselves as standing in certain relations to each other, as grandfathers, uncles, brothers, &c.

must also know that we have our teachers dwelling amongst us, who instruct us and our children. By this word of God preached unto us by our teachers, we are taught to keep peace with all men, and to consider them as friends; for thus God has commanded us, and therefore we are lovers of peace. These, our teachers, are not only our friends; but we consider and love them as our flesh and blood. Now, as we are your cousins, we most earnestly beg of you, uncle, that you also would consider them as your own body, and as your cousins. We and they make but one body, and therefore cannot be separated; and whatever you do unto them, you do unto us, whether it be good or evil." Here he delivered a second string of wampom, several fathoms in length, when the Half-king of the Hurons replied, that these words had penetrated his heart, and that he would immediately consult with his warriors concerning them. Having done this, he returned the following answer to the deputies:—

"Cousins! I am very glad and feel great satisfaction, that you have cleansed my eyes, ears, and heart from all evil, conveyed into me by the wind on this journey. I am upon an expedition of an unusual kind; for I am a warrior, and am going to war; and therefore many evil things and evil thoughts enter into my head, and even into my heart. But thanks to my cousin, my eyes are now clear, so that I can behold him with a serene countenance. I rejoice that I can hear my cousins with open ears, and take their words to heart." Having here delivered a string of wampom, and repeated all the words of the deputies relative to the missionaries, he expressed his approbation of them, and then added, "Go on as hitherto, and

suffer no one to molest you. Obey your teachers, who speak nothing but good unto you, and instruct you in the ways of God, and be not afraid that any harm shall be done unto them. No creature shall hurt them. Attend to your worship, and never mind other affairs. Indeed, you see us going to war, but you may remain quiet and easy."

During these negotiations, the brethren at Lichtenau were under strong apprehensions respecting the event of this embassy. It had, indeed, been agreed, that should the Half-king speak in a rough angry tone, the deputies should instantly send a messenger at full speed to that place, so that the congregation might have an opportunity of taking flight before he concluded his speech. As their apprehensions were so strong, their joy was proportionably greater, when the negotiation took so favourable a turn. Every heart was filled with gratitude and praise to God, who had so graciously heard the numberless prayers which were presented to him at this critical juncture.

The Half-king and his warriors came the same day to Lichtenau, and behaved in a very peaceable friendly manner. He was joined by a great number of other savages, Hurons, Iroquois, Ottaways, Chippeways, Shawanose, Wampanose, Pitawontakas, and some Frenchmen; but yet he maintained good order, and would allow of no extravagance among them. He was particularly careful to prevent all drunkenness, knowing that it would soon be followed by murder and bloodshed, and other evils. Sometimes two hundred of the warriors lay all night in the neighbourhood of Lichtenau; and though they behaved with remarkable quietness, considering they were savages, yet the maintenance

of such a number of people, many of whom came dancing before the houses, asking for bread and tobacco, proved at last extremely troublesome; and therefore, the inhabitants were happy when they took their departure, especially as so much rum had lately been imported from Pittsburg into that part of the country, that the whole neighbourhood became one scene of drunkenness and riot.

The dangers to which the missionaries in particular were now exposed, were so numerous and great, that it was judged expedient that most of them should leave the Indian country for the present, and retire to Bethlehem. Two only remained behind, Zeisberger at Lichtenau, and Edwards at Gnadenhuetten, places twenty miles distant from each other. They, however, paid visits to one another, participating most cordially in each other's joys and sorrows; and though they saw nothing before them but troubles, hardships, and dangers, they determined to remain with their beloved Indian congregation, even though it should be attended by the sacrifice of life. Both they and their people, indeed, were kept in continual alarm, by the rumours which were daily circulated through the country. One day, they heard that an American general had arrived at Pittsburg, who would give no quarter to the Indians, whether friends or foes, being resolved to root them all out of the country; and it was said, that several plans were formed for destroying Lichtenau and Gnadenhuetten, and other Delaware towns. One rumour after another proclaimed the approach of the Americans; and as the christian Indians were resolved to take no part in the war, there remained no alternative but to prepare for flight. A spot of

ground on the banks of a neighbouring river was accordingly pitched on as a place of rendezvous for the two congregations ; and every family packed up their goods, to be ready to fly on the first emergency. One night, an express arrived at both the settlements, with an account of the approach of the enemy. The two congregations immediately fled, with their teachers, in canoes ; and, indeed, it was with such precipitation, that they left the greater part of their goods behind. They met at the place appointed, and there encamped, expecting every hour to hear of a dreadful engagement in the neighbourhood of Lichtenau. Happily, however, before day-break, they received intelligence, that what had been taken for an American army, was nothing more than a great number of horses in the woods. Soon after, indeed, a troop of American freebooters set off, contrary to the express orders of the governor of Pittsburg, to destroy the Delaware towns, and of course the missionary settlements among the rest ; but being met by the half-king of the Hurons, and his warriors, they were entirely defeated, and the greater part of them slain.

The Hurons, who were in the interest of England, continued to carry on hostilities against the Americans ; and the most dismal accounts were received, from time to time, of the ravages and murders committed by them, and other Indians, in the plantations of the white settlers ; by whom, also, similar cruelties were practised on them. The missionaries and their people were often shocked to behold the savage warriors, on their return from their murderous expeditions, leading captive men, women, and children ; or what was

still more distressing, carrying their dead bodies and scalps through the town. The christian Indians showed great compassion to the unfortunate prisoners, supplied them with food, and would never suffer them to be scourged or abused in any form in the settlement, according to the Indian custom, whenever warriors pass through a town with captives. The savages were often greatly incensed at this compassionate prohibition, yet nevertheless they had to obey. Among the prisoners, there was an old man of a venerable appearance, together with two youths. The christian Indians greatly commiserated his situation, and offered a large sum to the warriors for his ransom, but it was all in vain. When the savages arrived in their own town, the two youths were tortured and burnt alive, according to the cruel manner in which the Indians usually treated their unfortunate prisoners. The old man was condemned to a similar fate; but being informed of this by a child, he contrived to make his escape, and fled into the woods. The savages pursued him; but happily he eluded their search, and reached the neighbourhood of Lichtenau in safety. He was able, however, to proceed no further, as he was quite exhausted with fatigue and hunger, having eaten nothing but grass for ten days. Here one of the christian Indians found him, lying in the woods, more like a corpse than a living creature. Being brought, though with much difficulty, to the settlement, the poor man was there taken care of; and, after his recovery, conveyed in safety to Pittsburg.

During this period, indeed, many troops of warriors were prevailed on, by the friendly persuasions of the christian Indians, to relinquish their murder-

ous designs, and return to their homes, by which means much bloodshed was happily prevented. By the influence of the missionaries and the congregation, the Delaware chiefs were confirmed in their resolution to take no part in the war, notwithstanding the threats, as well as entreaties, of the governor of Detroit; and by the neutrality of the Delawares, many other Indian tribes were kept at peace, being unwilling to offend that powerful nation, which they called their grandfather. The government at Pittsburg, acknowledged the deportment of the Indian congregation to be a benefit to the whole country; and colonel Morgan observed, with gratitude, that the fury of the Indian warriors, was, on the whole, greatly mitigated by the influence of their christian countrymen.

At length, however, the Delaware Indians, seduced by the arts of the English, took up arms against the colonies. Now they not only ceased to be the friends of the missionaries and the congregation, but, by degrees, they became their enemies, considering them as a check on their conduct, and a hinderance to the accomplishment of their designs. Many were the remarkable escapes of the missionaries from the dangers which menaced them. In the summer of 1778, they learned that the governor of Detroit intended to send a party of English and Indian warriors to carry them off; but afterwards they heard that the design was frustrated, by the sudden death of the captain appointed to command the expedition; whose place could not immediately be supplied. During the following summer, their danger was still more imminent; there seemed, indeed, no possibility of their escaping. An army, consisting of English and

Indian troops, marching from Detroit to Fort Lawrence, had already arrived at Tuskarawi, on this side of the Huron towns, and the commanding officer intended to come to the brethren's settlements, and carry the missionaries off prisoners. Suddenly, however, the news of an attack by the Americans, on the Indian country, induced all the Indian warriors to forsake him, so that he was under the necessity of returning without executing his purpose. A troop of robbers and murderers of the Mingo tribe, headed by a white man, had expressed a hope that they should be fortunate enough to carry one, or all of the missionaries, captive to Detroit. Brother Zeisberger had timely notice of this, but being so much accustomed to such threatenings, he did not regard it, and went about in his usual manner. One day, however, while on a journey, he was met by this very band of ruffians, and as soon as the white man saw him, he called to his companions: "Behold, here is the man you have long wished to see!" The captain of the Mingoës made no reply, but only shook his head; and, after asking a few questions, they all walked off. Such was the gracious care of God over his servants; it seemed as if he had given charge concerning them, saying, "Touch not mine anointed, and do my prophets no harm." The English, indeed, acknowledged that the missionaries had done no evil, and that they were even useful in civilizing the Indians; but yet they wished to make them prisoners, being persuaded that were they removed, not only the Delawares, but many other tribes, would take up the hatchet and join their troops.

In consequence of the confusion and anarchy

which prevailed through the whole country, considerable changes had now taken place in the settlements of the brethren. Not only was Shoenbrunn deserted by the faithful part of the congregation, but it was afterwards judged necessary to leave Gnadenhuetten also, and to concentrate the whole mission in Lichtenau. As this place, however, was soon over-crowded with inhabitants, it was agreed that part of them should return to Gnadenhuetten, and that Shoenbrunn should be rebuilt, though not on the same spot as before, but on the opposite side of the river. Lichtenau, which had hitherto been the safest place of residence for the christian Indians, became so exposed to the outrages of the savages, that it was necessary, in 1780, to leave it also, and to build a new settlement, which they called Salem, about five miles below Gnadenhuetten.

In the midst of these trials, the state of the congregation was of the most pleasing nature. The progress of vital religion among them was so apparent, that the missionaries forgot all their sorrows in the joy which this afforded them.

A missionary proposed the question to an Indian brother previous to the Lord's supper, "Tell me, how is your heart disposed at present?" He replied, "You could not have asked me a more agreeable question: I am ready to answer it every day; and if you were even to wake me at night, I should want no more to consider, for our Saviour has given me such a heart, that I am as willing to lay my wants and deficiencies open before my brethren, as to describe the happiness I enjoy."

Another of the newly-baptized said to his mother and friends: "You are perhaps of opinion, that

there is nothing real in the great gospel of Christ and his atonement, and that we only talk of it. I also thought so formerly, and made it a laughing-stock. But now I can inform you, by experience, that it is great and marvellous, and that the power of God seizes and melts my heart, when I hear what our Saviour has done and suffered for us, and how much it cost him to deliver us lost and undone human creatures from the power of Satan."

Some strange Indians, hearing that miracles were wrought at Lichtenau, went thither, when the brethren declared that God, the Creator of all things, was manifest in the flesh to save sinners, that he did now save them, even there, and that his love to men was above all comprehension, so that, in eternity, the redeemed will never cease to marvel at the wonders of his grace. The heathen heard this with great attention; and as Isaac Glikkikan, one of these witnesses of the truth, was about to retire to rest, at midnight, one of them, his former companion, stopped him, saying: "We used formerly to spend many a night in feasting and drinking, and never felt disposed to sleep; let us, for once, pass a night in considering this great subject, and speak fully about it." To this proposal Isaac gladly consented, and the night was passed in conversation on the person and work of Christ.

A Shawanose said, on another occasion: "When I first came hither, I heard you speak so much of the wretchedness and depravity of the human heart, I thought, 'Well said,—God grant the believing Indians may begin to mend their lives, for they seem to be very bad people. I am not so wicked, and commit no sins, but please my God. I have also always endeavoured to serve him, and

sacrificed enough.' But lately, I was convinced, at your chapel, that I am a very sinful man, and that it is exactly in my heart as in that old basket," pointing to a basket full of rubbish which stood in the room. "The more I formerly felt my pride and self-complacency, the more I am now humbled, so that I can hardly venture to look at a believer; and I desire most fervently, that our merciful Saviour would have pity on me, and forgive my sins." Some time after he was baptized, when he was so overcome with gratitude that he said: "My eyes are all day filled with tears of joy; and whenever I awake at night, my first thought is, that our Saviour was tormented and slain for my sins. Therefore, he shall possess my whole heart; yea, and even the smallest bone in my body."

For some time, the christian Indians enjoyed peace and rest in their new settlements, scarcely seeing any thing of the horrors of war, except that the warriors occasionally passed through their towns. But this period of tranquillity was of short duration. Colonel de Peyster, the English governor of Fort Detroit, having taken up a suspicion that the christian Indians were partizans of the Americans, and that the missionaries were spies, determined at last to rid himself of neighbours whom he considered as so troublesome and dangerous. With this view, a proposal was made to several of the Indian tribes to carry off the missionaries and the congregation, but the service was so invidious, that each of them declined it. At length, however, the half-king of the Hurons, instigated by captain Pipe, one of the Delaware chiefs, a violent enemy of the mission, agreed to make the attempt, though even he declared that he did it to

save the christian Indians from destruction. With this design, he came to the neighbourhood of the brethren's settlements, in August, 1781, accompanied by an English officer, Pipe the Delaware chief, and upwards of three hundred warriors. They all behaved, at first, in a friendly manner; but when they made known their commission, the congregation expressed their resolution to remain where they were. The warriors, therefore, endeavoured to decoy them, by describing the country to which they proposed to carry them, as a perfect paradise; and, unfortunately, they were too successful in making an impression on the minds of some who were unacquainted with their artifice and cunning. This occasioned the brethren great perplexity and distress, but yet they determined not to follow the savages, unless by compulsion; that so, if the congregation were involved in ruin, they might not have to reproach themselves on account of it.

The half-king of the Hurons, it is probable, would not have urged the proposal further, had he not been pressed by captain Pipe, and the English officer, to employ coercive, and even violent measures; alleging that, if he returned to Detroit without the missionaries, the governor would be highly dissatisfied. Besides, some of the congregation proved unfaithful; and even insinuated to the savages, that if they only seized upon the brethren, and carried them off, the rest of the people would quickly follow. Others, again, were so simple, that when asked, whether they would go with the half-king, they replied: "We look to our teachers; what they do, we will do likewise." Thus the whole blame fell upon the missionaries,

who, in consequence, became the chief objects of the resentment of the savages. The heads of the party had several consultations, in which, as some of them afterwards related, they resolved to murder all the white brethren and sisters, and likewise the Indian assistants. Before, however, they carried their bloody design into execution, they wished to know the opinion of a common warrior, who was much esteemed among them as a sorcerer; and as he was decidedly against the proposal, and even threatened them with his displeasure if they persisted in it, they deferred it for the present.

The savages, however, now became more bold and outrageous in their behaviour. Though supplied by the congregation with as much meat as they could eat, and nothing, in fact, was denied them, yet they wantonly shot the cattle and pigs on the road, and would not even suffer the carcasses to be taken away, so that the place was soon filled with an intolerable stench. Small parties of them likewise made inroads into the neighbouring country, and brought their prisoners to Gnadenhuetten, thus making that scene of industry and peace a theatre of pillage and war.

The missionaries, and the Indian assistants, being summoned before a council of war, the halving of the Hurons asked them, whether they would go with him or not, and insisted on their giving him an immediate answer, without even allowing them to retire and consult about it. But as the brethren appealed to the reply they had already made, and declared their design to abide by it, the assembly broke up without further debate. Immediately after, however, they were seized by a

party of Huron warriors, and declared prisoners. As the savages dragged them off into the camp, one of the Hurons aimed a stroke at the head of the missionary Senseman, with a weapon resembling a lance, but providentially he missed it. Upon this a Monsy Indian approached them, and seizing them by the hair of the head, shook them, saying: "Welcome among us, my friends!" They then led them into the camp of the Delawares, where they sung over them the death song, stripped them to their shirts, and at length secured them in two huts. Here the brethren had to sit on the bare ground, without clothes, blankets, or any thing to screen them from the cold at night, except a few rags. They were not bound, however, like other prisoners, but only carefully watched.

After this, they saw a number of armed warriors march off for Salem and Shoenbrunn; and the dread of what their families might suffer from these barbarians, was a greater distress to them than all they themselves had endured. On their arrival, the savages plundered the mission houses in both the settlements, brought away such of the missionaries as remained, together with all their wives and children, as prisoners of war, and on the road they sung over them the death song. Michael Jung, one of the brethren, narrowly escaped being killed by a tomahawk, which an Indian aimed at his head. But no one was more to be pitied than Mrs. Senseman. She had been delivered of a child only three days before, yet now she was hurried from home, with her infant at her breast, by these merciless barbarians, in a dark and rainy night. Happily, however, neither she nor the child suffered the smallest injury. Indeed, it was a provi-

dential circumstance that she was able to walk; for had she been too weak to follow them, it is probable they would instantly have murdered both her and the infant, according to their usual practice on such occasions. When the brethren, Zeisberger and Senseman, beheld their wives led captive by the savages, it is neither possible to conceive nor describe the tumultuous and agonizing sensations which arose in their breasts.

The following day, the prisoners obtained permission to visit each other. On this occasion, a scene was exhibited so tender and melting, that even the merciless savages seemed struck with astonishment, remorse, and sorrow. The sisters, who, under all their trials, behaved with wonderful composure and resignation, were soon set at liberty, together with one of the missionaries; but as their habitations were almost destroyed, they went to lodge in the house of another of the brethren, named Shebosh, who had not been taken prisoner, being considered as an Indian, as he had completely adopted the Indian mode of life, and married a native woman. Here the prisoners were occasionally allowed to see their friends, and they also had liberty to visit them in return. Meanwhile, the savages were strutting about in the clothes they had taken from the missionaries, and even compelled their wives to make them shirts of the linen of which they had robbed them.

At the commencement of these disasters, the conduct of the christian Indians was like that of the disciples of Christ; they forsook their teachers and fled. On arriving, however, in the woods, they lifted up their voices and wept so loud, that the air resounded with their lamentations. They soon,

indeed, recovered from the panic which had seized them on the first appearance of danger. Having regained their courage, they returned and recovered many articles belonging to the missionaries from the robbers, or they generously paid for them, in order to restore them to the rightful owners. They likewise used to carry blankets to the prisoners late in the evening, to cover them during the night, and early in the morning they brought them away, lest they should be stolen by the savages in the course of the day. Some even had the courage to enter the camp by day, to seize the booty of the savages, and to carry it off by main force.

After keeping the brethren prisoners for several days, the savage leaders saw that the christian Indians would never be persuaded to forsake their settlements, unless they were conducted by their teachers; and therefore they called the missionaries before them, declared them at liberty, and advised them to encourage the congregation to emigrate. The brethren now returned to their beloved flock at Salem, full of gratitude and praise for their merciful deliverance. Here they administered the Lord's supper, during which the Divine presence was eminently enjoyed; and they exhorted their people to steadfastness and fidelity. After they had refreshed themselves for some days, about a hundred savages, who had constantly watched their motions, and surrounded them at some distance, entered the town and committed the most daring outrages. The missionaries now perceived that the only alternative was emigration, and to this the congregation readily agreed.

CHAPTER IX.

Deep Regret.—Loss of the Missionaries.—Dangerous Journey.—Arrival at Upper Sandusky.—Appearance at Detroit.—The accuser embarrassed.—The Brethren declared innocent.—Great Privations.—Barbarous Plot.—Dreadful Attack.—Death threatened.—Massacre of the Indians.—Remarkable Escape.—Severe Trials at Sandusky.—Removal to Detroit.—Settlement at Pilgerruh.—Retreat to New Salem and Canada.—Mission renewed on the Muskingum.—Sketch of Brother Zeisberger.—Effect of Example.—Settlement at Fairfield.—Treatment by the Americans.—Missionary Devotedness.—Settlement on Lake Ontario.—The Convert Onim.—Results of the Brethren's Labours.

NEVER did the brethren forsake any country with so much regret, as when they were now obliged to leave three beautiful settlements on the Muskingum, and the greater part of their property. They had already lost upwards of two hundred black cattle, and four hundred hogs; but, besides this, they had to abandon great quantities of Indian corn in their stores, upwards of three hundred acres of land, where the crop was just ripening, together with potatoes, cabbages, and other vegetables in the ground. According to a moderate calculation, their loss was not less than twelve thousand dollars, a large sum certainly to belong chiefly to Indians, and a striking proof of the improvements which the missionaries had effected.

But what gave them most concern, was the total loss of the books and manuscripts which they had compiled, with immense care and labour, for the instruction of the Indian youth, all of which were now burnt by the savages. Besides, they had nothing before them but the prospect of trials and disappointments, of hardships, difficulties, and dangers; but they were enabled to possess their souls in patience, and to commit their way to God, when going whither they would not.

On leaving their settlements, they were escorted by a troop of savages, who were commanded by an English officer, and who enclosed them on all hands, at the distance of some miles. They went partly by land, and partly by water. Some of the canoes sunk, and those who were in them lost all their provisions, and whatever else they contained. Those who went by land, drove the cattle before them, having collected a considerable herd of these animals from two of their settlements. The brethren and their wives usually travelled in the midst of their beloved people. One morning, however, when the christian Indians could not set off so expeditiously as their conductors thought proper, the savages attacked the missionaries, and forced them away alone, whipped their horses forward till the animals became quite unmanageable, and would not even allow the women to suckle their infant children. The road, too, was extremely bad, being through one continued swamp. Mrs. Zeisberger fell twice from her horse; and, in one case, was dragged for some time, hanging in the stirrup; but, through the kindness of Providence, she was mercifully preserved. Some of the christian Indians followed them as fast as they could; but,

with all their exertions, they did not overtake them till night; and hence the missionaries and their families, were not delivered out of the hands of the merciless savages till next morning. But though the journey was extremely irksome, they all travelled along with the utmost resignation and patience. Not one left the congregation, nor laid the blame of their troubles and losses upon others. No dissatisfaction, no disunion arose. They adhered to each other as brethren and friends, rejoicing in God their Saviour, and even held their daily meetings upon the road.

Having arrived at Sandusky Creek, after a journey of upwards of four weeks, the half-king of the Hurons and his warriors left them, and marched into their own country, without giving them any particular orders how to proceed. Thus, they were abandoned in a wilderness where there was neither game nor provisions of any kind;—such was the place to which the barbarians had led them, notwithstanding they had represented it as a perfect paradise. After wandering to and fro for some time, they resolved to spend the winter in Upper Sandusky; and having pitched on the most convenient spot they could find in this dreary region, they erected small huts of logs and bark to shelter themselves from the rain and cold. They were now, however, so poor, that they had neither beds nor blankets; for, on the journey, the savages had stolen every thing from them, except only their utensils for manufacturing maple sugar. But nothing distressed them so much as the want of provisions. Some had long spent their all, and now depended on the charity of their neighbours for a morsel to eat. Even the missionaries, who

hitherto had uniformly gained a livelihood by the labour of their hands, were now reduced to the necessity of receiving support from the congregation. As their wants were so urgent, Shebosh the missionary, and several of the christian Indians, returned as soon as possible to their settlements on the Muskingum, in order to fetch the Indian corn which they had left growing in the fields.

Scarcely had the congregation begun to settle in Sandusky, when the missionaries were ordered to go and appear before the governor of Fort Detroit. Four of them, accompanied by several of the Indian assistants, accordingly set off without delay, while the other two remained with their little flock. On taking their departure, they experienced the most agonizing sensations, partly, as they knew not what might be the issue of the journey, and partly, as they were obliged to leave their families in want of the common necessaries of life. As they travelled chiefly by land along the banks of Lake Erie, they had to pass through numerous swamps, over large inundated plains, and through thick forests. But the most painful circumstance was, their hearing that some of the Indians who had gone to the Muskingum to fetch corn, had been murdered by the white people, and that a large body of these miscreants were marching to Sandusky to surprise the new settlement. This report, indeed, was not correct. Shebosh the missionary, and five of the christian Indians, were, it is true, taken prisoners at Shoenbrunn, and carried to Pittsburg. The others returned safe to Sandusky, with about four hundred bushels of Indian corn, which they had gathered in the fields. But as the travellers did not hear a correct statement of these circum-

stances until afterwards, they suffered meanwhile the greatest anxiety and distress.

Having arrived at Detroit, they appeared before the governor, in order to answer the accusations brought against them of holding a correspondence with the Americans to the prejudice of the English interest. The investigation, however, was deferred till captain Pipe, their principal accuser, should arrive; a circumstance which could not but give them much uneasiness, as he had hitherto shown himself their bitter and determined enemy. They had no friend on earth to interpose in their behalf; but they had a Friend in heaven, in whom they put their trust. Nor was their confidence in Him in vain. On the day of trial, captain Pipe, after some ceremonies had passed between him and colonel De Peyster, respecting the scalps and prisoners which he had brought from the United States, rose and addressed the governor as follows: "Father, you commanded us to bring the believing Indians, and their teachers, from the Muskingum. This has been done. When we had brought them to Sandusky, you ordered us to bring their teachers and some of their chiefs unto you. Here you see them before you. Now you may speak with them yourself as you have desired. But I hope you will speak good words unto them: yea, I tell you, speak good words unto them, for they are my friends, and I should be sorry to see them ill used." These last words he repeated two or three times. In reply to this speech, the governor enumerated the various complaints he had made against the brethren, and called upon him to prove, that they had actually corresponded with the Americans to the prejudice of the English. To this the chief

replied, that such a thing might have happened; but they would do it no more, for they were now at Detroit. The governor, justly dissatisfied with this answer, peremptorily demanded that he should give a direct reply to his question. Pipe was now greatly embarrassed; and, bending to his counsellors, asked them what he should say. But they all hung their heads in silence. On a sudden, however, he rose, and thus addressed the governor: "I said before that such a thing might have happened: now I will tell you the truth. The missionaries are innocent. They have done nothing of themselves; what they did, they were compelled to do." Then smiting his breast, he added: "I am to blame, and the chiefs who were with me. We forced them to do it when they refused;" alluding to the correspondence between the Delaware chiefs and the Americans, of which the missionaries were the innocent medium. Thus the brethren found an advocate and a friend in their accuser and enemy.

After making some further inquiries, the governor declared before the whole court, that the brethren were innocent of all the charges alleged against them; that he felt great satisfaction in their endeavours to civilize and christianize the Indians; and that he would permit them to return to their congregation without delay. He even offered them the use of his own house in the most friendly manner; and as they had been plundered, contrary to his express command, he ordered them to be supplied with clothes, and various other articles, of which they stood in need. He even bought them four watches which the savages had taken from them, and sold to a trader. After experi-

encing various other acts of kindness from him, they returned to Sandusky, and were received with inexpressible joy, by their families and the whole congregation, who had been under strong apprehensions that they would be detained prisoners at Detroit.

The congregation at Sandusky were still in extreme want of provisions; and at length famine, in all its horrors, appeared among them. Often they knew not on one day what they should eat on the morrow. At Christmas, they could not, as usual, observe the Lord's supper, as they had neither bread nor wine. The cattle, of which they had considerable herds, had no forage, so that such of them as were not killed for food perished of hunger. Provisions were not to be had even for money; or if any were bought in other places, it was at a most exorbitant price. Many of the poor lived on wild potatoes; and, at last, their want was so extreme, that they greedily devoured the carcasses of the horses and cattle which were starved to death. In this wretched situation, they had a visit from the half-king of the Hurons, with a number of his warriors and some white people. As they were not able to furnish their guests with a meal, one of the assistants went to the chief, and informed him that no meat was to be had, except the flesh of dead cattle, representing, at the same time, the contrast between their present adverse circumstances, and their former prosperous situation, when they afforded him and his followers an abundant supply of whatever they needed. The king appeared to be struck with the reproof, and went away in silence. But many of the Indians, with all the barbarity natural to savages, when they

came to Sandusky, and beheld such numbers of cattle lying dead on the ground, laughed at the melancholy spectacle, reviled their christian countrymen, and expressed the utmost joy at their sufferings: "Now," said they, "you are become like us, and certainly you deserve not to fare better."

Impelled by the severity of the famine, several parties of the christian Indians went from Sandusky to the settlements on the Muskingum to fetch provisions, as it was reported there was now no danger in that quarter of the country. In this, however, they were awfully mistaken. That quarter now became the scene of what has, perhaps, scarcely a parallel in the annals of treachery and murder. The governor of Pittsburg having released the christian Indians, who, together with Shebosh, the missionary, had been taken prisoners at Shoenbrunn; this act of common justice and humanity greatly incensed some of those miscreants, who represented the Indians as a kind of Canaanites, whom it was a duty utterly to exterminate. Having heard that many of the christian Indians came occasionally from Sandusky to the Muskingum for provisions, a band of these ruffians, about one hundred and sixty in number, determined to murder them by surprise, to destroy their settlements, and then to march to Sandusky, and cut off the rest of the congregation. Colonel Gibson, at Pittsburg, having heard of this barbarous plot, sent messengers to the christian Indians on the Muskingum to apprise them of their danger, but it was too late when they arrived. The Indians, however, received information of the approach of the white people, from a different quarter, in time enough to have saved themselves by flight; but though, on

other occasions, they used to manifest the utmost caution and timidity, yet, at this time, they showed no signs of fear, apprehending that they had nothing to dread from the Americans, but only from the savages.

Early in March, 1782, the conspirators arrived at Gnadenhuetten. About a mile from the settlement, they met the son of Shebosh, the missionary, in the woods, and having fired at him, wounded him in such a manner, that it was impossible for him to escape. In vain did he implore his life; in vain did he represent that he was the son of a white christian man. They were deaf to all his entreaties, and cruelly cut him in pieces with their hatchets. They then came to the Indians, most of whom were gathering the corn in their plantations, accosted them in a friendly manner, and told them to go home, promising to do them no injury. They even pretended to pity them, on account of the mischiefs they had suffered from the English and the savages, and assured them of the protection and friendship of the Americans. The poor simple Indians believed every word, returned with them to the town, and treated them in the most hospitable manner. Having informed their visitors, that a small barrel of wine, which was found among their goods, was designed for the Lord's supper, and that they were to carry it with them to Sandusky, the ruffians told them, that they should not return thither, but go with them to Pittsburg, where they would be in no danger either from the English or the savages. This proposal the Indians heard with resignation, hoping that God might, by this means, put a period to their present sufferings, which were so numerous and severe. Prepossessed

with this idea, they cheerfully delivered up their guns, their hatchets, and their other weapons, to the conspirators, who promised to take care of them; and, on their arrival at Pittsburg, to return every article to its rightful owner. The unsuspecting creatures even showed them all those articles which they had secreted in the woods, assisted in packing them up, and thus emptied all their stores for this band of miscreants.

Meanwhile, John Martin, one of the Indian assistants, went to Salem, with the news of the arrival of the white people, to his christian countrymen in that town, and assured them they need not be afraid to go with them, for that they were come to conduct them to a place of safety. The Indians at Salem did not hesitate to accept of the proposal, believing unanimously that God had sent the Americans to release them from their present disagreeable situation at Sandusky, and imagining that when they arrived at Pittsburg, they might soon find a place to build a settlement, and easily procure assistance from Bethlehem. John Martin accordingly returned to Gnadenhuetten, accompanied by two of them, to acquaint both their brethren and the white people with their resolution. The ruffians having expressed a desire to see Salem, a party of them were conducted thither, and received with the utmost hospitality. Here they professed the same attachment to the Indians as at Gnadenhuetten, and easily persuaded them to accompany them to that place. With the hypocrisy of consummate villains, they feigned great piety by the way, entered into much spiritual conversation with the converts, some of whom spoke English well, and gave very scriptural and suitable

answers to many questions which these miscreants proposed to them on religious subjects.

Having by such base and fiendish arts completely deceived the unsuspecting Indians, they at length threw off the mask, and displayed their character in its true colours. In the meanwhile, they had attacked the poor defenceless inhabitants of Gnadenhuetten, and bound them without resistance. The Indians from Salem now shared a similar fate. Before they entered the town, they were suddenly surprised by their conductors, robbed of their guns, and even of their pocket-knives, and brought bound into the settlement. The conspirators now met in council, and resolved, by a majority of votes, to murder them all the following day. Such as opposed this barbarous resolution wrung their hands, and called God to witness that they were innocent of the blood of these harmless Indians. But the majority were inflexible, and only differed concerning the mode of the execution. Some were for burning them, and others for scalping them in cold blood. Either mode was shocking to humanity; but the latter was, at length, fixed upon; and one of the council was sent to the prisoners, to tell them, that as they were christian Indians, they might prepare themselves for death in a christian manner, for that they must all die on the morrow.

This message, so dreadful and unexpected, at first struck the Indians, as might naturally be supposed, with extreme horror. But they soon recollected themselves, and patiently suffered their enemies to lead them into two houses, in one of which the men, and in the other the women and children were confined like sheep for the slaughter.

Their last night on earth they spent in prayer, and in exhorting each other to remain faithful unto death; and, as the morning approached, they employed themselves in singing the praises of God their Saviour, in the joyful hope of soon joining the choir of the redeemed in heaven.

When it arrived, the murderers fixed on two buildings, one for the men, the other for the women and children, to which they wantonly gave the name of slaughter-houses. Some of them even came to the prisoners, manifesting great impatience that the execution was not yet begun. No time, however, was now lost. The carnage immediately commenced, and presented so shocking a scene, that humanity shudders at the recital. The innocent men, women, and children, were bound with ropes, two and two together. They were then led into the slaughter-houses appointed for them. There they were scalped and murdered in cold blood, by these demons in human form. In this horrid manner, perished no fewer than ninety-six persons, among whom were five of the most valuable assistants, and thirty-four children! According to the testimony of the murderers themselves, they behaved with wonderful patience, and met death with cheerful resignation. The miscreants even acknowledged that they were good Indians; "for," said they, "they sung and prayed to their latest breath."

Of the whole number of Indians at Gnadenuetten and Salem, only two youths escaped; and, indeed, their escape was little less than miraculous. One of them disengaged himself from his bonds; then slipping unobserved from the crowd, he crept through a narrow window into the cellar of the

house, where the women and children were slaughtered. He had not been long there, when their blood penetrated through the floor; and, according to his account, ran in streams into the cellar, a circumstance which renders it probable, that they were not only scalped, but killed with hatchets or swords. Here he lurked till night, no one coming down to search the cellar; and then, though with much difficulty, he climbed up the wall to the window, and fled into a neighbouring thicket. The escape of the other youth was still more singular. The murderers gave him only one blow on the head, cut off his scalp, and then left him. After some time, he recovered his senses, and beheld himself surrounded by bleeding corpses. In the midst of these, he observed one of the converts, named Abel, moving, and attempting to raise himself up. But he lay perfectly still, as though he had been dead, a caution which proved the means of his deliverance; for, shortly after, one of the murderers came in, and perceiving Abel's motions, killed him outright with two or three blows. The youth lay quiet till dark, though suffering the most exquisite torture from his wounds. He then ventured to creep to the door, and observing no one in the neighbourhood, escaped into the wood, where he lay concealed during the night. Here the two lads met with each other; and before they left their retreat, they saw the murderers, with a ferocious insensibility, making merry, after the accomplishment of their diabolical enterprize; and at last set fire to the two slaughter-houses, filled with the corpses of their innocent victims.

While the christian Indians at Gnadenhuetten and

Salem were in this manner inhumanly butchered, those at Schoenbrunn providentially escaped. Having had occasion to send a message to Gnadenhuetten, the bearer of it, before he reached that place, found young Shebosh lying dead on the ground; and looking forward, he saw a number of white people about the town. Alarmed by this discovery, he fled back to Schoenbrunn with great precipitation, and told the Indians what he had seen. Upon this, they all took flight, and ran into the woods, so that when the monsters arrived at the town, they found nobody in it; and though the Indians lay concealed in the neighbourhood, yet happily they escaped undiscovered. Having, therefore, set fire to the three settlements, the ruffians marched off with the scalps of their innocent murdered victims, about fifty horses, and such other property as they chose to carry with them.

Meanwhile, the missionaries at Sandusky were not without their trials. In the congregation itself, there arose some false brethren, who, having relapsed into the paths of sin, endeavoured to introduce their heathenish practices among their christian countrymen. They would not even leave the settlement, but stopped in defiance of all remonstrances, were enraged when kindly reprov'd, and went among the neighbouring pagans, trying to exasperate them against the missionaries. Besides, though the governor of Detroit had promised that the brethren should not be molested in their labours, yet this was an engagement he was not able to fulfil. Soon after their return to Sandusky, some of the principal Delaware chiefs expressed their surprise, that he should have permitted them to depart, and thus have disappointed their hopes

of getting rid of persons whom they deemed so troublesome. Hitherto, however, the governor had found means to pacify them by the wisdom and firmness of his conduct. But now the half-king of the Hurons again took part against them. Two of his sons, who had lately gone on a murdering expedition, having both been killed, he foolishly ascribed their death to the intrigues of the brethren, and determined to be revenged upon them. Besides, with the dread natural to a guilty conscience, he lived in perpetual apprehension that the christian Indians, if they were suffered to remain in a body, might revenge on him the many injuries which they and their teachers had lately suffered. From various considerations, therefore, the governor gave the half-king of the Hurons, and an English officer in his company, an order to bring all the missionaries and their families to Fort Detroit, but adding a strict charge that they should neither plunder nor abuse them.

This order was productive of the greatest distress; but, as it was vain to resist, they took leave of their Indian congregation, overwhelmed with grief. At Lower Sandusky, they were visited by the English officer appointed to conduct them to Detroit; but, instead of treating them with civility, he behaved like a madman, and, with horrid oaths, repeatedly threatened to fracture their skulls with a hatchet. At length, however, the vessels arrived, with a written order that they should be treated with all possible kindness.

On reaching Detroit, the governor stated his conviction of their innocence, and that he had sent for them merely to provide for their safety; and further, he left them, as they pleased, to remain at

Detroit or to go to Bethlehem. Indeed, their removal to this place was the means of saving, not only themselves, but the congregation, from a band of wretches who thirsted for their blood; and who, soon after this disappointment, were attacked by a body of English and Indian warriors, and the greater part of them cut in pieces.

Anxious to collect the remains of their wandering flock, the missionaries, with the assistance of the governor, obtained a grant of land from the Chippeways on the banks of the river Huron, where they commenced a new settlement, which they called Gnadenhuetten. The missionaries then sent messages to their converts to come and join them; but these were often basely perverted, while some of the chiefs commanded the Indians to be resigned to their fate, and to resume their former mode of life, adding, "For now, not a word of the gospel shall any more be heard in the Indian country." Many rose superior to the temptation; others, through fear, continued to reside among the savages, and some even relapsed into paganism.

By the industry of the christian Indians, this new Gnadenhuetten, in a short time, became a very neat and regular town; but a severe frost occasioned great distress, and the Chippeways now expressed their dissatisfaction that their chief hunting-ground should be thus occupied, and even threatened to murder some of them, in order to compel the rest to leave the place. It appeared, indeed, that their demands and complaints would be endless. And therefore, after much anxiety and suffering by land and by water, the brethren found another spot for a settlement,

which they called Pilgerruh, or "Pilgrim's Rest."

Some supplies happily arrived from the brethren at Bethlehem, and from the congress of the United States, but the congregation was not without its difficulties and trials. Pilgerruh had soon to be changed for New Salem; and in April, 1791, the whole congregation, consisting of about two hundred persons, settled in a place about eighteen miles from Detroit, under the protection of the British government. In the following year they proceeded from thence to Upper Canada, where they built a new town which they called Fairfield. That a favourable impression was produced on some of the white people, is evident from the fact, that, with the exception of traders, they commonly avoided settling near an Indian town, but now they were eager to establish themselves in this quarter; and, in the course of a few years, the settlement contained upwards of a hundred families. In this place the congregation was very little increased by additions from among the heathen. Indeed, during the first six years which elapsed from the time they left New Salem, only twelve adults and forty children were baptized.

Peace having been restored between the Indians and the United States, a resolution was formed to renew the mission on the Muskingum, where congress had formally granted to the brethren's society (in America) for propagating the gospel among the heathen, the land, on which Gnadenuetten, Schoenbrunn, and Salem, formerly stood, with four thousand acres of ground adjoining to each of the settlements. With this view, the brethren, J. Heckewaelder and William Henry, in

the summer of 1797, went to take a survey of it. They found the whole district overgrown with an impervious thicket of briars and brushwood of various kinds, the haunt of serpents, bears, deer, turkies, and other animals. Some ruins of the houses were still standing; and the place where the Indians were massacred was plainly marked, many of their bones lying concealed under the ashes.

In August, the following year, several Indian families from Fairfield, consisting of thirty-three persons, commenced the renewal of the mission there. The venerable David Zeisberger, with truly apostolical zeal, though then seventy-seven years old, volunteered his services for this difficult and arduous undertaking, being accompanied by his wife, likewise aged and infirm, and the missionary Benjamin Mortimer. The journey, as usual in this country, was tedious, occupying nearly two months, and was attended with many dangers and difficulties, both by land and water. When they came to the carrying-place in the river Cayahaga, they were obliged to drag the loaded canoes for seven miles over solid rocks; but by great exertions they reached the place of their destination in October, in good health and perfect safety. The Indians, indeed, combated every hardship with wonderful composure and steady perseverance. They never murmured, and not an individual among them ever appeared to lament having undertaken the journey, or to flinch from the duties he had thereby imposed on himself. It is justly remarked by the missionaries, "that men of their stamp and character, if properly prepared for the work by the Spirit of God, would be the fittest of all others to make known the gospel to their wild

countrymen, living at a distance." It was strongly impressed on their own minds, that they had undertaken the journey for that very purpose, and most of them expressed an ardent desire to be useful to their heathen countrymen by leading them to a knowledge of the Saviour of sinners. They entered into an agreement among themselves, to renew the ancient hospitality, and treat all visitors in the most friendly manner.

Thus, after the lapse of more than seventeen years, since the christian Indians were forcibly expelled from this part of the country, a few of the survivors, in reliance on the help of God, ventured to re-occupy this station. They erected their first settlement near the former site of Schoenbrunn, and called it Goshen. A few heathen families in the sequel moved thither and embraced the gospel. At the beginning of the year 1801, the number of inhabitants amounted to seventy-one persons. The love and christian simplicity, prevailing among them, were noticed by all visitors with great pleasure and edification. Their number, however, was considerably diminished the following year, as several families removed to the river Wabash, to commence a mission among the Cherokees.

In the record of this mission, the venerable David Zeisberger demands particular notice. He was the son of one of those Moravian emigrants who laid the foundation of the renewed brethren's church, and spent above sixty years as a missionary to the Indians, encountering innumerable dangers, hardships, and privations. He acquired an extensive knowledge of the Delaware, and several other Indian tongues. But most of his translations, and other books of instruction, being only in

manuscript, were burned on the Muskingum; and the unsettled state of the mission for a long time after, his multifarious avocations, and his advancing age, allowed him neither sufficient leisure nor strength completely to repair the loss. The persecutions to which he was exposed, instead of dimming him, served rather to increase his zeal in his Master's cause; and, in more than one instance, he had the pleasure of baptizing Indians, who not long before had raised the hatchet to murder him. Over his Indian flock he watched with the solicitude of a parent, and cherished them as a nurse doth her children. He followed them in all their wanderings, cheerfully sharing with them the burden and heat of the day; and, during the last forty years of his life, he was never, at one time, six months absent from his charge. The younger missionaries revered him as a father; and before they entered on their work, generally spent some time with him, that they might profit by his instructions and counsels. Within a few months of his death he became nearly blind, yet, being perfectly resigned to the will of God, he did not lose his usual cheerfulness, and though his body was almost worn to a skeleton, his judgment remained unimpaired.

Anticipating his departure, he considered every circumstance relating to it with the greatest serenity, and declared himself perfectly satisfied and comforted as to all things but the spiritual state of the Indian congregation. On this being communicated to them, they all came one by one, entreated his forgiveness for whatever had grieved him; and, with many tears, promised that they would surrender their hearts to the Saviour, and devote

themselves wholly to Him. He received them with that solemnity and affection which he had always blended in converse with them, assured them of his cordial interest in their welfare, cautioned them against the besetting sin of intemperance, and exhorted them to love and follow Mr. Mortimer, their remaining teacher.

Addressing him, he thus expressed himself: "Perceiving that I am daily growing weaker, I believe it is the will of my Saviour, by occasion of this illness, to take me home to himself. I have reviewed my whole course of life before him, and found much cause to crave his forgiveness. My dependence is on his blood, which cleanseth me from all sin and unrighteousness. I know that I am his, and that he is mine with all his merits. Many of my brethren have departed this life triumphantly: that is not my case; I depart as a poor sinner, saved by grace alone. Our Saviour will take my spirit to himself in peace, and this sinful body I shall leave behind."

As death approached, he took a tender leave of his wife and family, and of his fellow-labourer, and desired that the blessing of Moses might be pronounced over him: "The Lord bless thee, and keep thee; the Lord make his face to shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee; the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace!" When at times his sufferings were more intense, nothing soothed him so much as the singing of hymns, treating of the happiness of true believers; especially such verses as he had made to be sung at the death-beds of the christian Indians. Some of his Indian flock, therefore, frequently sang both during their visits in the day-time, and when they

watched with him during the night. He passed much time in supplication. Sometimes he exclaimed, "Lord Jesus, hear my prayer; come, and take my spirit to thyself!" Once, when in great pain, he prayed with much fervency: "Thou, Lord, hast never forsaken me in distress, and now thou wilt not forsake me." Soon after this, as if he had received a gracious answer, he said, "The Lord is near; perhaps he will soon come and take me home." But though he desired to depart and be with Christ, which is far better, he was always completely resigned to the Divine will.

On a visit from some of the brethren in the neighbourhood, he was unable to speak, but expressed his pleasure by smiles. Shortly after they left him a change took place, and the Indians assembled around his bed. They sang several verses, for which he expressed his gratitude by signs. At length he ceased to breathe; and of him it might be said, as it was of Stephen, the first martyr, he "fell asleep." His age was eighty-seven years, seven months, and six days. The whole company knelt down, while Mr. Mortimer offered thanks to God for the happy transition of this venerable and devoted man to the house not made with hands, for the conversion of so many heathens by his instrumentality, and for all the good he had been the means of conferring; and then humbly and fervently entreated the Divine blessing on this be-reaving providence, and that he and those who bowed with him at the footstool of mercy might be found faithful unto death.

Such men as David Zeisberger ought, indeed, to be held in everlasting remembrance. His faith and devotedness were of no ordinary character. In

circumstances the most perilous and appalling, he laboured through a very long period with unremitting energy; and counted not his life dear unto himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry, which he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God. The christian, the minister, and especially the missionary, will do well frequently to muse on his example. He was one of those who have lived, not merely for their own, but for after ages. Could these devoted men have foreseen the mighty influence exerted by their example, in moulding, consoling, and stimulating others, they would still more contentedly and gladly have encountered toil and endured sorrow.

After the emigration of several families from Fairfield, in 1798, for the purpose of commencing the mission at Goshen, the former settlement, though considerably diminished in point of numbers, continued in a flourishing state, both as to its temporal prosperity, and the progressive advance of the major part of its inhabitants in those habits which adorn the character of the true christian. Perplexities and trials of various kinds were, indeed, still suffered: but their greatest trouble arose from the white people in their vicinity, who, by the introduction of the rum-trade, occasioned many evils in the country, and filled the missionaries with anxious apprehensions for the morals of their young people. But whenever their faith and hope were ready to droop, the Lord rekindled their zeal in his service, by giving them fresh proofs of the power of his grace to conquer the most corrupt passions of the human mind. Although few of the neighbouring heathen were savingly affected by

the gospel, many of the children, born and baptized in the settlement, as they were matured in age and understanding, experienced the converting influences of the Holy Spirit ; and, now and then, some, who had strayed from the congregation and relapsed into sin, returned, and, with true compunction of heart, sought the forgiveness of the Lord and his people. Thus, in the year 1812, twenty-two persons of this description were added to the church ; and at the close of that year, the whole number amounted to one hundred and twenty-six persons.

Fairfield, after enjoying tranquillity for more than twenty years, was on a sudden involved in all the troubles of war, in consequence of the contest between England and the United States. On the 2d of October, 1813, seventy sick English soldiers arrived at the settlement, and were accommodated in the school and the chapel. The dwellings, both of the missionaries and Indians, had for some time been occupied by fugitives, whose number was daily increasing. The following day, however, the surgeon ordered the chapel to be cleared, that the usual Sunday's service might be performed.

On the 4th, the British general, Proctor, informed the missionaries, that he was willing to purchase their houses, Indian corn, garden-fruits, furniture, and any thing else they could spare, for the use of the army ; and promised that another tract of land should be given to the christian Indians for a temporary residence during the war, and that they should be provided from the king's store with provision and clothing. The Indians, being convinced that it would be dangerous to delay their departure any longer, left the settlement.

On the same day an engagement took place between the American army and an English detachment, about a mile and half from Fairfield, in which the latter were overpowered. General Proctor escaped with fifteen soldiers, the other regulars were either killed or taken prisoners, and the Indian auxiliaries fled into the woods. In the evening a great number of Americans entered the settlement, chiefly on horseback. At first, they pretended to be friendly, and promised to do no harm to the missionaries, nor take any of their private effects, and likewise expressed their regret, that the christian Indians had left the place, as they intended them no injury.*

The same night, however, they began to treat the missionaries with great severity, accused them of secreting king's stores and English officers, and, with fierce importunity, demanded that they should be delivered up. The assurances given, that the accusation was not founded in truth, were of no avail. Every room and corner were searched; and particularly the roofs of the chapel and school. John Dolson, who, with his family, had fled hither, and two other men, were made prisoners, but were liberated on the following day. The Americans told brother Schnall, that he, being a missionary, was not to be considered as a prisoner of war, but that he must not be offended because his house was guarded during the night. They were now ordered to open all their trunks and boxes for examination, and no person was permitted to go out of the house without a guard. The family could take no rest,

* The fears of the christian Indians were, however, well founded, and the remembrance of the events of 1782, justified their flight.

but spent the night in silent prayer to the Lord, commending themselves and the white people who had sought refuge with them, to his almighty protection.

Very early the next morning the Americans began to plunder the settlement, and seized on all kinds of provisions. The missionaries were obliged to surrender their last morsel of bread: fifty bushels of potatoes, twelve of apples, all kinds of vegetables, and six hundred pounds of flour, which they had just purchased for the winter's consumption, were taken from them, and ten bee-hives emptied of all the honey, without, however, destroying the bees.

The American general, Harrison, and several officers arrived during the plundering. Brother Schnall immediately waited upon him, and recommended the settlement to his protection, requesting also, that some compensation might be made for what had been taken. His request was refused: but he was told that the missionaries were at liberty to quit the place. Commodore Perry, who was one of the party, meeting brother Schnall in the street, behaved with kindness, and said, he knew the society, and respected the missions of the brethren, and promised to procure a passport, that the missionaries might depart without being molested; which he likewise effected. After this interview he came several times to their house, by which their anxiety was in some measure relieved. Some of the officers and privates also expressed pity for the hard treatment they had experienced. Some even used force to keep off the wild and lawless soldiery, who loaded the missionaries with the most bitter curses and mockeries. By this interposition they gained time to pack up their property. Commo-

dore Perry now informed them, that he should soon leave the settlement, and advised them to make haste and get away, for if they staid after his departure, he would not answer for their being able to proceed. General Harrison likewise ordered them to hasten their flight. But, when in the act of loading their wagon, they were once more obliged to submit their baggage to a thorough search. Not the smallest article, however, was found, which could tend to impeach their character. They were obliged to leave all their furniture behind them. They had no sooner quitted the place than part of it was set on fire, and on the following day the rest of the buildings were wholly consumed; not even the smallest out-house was spared.

On the 15th the missionaries arrived at Detroit, where the commandant, general Cass, furnished them with a passport to go to Bethlehem. In prosecuting their journey they experienced various and great hardships, but also many signal proofs of the protection of the Lord.

When the news of the approach of an American detachment, and the defeat of the English first reached Fairfield, the brethren there resolved, that the missionary Schnall and his wife, together with Michael Young, who was aged and infirm, should go to Bethlehem; and that brother Dencke and his wife should remain with the Indians, and share in their fate, whatever it might be. They cheerfully acceded to the proposal, determined even to devote their lives to this service.

The Indians, on leaving the settlement, had encamped about six miles higher up the river; but, being alarmed by reports brought by other fugitives, they had all fled into the woods; so that

when the missionary arrived at the camp, he found it deserted, and for some time both he and the Indians remained ignorant of each other's situation. In this uncertainty, not knowing which way to direct their steps, they providentially met with a man, who offered to take them in his wagon to Delaware town. On their way thither, besides other hardships, they had the mortification to be attacked by a gang of Kikkapoo and Shawanose robbers, who plundered them of the few articles of clothing, which they had taken with them in their flight from Fairfield, and of the greater part of their other goods, together with their books and manuscripts, not leaving them even a bible or testament.

But they soon forgot the sorrow occasioned by these disasters, when they reached Delaware town on the 12th of October. They had scarcely arrived before a number of the Fairfield Indians came running to meet them, and with tears in their eyes offered thanks to God for having thus brought them together again. Messengers were quickly dispatched into the woods to search for those who were still absent; for, in their sudden flight, parents were separated from children, and children from parents. They were soon collected together, and only one sister was missing, who had been murdered below Fairfield.

Having at length arrived near lake Ontario, the Indians built huts for themselves in the woods, a house for the missionary, and a chapel, which latter was opened for divine worship at Christmas, 1813. At the close of that year the congregation consisted of one hundred and sixty members, besides twenty-three persons not yet baptized, but who had come

to winter with them, and regularly attended divine service. This situation being deemed rather unsafe, on account of its proximity to the lake and the superiority of the American fleet, they removed the following spring farther towards the mountains, about ten miles from Burlington Heights. One of their heaviest trials arose from the total stoppage of all communication with the congregations in America, and even several letters and parcels, sent from England, did not arrive. They were the more thankful, therefore, to the loyal and patriotic society at York, (on lake Ontario,) who, without being solicited, remitted a hundred dollars to the missionary, with an intimation that, should it be needed, it would give them pleasure to render him further assistance, till he could command his own resources.

After the end of the war they returned to Fairfield, and for some time dwelt in huts on the site of the former buildings, till they had erected a new settlement, rather higher up on the opposite bank of the river, at a little distance from it. This place they began to inhabit towards the end of the summer of 1815, calling it New Fairfield; the number of inhabitants then amounted to one hundred and nine. Here they enjoyed rest and peace: the missionaries, whose number had been increased by the arrival of J. R. Schmidt from Bethlehem, prosecuting their calling with alacrity, and not without encouraging proofs that the Lord blessed their endeavours for the conversion of the heathen. A very striking instance of this they were favoured to witness in 1816, in the case of an Indian, called Onim, whom the Lord was pleased to make a miracle of grace.

This Indian had from his youth given evidence of his hostility against the mission. He was one of those who calumniated John Papunhank at Friedenshuetten. At that time he used to wear a tomahawk in his girdle, and when questioned what he intended to do with it, replied, "cleave the missionaries' skulls for deceiving the Indians." This enmity against the missionaries, and the christian Indians generally, he manifested on all occasions, till within a few years, when the infirmities of age put a stop to his activity. The first sign of a change in him was observed when he entertained the brethren Luckenbach and Zacharias in his cabin at the Monsy-town, on their way to Grand-river. Till then, he had always been lurking in the neighbourhood of the settlements, trying to create disturbances : and being a preacher among his countrymen, he used to dissuade them, by all the means in his power, from embracing the doctrines of the whites. "For," said he, "their skin is white and ours is brown, and our whole manner of life is entirely different from theirs : of course they must also have a different way of happiness ; and those Indians who embrace their doctrine are altogether deceived." He taught the existence of three gods ; a brown, a white, and a black god ; and that each nation should live conformably to the directions received from the god of their colour. The Indians, of course, were to preserve their own religious ceremonies, their feasts, dances, sorceries, &c. He opposed, in particular, the gospel doctrine of the remission of sins ; teaching his countrymen, that those who lived according to the will of the great good Spirit, would, after this life, go to him ; but those who acted differently, would

be banished to the haunts of the evil spirit. He believed not only in the immortality of the human soul, but even asserted, that all creatures, and also trees, and herbs, are inhabited by a living soul; accounting for the withering of the latter, when cut down, by saying, that their indwelling spirit then left them.

From what he said during his last illness, it appears that he was led to reflect on his lost state, by a remark addressed to him by an Indian sister, Anna Paulina, who met him in December, 1815, at the house of a sick woman, whom he was endeavouring to cure by his sorceries; for he had always pretended to great skill in this art. The following spring he was taken ill, when on his way to Monsy-town, for the purpose of assisting at a feast to be held there. Unable to proceed further than New Fairfield, he returned to his friends, who had a camp near the settlement.

On the 10th of March, 1816, he sent for brother Jacob, one of the native assistants, and, among other remarks, observed: "A word, lately spoken by one of your christian Indians, has laid hold of my soul. I begin to be troubled in my mind, and to grow doubtful concerning my spiritual state. My constant cry is: Oh, for some one to show me the right way." Having said more to the same effect, Jacob addressed him nearly in the following words: "Thou hast now told me a great deal; I will tell thee something too. Listen to me, Onim! I well remember, that, ever since I was a little child, thou hast often been with the congregation of christian Indians, always going from and coming again to us. For many years thou hast heard the gospel which we believe. But, till now, thou hast

despised and ridiculed it, saying, 'I have another way to be saved, according to my creation.*' But now, when thou art here in a miserable situation, lying on hard boards, unable to help thyself, thy little property spent in drinking, nobody taking care of thee, and death seeming to be at hand; now, dost thou say, at last, 'I have brought terror on my mind, because I have been so wicked!' Oh, that these words of thine were but true! Would to God thou didst but feel real anxiety about thy condition! For then thy soul might yet be saved. Art thou indeed convinced that the devil hath deceived thee? Why art thou concerned about thyself at last, at the very end of thy life? In the days of thy health thou hast despised and mocked at the word of God; thou hast dissuaded and prevented others who were disposed to believe; and thou hast tried to entice those away who joined the congregation. Thou hast made thy jest of the doctrine of the forgiveness of sins. But know thou, that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Creator of heaven and earth, became a man: this is the truth! He suffered, was tormented to death, and shed his precious blood for the remission of sins: this is also the truth! And unless thou obtain pardon of thy many and great sins, through faith in his blood, and thy heart be cleansed therewith, believe me, thou shalt, after death, go straightway to hell, into everlasting perdition. And there thou wilt find cause to accuse no one, neither men, nor God who made thee, but thyself, thyself alone. Nor will thy living with us, as thou desirest, avail thee any thing, unless thou be pardoned and puri-

* This is an Indian phrase, implying: According as the Great Spirit and Creator has directed and appointed for me.

fied from thy sins by the precious blood of Christ, whose mercy thou must earnestly seek. Reflect upon this, and recollect what thou hast formerly heard from us christian Indians, and our ministers."

The next day he was visited by the missionary Dencke, who spoke to him in the same earnest and faithful manner. Among other questions, he asked him, whether it was true, that he had been a murderer and sorcerer. To this he replied: "The former is a false accusation; and sorcery is a deceit of the devil; it is naught: of this I am now convinced." With many tears he lamented his past wicked life, and made so affecting a confession of his faith in Jesus, that all present were melted into tears; and the work of grace, wrought in his heart by the Holy Ghost, was most strikingly manifest. Brother Dencke then explained to him, that the mere rite of baptism could avail him nothing, unless he experienced in his heart, through faith, the purifying power of the blood of Christ; whereupon he exclaimed, "I believe! I believe! Do ye also have pity on me!"

His repentance appearing truly sincere, and his earnest request for baptism to proceed from an ardent desire of receiving this rite, he was baptized in the name of the holy Trinity, and called Leonard. All his former doubts and fears now vanished, he truly enjoyed the peace of God in his soul, and continued in prayer day and night almost till he drew his last breath, on the morning of the 13th, exalting the mercy of his Redeemer, and inviting all to come unto Him, that they might obtain pardon and remission of their sins. Addressing his countrymen, he said: "Formerly I spoke evil words to you, when you showed any desire to be

converted, trying to dissuade you from it ; forgive me for so doing, and follow my dying advice, which is, to forsaké your wicked ways, or else you will be lost. Turn to your Saviour, and experience what I now feel, and you shall live."

"The solemnity attending this transaction," the missionaries remark, "may more easily be conceived than described, and will not soon be forgotten by those who witnessed it. The christian Indians were filled with joy, and exclaimed, 'Onim our enemy is become our brother Leonard!' The conversion and death of this extraordinary man spoke volumes to the heart of his late hearers ; and the impression, made thereby upon his heathen countrymen, under God, proved highly favourable to the cause of the gospel."

A new awakening seemed to take place among the inhabitants of the settlement, which extended also to the children, and their separate meetings were distinguished by particular devotion and attention to the word of God. The remarkable conversion of Onim, made a salutary impression, not only upon the Indians, but also upon many white people in that neighbourhood. Several heathen were baptized in 1817, and some, baptized in infancy, were solemnly received as members of the church. Thus the Lord was fulfilling unto them his promise: "In all places where I record my name, I will come unto thee, and I will bless thee."

From the foregoing relation it appears, that the United Brethren have now continued their labours in propagating the gospel among the North American Indians for more than seventy years. The little success, which has hitherto attended their endeavours, may probably have disappointed the

reader's expectation. Were strenuous exertions, indefatigable labour, patient perseverance, constant self-denial, and devoted zeal, sufficient to insure success, they might indeed have collected a greater number of converts, as the preceding pages supply ample proof, that they were not deficient in these qualifications. However, the blessing which has accompanied their efforts, verifies the Divine promise, "My word shall not return unto me void;" while their comparatively small success as clearly demonstrates, that "except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." Indeed, the peculiar habits and roving disposition of the Indians, the frequent wars among themselves and the white people, and the introduction of the rum trade, have always operated as strong barriers against the propagation of the gospel, and continue to throw impediments in the way of its converting influence, which nothing but Omnipotent grace can conquer.

From a register of the Indian congregation, dated 1772, it appears, that the number of heathen baptized by the brethren, from the commencement of the mission to that time, amounted to seven hundred and twenty. Of the subsequent years no authentic records remain, as the church-books, and other manuscripts, were lost at the destruction of the settlements on the Muskingum, or during the warlike commotions which afterwards arose. In 1817, the number of christian Indians, belonging to the three congregations of the brethren, amounted to one hundred and fifty. The missionaries, indeed, are not anxious to collect great numbers of nominal christians, but rather wish that those whom they baptize should give reasonable

proofs that they truly desire to die unto sin and live unto righteousness. Respecting the number of Indians baptized by the brethren, Heckewelder says: "From the commencement of the mission among the Mohicans in the states of New York and Connecticut, in 1740, and among the Delawares in Pennsylvania a year later, to the year 1808 inclusive, between thirteen and fourteen hundred souls were baptized by the brethren. The exact number cannot be ascertained, on account of the loss of the church registers, but as to hundreds the number is not overrated."

It will not be irrelevant to the subject, or uninteresting to the reader, before this chapter is closed, to insert a short account of the other establishments of the brethren in North America: For, although they are not missionary settlements, they afford great facilities for propagating the gospel among the heathen. Besides congregations in the towns of New York, Philadelphia, Lancaster, Newport in Rhode island, Yorktown, and other places, they have several regular settlements, or colonies of their own. The principal of these are, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Lititz, &c., in the state of Pennsylvania; Salem, Bethabara, Friedberg, and others, in North Carolina; and some smaller colonies in different parts of the country, as Gnadenhuetten on the Mahony, a colony of the same name, and Bersaba on the Muskingum, Bethel on the Swatara, &c. These settlements are inhabited by German and English colonists, and their descendants, being members of the brethren's church. Reference has been made to some of them in the preceding narrative.

The importance of these settlements in relation

to the missionary labours of the brethren is very considerable. Most of the brethren and sisters, employed in the instruction of the Indians, are selected from the inhabitants of these colonies. Having for a longer or shorter period been residents in the country, they have become in some degree acquainted with the character and customs of the people, among whom they are called to labour, and with the peculiar difficulties attending missionary undertakings among the Indians, and are thus better qualified for the due discharge of their important calling. In the American Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, which holds its regular meetings at Bethlehem and Salem, they have a band of faithful friends at hand, always ready to aid their exertions, assist them with their counsel, and sympathize with them, no less in the day of trial, than in the season of prosperity. An occasional visit to a christian congregation, and intercourse with their brethren and sisters, though but for a few days, tends greatly to strengthen their hands in God, and endow them with renewed fortitude for encountering the hardships and dangers unavoidably connected with their arduous office. If sickness, or increasing infirmities and old age, disable them from further active labours, they meet in these settlements with a comfortable retreat in the midst of their former friends. Here are also institutions for the education of their children in science and literature, and for their instruction in manual labour, trade, and business of various kinds.

The converted Indians themselves derive essential benefit from these establishments. They furnish them with occasional opportunities, when on

a journey, of beholding the order, piety, and devotion of a christian congregation. The good impressions thereby made upon their minds they carry home with them, and they serve to cherish among their believing countrymen a disposition to value the salutary regulations introduced by the missionaries in their own villages. Besides, these settlements have, at different times, offered a safe retreat to the christian Indians, when persecuted by their pagan countrymen, or suffering from the ravages of war.

The facilities thus afforded to the missionary exertions of the brethren, are not confined to the Indians, but extend to other heathens, equally needing the glorious light of the gospel to dispel their mental darkness. It is well known, that many thousand African negroes live with the white settlers, especially in Carolina and Virginia. These poor people have for some years engaged the special attention of the brethren, and the ministers of their church in different places have frequently visited and preached to them. Several have been baptized, and admitted to communion with those of their congregations in whose vicinity they reside. At the present time, the brethren's North American Society for propagating the Gospel among the Heathen, is perseveringly engaged in devising means, and employing active measures, for enlarging its sphere of usefulness in this field of missionary labours.

CHAPTER X.

Missions of later date.—Moravian Mission to the Cherokees.—Atrocious Transaction.—Missions of the American Board.—Visit of a Traveller to Brainerd.—Piety, Zeal, and Usefulness of a Cherokee Girl.—Catherine Brown.—Earnest and Persevering Prayer.—Painful Removal.—Return to Brainerd.—New Station commenced at Creek Path.—Conversion of a Family.—Death of John Brown.—Fear of Death Banned.—Catherine's Death-Bed.—Paternal Submission.—The Convert Tahneh.—The Convert Achsah.—Usefulness of a Tract.—Invention of Cherokee Characters.—Printing-Press.—National Academy.—Newspaper.—Execution for Murder.—Improved State of the Cherokees.—Arrest of the Missionaries.—Their Imprisonment.—Their Employments, Peace, and Usefulness.—Their Sentence.—Mission to the Choctaws.—Murder of the Innocent.—Choctaw Funeral.—Desire for Instruction.—Visit of Mr. Hodgson to Eliot.—Trials of the Missionaries.—A Missionary's Grave.—Delightful Contrast.—Prevailing Attention to Religion.—The Converted Hunter.—Affecting Prayer.—Choctaw Eloquence.—Converted Choctaws.—Visit of Rev. Mr. Goodell to Mayhew.—Converted Chiefs.—Removal of the Choctaws.—Interesting Letters.—Encampment of Choctaws.

IT is now requisite to advert to various missions, of later date, among the Indians of different nations. So early, indeed, as 1740, the Moravians

attempted to propagate the gospel among the Cherokees; and at length, in April, 1801, they made a settlement at Spring Place, commenced a school, cultivated the land, and proclaimed the truth as it is in Jesus. Some of the missionaries, and of the believing Indians, afterwards accepted an invitation to settle on the river Woapikamikunk, and their efforts were attended with a considerable degree of prosperity. In the autumn of 1805, however, one of the chiefs who had been their friend and protector, died, and another, who had respected and aided them, was deposed. The savages, in consequence, became ungovernable, threatened to murder them, and even killed their cattle before their eyes. But this was only the prelude to a most atrocious transaction, which is thus recorded in the journal of the missionaries:—

“In February, 1806, all the Indians in this district were summoned by their teachers, or lying prophets, to assemble on the Woapikamikunk, to hear the foolish stories fabricated by the emissaries of Satan, of pretended visions and revelations received from God, and to be instructed how to act in conformity to them. Among these teachers was a Shawanose, an arch impostor. Pretending that he was able to know and discover hidden mysteries, his deluded countrymen submitted to him with profound respect. The Delaware tribe received him with great cordiality, and resolved to hold a grand council, in order to root out all witchcraft and poison-mixing, (which, according to their superstitious notions, existed among them,) and by fire to extort confession from all such as this impostor should accuse; and whoever would not confess, should be hewn in pieces with their war-

hatchets, and burned. With a view to execute their horrid purpose, the young Indians got together, chose the most ferocious to be their leaders, deposed all the old chiefs, and guarded the whole Indian assembly, especially the aged of both sexes, as if they were prisoners of war. The venerable old chief Tettepachsit was the first whom they accused of possessing poison, and of having destroyed many Indians by his art. When the poor old man would not confess, they fastened him with cords to two posts, and began to roast him at a slow fire. During the torture he said, that he kept poison in the house of our Indian brother Joshua. Nothing was more welcome to the savages than this accusation, for they wished to deprive us of the assistance of this man, who was the only christian Indian residing with us at that time. They had frequently sent him invitations to attend their heathenish festivities, but he would never accept them. His answer was: 'You know that I am a believer in the true God, whose word we made known to you; I therefore can have no fellowship with you in your wicked works. Do you as you please, but leave me to serve the living God.' This answer displeased them much; and on March 13th, they sent seven wild Indians, with painted faces, to our settlement, and took him away by main force. They pretended, that he only need tell Tettepachsit to his face, that he had no poison in his house, and he might then return home. All excuses were vain, and Joshua was compelled to accompany them to the assembly at Woapikamikunk.

"When he was presented to Tettepachsit he frankly confessed, that he had accused him merely

to pacify the enraged multitude, and escape from the torture. Joshua was now pronounced not guilty, yet they would not permit him to return, but insisted on his remaining with them till the Shawanose impostor should arrive. This son of Belial arriving the same day, all the Indians of both sexes were ordered by him to sit down in a large circle, when he would declare who had poison in his possession. The two old chiefs, Tettepachsit and Hackinpomska, were both accused of poison-mixing, and the former was more particularly charged with the untimely death of many Indians. When the Shawanose was asked about Joshua, he indeed declared, that he had no poison, but that he was possessed of an evil spirit, by which he was able to destroy other Indians. Pleased with this verdict, they seized these three poor innocent men, and strictly watched them as condemned criminals. We knew nothing of these horrible events until the evening of the 16th, when a message was brought, that the savages had burned an old woman, who, at a former period, had been baptized by the brethren, and also that our poor Joshua was kept a close prisoner.

“On the 17th our distress and fear concerning the fate of Joshua rose still higher. We were stunned with horror on seeing ten of the most savage Indians, with blackened faces, conducting Tettepachsit, arrive in our settlement. Soon after, these murderous wretches kindled a large fire close to our place, and, having given the aged chief a blow on the head with a war-hatchet, threw him alive into the flames, diverting themselves with the miserable cries and convulsions of the poor dying man. The flames communicated to the grass and

wood near the settlement, by which all our dwellings were filled with smoke.

“After committing this horrid murder, the savages came boldly into our house, boasting of their atrocious deed, and assuming a hypocritical mien, demanded bread and tobacco, which we were obliged to give them. We took courage to ask them, what would be the fate of Joshua. They immediately began to accuse him, saying, there was good reason for detaining him a prisoner, for they well knew that he understood the black art; and could destroy the Indians, his faith in our doctrines being a mere pretence. In vain we endeavoured to convince them of the falsehood of these assertions. They pretended to set our minds at ease, by saying, that they would not kill him. We charged them to tell their captains, that they ought well to consider what they were doing; that Joshua had long been a believer, and had never had any concern with the things of which they accused him, for he was a servant of God, and had renounced the devil and all his works; and that he was of the Mahikan tribe, and not a Delaware, and had accompanied us as interpreter. We therefore requested, that they would immediately release him, for we should consider all they did unto him, as done unto ourselves, &c. But they manifested the most diabolical hypocrisy; for though they knew that Joshua was to be murdered that very day, they promised to deliver our words to the captains. We easily perceived that our defence of Joshua had displeased them, and they left our place in a riotous manner.

“Though we had been informed that the savages suspected us of keeping poison, for the purpose of

making those Indians sick who would not do as we directed them; and though we did not know to what length the devil might instigate them to carry their fury, nor what our fate might be; yet we felt ourselves constrained to go to their assembly, and try what we could do for the preservation of Joshua, or, at least, to give him comfort and advice, should we even suffer for it. But as my wife and children, writes brother Kluge, could not be left alone in so dreadful a situation, brother Luckenbach took courage to go alone.

“ He had hardly proceeded half way before he met an Indian, who informed him that Joshua had become a victim to their cruelty on the foregoing day. They had given him two cuts in his head with a hatchet, and then thrown him into the fire. With these dreadful tidings brother Luckenbach returned to us in the afternoon. This was the heaviest stroke we had yet met with. Dread and terror took from us all power of speech and reflection, and we could do nothing but utter cries of lamentation and woe.

“ Having, in some degree, recovered ourselves, our first thought was to sell all our goods, and fly as expeditiously as possible towards Goshen. During our preparations for the journey, a sudden change of the weather to severe cold prevented us from departing so soon as we intended.

“ Some days after, we were informed, that Joshua had spoken a great deal at the place where he was murdered, in a language not understood by the Indians; which led us to suppose, that he had directed his prayers to the Lord in German, which he spoke well. When the savages forced him from us, he was in a very comfortable state of mind,

and seemed well prepared to leave the world, and as a reconciled sinner to meet his Saviour. In the following days more Indians were accused, and shared the same fate."

Since that period, pleasing accounts have been given of the mission among the Cherokees, which, however, has recently been disturbed by circumstances which will shortly be alluded to.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have for some years past had several stations among this people, to whose civilization and evangelization their labours have been greatly blessed.

A gentleman, on a journey, turned out of his way, from curiosity, and spent a day at the station called Brainerd. He went into the school, heard every class read and recite; in fact, examined every thing. At parting, he gave a very handsome donation to the mission, and soon after wrote to a friend: "I declare that I never saw a better regulated school, or scholars of more promising talents and dispositions. They were quick of apprehension, retentive in memory, docile and affectionate."— Previous to this visit, he did not believe in the practicability of Indian reform; and thought all efforts to civilize and christianize the people little better than useless. His testimony therefore has great weight.

Among the proofs afforded of the beneficial effect of religious education is the following:—

J. H. entered the school when about nine years of age, and she continued there, though not very steadily, for about four years, when she died. This little girl was the daughter of the first native who

joined the church. Before coming to the school, she had suffered greatly for want of parental control and instruction. Her mother was capricious and passionate. But very soon after entering it, she had her attention arrested by religious instruction. To her every thing on this subject was new, and when she heard a sentiment opposed to what she had before been taught, she doubted, and sometimes disputed its truth, till her confidence in the superior knowledge of her teachers led her to embrace it. What she thus learned, she faithfully remembered, and repeated to her mother. One instance is now distinctly recollected. "I had spoken to the school," says the missionary, "on the folly of believing in the existence, and fearing the power and malice of witches. J. was all attention, but her countenance shewed that I had invaded an important article of her creed. It was evident she wished to speak, but she could not summon sufficient firmness to do it before the whole school. She, however, looked a contradiction. For two days, it was manifest that this subject almost exclusively occupied her thoughts, and that she regarded me as almost guilty of infidelity, if not blasphemy. At last, when the boys were all absent, she ventured to speak. 'Mr. W.,' said she, 'I seed a witch in mamma's tater patch.' I then entered into conversation with her on the subject, and showed her how easy it was for her to be deceived respecting it. From that moment, her belief and fear of witches vanished. Her mind was very seriously exercised on religious subjects, and she often became the instructor, and sometimes, though always respectfully, the reprover of her mother. It is not known that her labors with

her mother ever produced any abiding effects, until she was called to bury an infant. In this season of affliction J. was allowed to visit her, and she found her indulging a very improper temper, openly arraigning the councils of Heaven and rebelliously murmuring that God had taken away the object of her love. J. was faithful. She told her mother who had chastened her, and for what end He had done it, and how she ought to receive and improve the stroke; exhorting her to prepare to follow her child to eternity. This conversation made impressions on the heart of her mother, which, it is hoped, terminated in her conversion to God. I had never spoken of herself as a christian, till after she became confined to her death-bed. On that, she expressed a hope in the Redeemer, a willingness, and even a desire to die and be with him. The family had indulged a hope, that she was savingly taught and influenced by the Holy Spirit, for a considerable time before she left the school; though they carefully avoided any mention of their hopes to her. But the just views expressed by her on her death-bed, of herself, as a lost and helpless sinner, her clear apprehensions of the way of salvation by Christ, her earnest application to him, and confident reliance upon him, added to her strong expressions of love to him, and desire for the salvation of her friends and youthful companions, afford an unspeakably joyful hope, that she is now with Christ."

A more particular account must be given of Catherine Brown. At the time of her birth her parents dwelt in Wills Valley, in the state of Alabama. In early childhood, Catherine went to visit a Cherokee family, who understood English, and

thus she acquired so much knowledge of it, as to be able to converse on common topics, and to read in words of one syllable. In July, 1817, she was admitted into the school at Brainerd. She was then about seventeen years of age, very interesting in her person and manners, richly attired in the dress of her country, and appearing highly to value the numerous ornaments with which her neck, arms, and hands, were decorated.

Mr. Kingsbury feared she would not yield cheerfully to the regulations of the school; but she engaged in study with so much zeal and perseverance, that her improvement was astonishing. At the end of sixty days, she could read in the bible; after ninety days, she could read fluently in any book; and when she had filled only four sheets of paper, she wrote a neat, handsome hand, without a copy. At an early period she became the subject of religious impressions, and soon, it was hoped, gave herself wholly to the Saviour. She then experienced the most intense longings of soul for the salvation of her benighted, yet beloved countrymen. In her leisure moments the bible was her constant companion, and often were her tears seen to fall on the sacred page.

To her brother David she was most tenderly attached; and frequently did she retire to the woods to pray for his speedy conversion. On one occasion she proceeded thither in the morning, and so ardent were her desires and supplications for his reconciliation to God, that the day glided away unperceived, and she continued her intercessions undisturbed, till the going down of the sun; when she returned to the house with assured hope, that the desire of her heart would, ere long, be granted.

With her female school-fellows she prayed and conversed every evening, in the most earnest and affecting manner; and many were the hopeful converts in the school, neighbourhood, and nation, through the instrumentality of her prayers, labours, and example, while in health, and during her sickness and death.

In January, 1818, the month she was united to the church, her father determined to remove to the Arkansas country, and came with his wife for their daughter. Although the thought of separation from her beloved friends was "more bitter than death," she meekly yielded to the decision of her parents, after having in vain entreated that she might be allowed to remain, until she had acquired sufficient knowledge to be useful to her people. Her father, therefore, bore her away into the deep shades of that forest, where she first opened her eyes on a ruined world. The projected journey was, however, delayed, and Catherine cherished a hope that he might either be disposed to leave her, or decline going altogether. But suddenly preparations were made for a hasty departure, and these gave a fresh stimulus to her prayers. One evening, after being engaged in fervent supplication, she entered the room, where her parents were sitting alone, when her father said, "We know you feel very bad about leaving the missionaries, and going with us to the Arkansas; we have been talking about it; we pity you; and have concluded that you may go back." At hearing this, her emotions were indescribable; and not only did her father take her back to Brainerd, but deferred moving over the Mississippi.

His son David now sought admission into the

school; and, after a time, gave the most satisfactory evidence of a change of heart. Soon after this, his father fell sick at Creek Path, and was speedily visited by his son and daughter. The first thing the former did, on entering the house, was to read the bible, interpreting it, verse by verse, to his parent and the other members of the family, exhorting them all, with great solemnity, to think of their sins, to repent of them, and to love that great, holy, and good God, of whom he had been reading. During his visit he maintained family worship, and declared the truths of the gospel to his connexions and neighbours, who gave many symptoms of religious concern. In about six weeks, Mr. Brown had so far recovered, that he intimated his intention of returning to Brainerd, with David and Catherine, and to make a vigorous effort for a teacher for his own village. Into his views the missionaries cordially entered. The Rev. Mr. Buttrick and John Arch proceeded to Creek Path, and a day was soon appointed for commencing the buildings. When it arrived, men and children assembled in as large numbers as could work to advantage. They went out, cut the timber, and laboured with such zeal and success, that, before night, a school-house, measuring twenty-two feet by seventeen, was put up, and even much of the inside work was completed. The next day, Saturday, they assembled, to work on the roof, door, floor, and chimney, which, in the evening, were so forward, that a meeting on the sabbath was appointed; and Mr. Buttrick preached to a considerable number of black, white, and Cherokee people. Within the week, the house was finished, and the school opened. In a fortnight thirty scholars were

admitted ; and on the second sabbath a school was commenced.

As the want of a female teacher was felt, Catherine Brown was invited to assist Mr. Buttrick ; but though she feared her qualifications were not such as to render her acceptable and useful, she yielded to the wishes of her friends, in whom she placed the greatest confidence. As soon as the tidings reached the ears of her people, their hearts were full of joy ; and immediately more than fifty men, besides boys, proceeded to build a house of the same dimensions as that previously erected.

On Catherine's arrival at the station, she found herself surrounded by twenty promising girls ; and her heart overflowed with gratitude, when she discovered that the minds of all her family were more or less affected by a sense of sin. She had soon the unspeakable joy of seeing them, one after another, bowing down, with broken and contrite hearts, to the sceptre of her almighty and adorable Redeemer. She afterwards resigned her charge to Mrs. Potter, and once more resumed her studies, attending to the higher branches of literature, and hoping thereby to increase her power of doing good among her " poor people," as she often called her countrymen.

Her brother John gradually sunk into a decline, and during the whole of his illness, his affectionate sister hung over his bed of languishing, continually encouraging his faith in the promises of Christ. She was comforted in his death ; for he expired triumphing in redeeming love. A few weeks after, it was perceived, by some of her ever watchful friends, that she had a slight cough, which increased as the next winter approached. She then

became deeply impressed with the subject of death, conversed much about eternity, and said to Mrs. Potter, she rather thought a consumption had settled upon her. Her friend enquired after her feelings in prospect of dissolution; when she answered, with flowing tears, "I am not prepared to die!" Mrs. Potter said, "You have a hope of happiness beyond the grave." She replied, "Yes, I have a hope, resting on the promises of the Saviour; but I have been unfaithful." Her friend was deeply affected; and, for some time, they wept together in silence. At length, Catherine said, in a very sweet tone, "How beautiful this hymn!" and repeated the one, by Dr. Watts, which thus commences:

"Why should we start and fear to die?
What tim'rous worms we mortals are!
Death is the gate to endless joy,
And yet we dread to enter there."

From that evening she never manifested any distressing apprehensions of death or its consequences, as they concerned herself; but, at times, when she spoke of her beloved parents sinking under the infirmities of age and indisposition, her perishing nation, and the brightening prospects of usefulness, she clung to life with longing desires to recover.

Mrs. Potter, the friend of her heart, had watched her declining state with all a mother's tenderness, and a sister's love; and feeling convinced that her end was near, wrote a letter to David, then at the Cornwall mission school. Before sealing it, she said, "Catherine, what shall I say to your brother for you?" After a pause, she replied, "If you will write, I will dictate a short letter." Then

raising herself in bed, and wiping away a falling tear, she began to relate what God had recently done for her soul. "To my partial eye," Mrs. Potter wrote to a friend, "she was at that moment a most interesting spectacle; and I have often wished that her portrait could then have been taken. Her countenance was softened with the affectionate remembrance of an endeared brother; her cheek was a little flushed with the exertion of speaking; her eye beamed with spiritual joy; and a peaceful smile animated the whole scene. I shall never forget it; nor the words she then whispered in my ear." Some of the remarks she made were as follow: "I have found it good for me to be afflicted. The Saviour is very precious to me. I often enjoy his presence, and I long to be where I can enjoy it without sin. I have, indeed, been brought very low, and I did not expect to live until this time. But I have had joy, such as I never experienced before. I longed to be gone; I was ready to die at any moment. We ought to be thankful for what the Lord has done for us. If he had not sent us the gospel, we should have died without any knowledge of the Saviour. You must not be grieved when you hear of my illness; you must remember that this world is not our home; that we must all die soon."

When informed by the physician that death was near, Catherine heard him with seriousness, but manifested no uneasiness or alarm. But when the doctor expressed his fears to her father, the poor old man remained silent some minutes, and motionless as a statue, and then said, with deep solemnity, "The Lord has been good to give me such a child, and he has a right to take her when he thinks best.

But though it is my duty to give her up, it is hard to part with her."

Catherine remained calm and unmoved till the sorrows of death encompassed her; but then, as she saw the grief of her father, mother, and sister, the tears started into her eyes. As the powers of nature gave way, and she felt herself sinking, she frequently held out her hand to her weeping friends, as though she longed to comfort them; then raising her eyes, beaming with love and tenderness, towards her weeping mother, on whom they rested for a moment, she closed them in death. Her age was about twenty-three. Her remains were conveyed to Creek Path, and placed by the side of those of her brother John. A neat wooden monument marks the spot where they will rest till the morning of that glorious day, when all the sons and daughters of the Lord Almighty will burst the bars of death, and rise triumphing in the love of their exalted Redeemer.

Of a native female baptized at the station named Dwight, in affectionate remembrance of the late president of Yale College, the following interesting sketch is given:—

"Tahneh was a full-blooded Cherokee, and daughter of a considerable chief and warrior. She came to this part of the country in the year 1818: at that time she was, as nearly as we could ascertain, fifty-eight years old. By her former neighbours she was reputed an honest, industrious, persevering, and kind woman; generally respected, and even beloved. There was a marked defect, however, in her character—great irritability and peevishness: much of this, doubtless, was attributable to ill health.

“ In the winter of 1822-23, she was placed under the sound of the gospel, which, till that time, she had never heard. Her first attendance on public worship was at the request of one of her near neighbours ; according to whose desire, an abstract was given of the life, miracles, sufferings, and death of the Saviour : this was followed by a personal application to herself. With the whole she was deeply interested, and expressed a desire that the same gracious words might be spoken to her whenever opportunity offered. From that moment it was manifest that Divine truth had reached her heart, and was exerting its influence there. She became deeply distressed ; and her mind greatly perplexed with some of the doctrines of the gospel. In vain did she try to reconcile the sinner's entire helplessness and dependence with his moral freedom and his duty to use the means of grace : her heart was evidently hostile to these truths. When told that a condemned heathen would be punished with less severity in the world of retribution than a rejecter of the gospel, she very fervently expressed the wish that she had never heard it ; as she was sure that she should be among the condemned, and must suffer for having abused her privileges and rejected the offered salvation. She continued for several weeks after this very much distressed, and opposing her only Deliverer, until she felt herself wholly lost, her strength entirely spent, and that she must have a Saviour or perish : then she turned to the Lord Jesus Christ, and found him a precious, a willing, a sufficient Saviour.

“ In July, 1824, while on a visit at Dwight, she expressed a desire to receive baptism. Her examination was very particular, and every answer

gave entire satisfaction to all the members of the church : the graces of meekness, penitence, and humble trust in God our Saviour, were prominently manifested ; and gave us reason to hope that she would be enabled to exhibit the best of all proofs of a new heart—a holy life. In September following, Tahneh presented herself before the congregation, and solemnly entered into covenant with God and his people. At her baptism she was called Naomi. Not long after this, some grievous charges were brought against her by those who opposed christians and christianity : but, so far as could be ascertained, they were utterly groundless ; and it appeared that she had adorned her christian profession, and had borne the cruel persecutions with which she had been honoured, with the gentleness and patient forbearance of primitive christianity.

“ She was, at that time, visited with another severe affliction, in the sickness of her only son ; whose disease, a pulmonary consumption, seemed rapidly drawing to a fatal termination. The young man was afterwards brought by her to the station ; as he wished to spend the short remnant of his life with us, that he might receive christian instruction and consolation while he lived, and christian burial after his decease. In March, 1825, he died ; not without giving us ground to hope that he was enabled, though with a weak and trembling faith, to trust his soul in the hands of the Redeemer. We rejoiced greatly to see, at that time of sorrow, the triumph of christian principle and the consolations of christian hope, in the case of Naomi : had her son been taken from her two years before, she would have been inconsolable ; and her heart and tongue

would have risen in rebellion against the appointments of Heaven. "When," said she, "about nine months ago, I was permitted to embrace my only and long-absent son, I thought I was a poor, feeble, helpless old woman, and that my Saviour had sent my son to be a stay and comfort to me, as I walked down the decline of life to the grave. I certainly rejoiced, and I hope I was thankful. And now, when I think how soon my son was laid aside by sickness, how he suffered and languished away, and now is gone, to come back to his mother no more, I sometimes feel my heart say, 'It is hard! It ought not to be so!' But, when I remember my sins, what I deserve, how many comforts are yet left to me, and that my Saviour has done this, my heart says, 'It is well!' We shall not long be parted. I feel I shall soon follow him, and that my Saviour will take me to himself for ever."

"About the middle of the same month, Naomi became ill; and towards the close of it, breathed out her soul into the hands of her Saviour. During the whole of her sickness, until she lost her senses, she bore her pains, which were very severe, without a murmur, saying, 'It is my Saviour's hand! I am resigned and happy!' Even after her delirium commenced, many of her expressions indicated that her soul was stayed on God.

"Her life on earth was a life of sorrow. Almost every dispensation of Providence toward her, since we have known her, has seemed to say, 'This is not your rest. But we doubt not that she is now in a world where all tears are wiped from her eyes, and where she has found, by experience, that 'they who humble themselves shall be exalted.'

“The memory of Naomi is affectionately cherished by all the mission family, and especially by the native brothers and sisters. Even her enemies are now at peace with her, and often speak most respectfully of her, and of the evidence which she gave of true piety. One of her daughters is now a member of our church; and it is believed that the example, affectionate instructions, exhortations, and prayers of her mother, had an important influence in leading her to embrace the hope of the gospel.”

At Willstown the truth has also had “free course.” A member of the church and of the mission family, named Achsah, died in June, 1826. She was a full Cherokee, and naturally amiable and prepossessing in her manners, when she overcame her diffidence. Her illness, a gradual decline, gave her an opportunity to exhibit her christian hope in the full view of approaching dissolution. Through Divine grace, her light shone, rendered brighter by the darkness that surrounded it. It was such a light, it is thought, as probably was never before seen in this valley. Her mind was calm and unclouded to the last, her hope unshaken, and her faith victorious.

A native convert, who had been the principal agent in meetings carried on at one place, was furnished, by the missionaries at Carmel, with some English tracts, to give to such white men as came in his way. Not long after, a white man, from some of the adjoining counties, came on a visit, and received a tract from the Cherokee. He carried it home, read it, and handed it to a neighbour, who perused it, and by this means was converted; and has since, it appears, made a public profession of religion. Thus can truth, though

disseminated by feeble instruments, when accompanied by the Spirit of God, be effectual to the salvation of souls ; and thus can a humble, yet devoted christian, be honoured by conveying the truth to his perishing fellow-men.

A new character has been invented under singular circumstances. An illiterate Cherokee, named George Guess, was not able to speak English, but had ascertained that marks could be made the symbols of sound ; he, therefore, thought that all the syllables of the Cherokee language might be thus expressed ; and further, that if it could be done, he might accomplish it. After long and close application, he could remember eighty-four syllables, which he represented by various characters, some of which he made like our Roman letters, a very little altered ; and others he invented himself. After becoming thoroughly acquainted with his marks or symbols, he commenced writing letters to his unenlightened countrymen, which they could read after a little instruction. It was soon discovered that Indians could talk on paper to their friends, five hundred miles beyond the Mississippi ; and the whole nation was thus roused to enthusiastic admiration. The tidings spread with such rapidity, that enterprising young men travelled from the remote parts of the nation to acquire this important art, which, however, seldom detained them more than two or three days. Wherever they went afterwards, they were followed by multitudes, to whom, with delight, they communicated their newly acquired knowledge. It appears, there are only ninety syllables in the Cherokee language, although it is considered a very copious one ; and few doubts are entertained, that if books were immediately

printed in Guess's character, persons would be found in every part of the nation who could read them after a few hours' instruction.

At first it was thought that nothing further need be done, to make the Indians a wise people, than to print them books in this new character; but, after continued reflection, it appeared for the general good to teach the greater number of them English, so that they might possess the key of knowledge to untold treasures of history, politics, and religion, which, without knowing that language may be forever hidden from their view. Most desirable is it that the bible, some tracts, and a few standard works on practical christianity should be printed in this very popular form; so that all those who are unable to acquire a knowledge of English works generally, may, notwithstanding, be made acquainted with all that is necessary to salvation. The national council, with becoming liberality, have appropriated sufficient money to procure a printing-press with English and Cherokee types, and laid a foundation for a public school, to be called the National Academy. The press has been for some time in operation, and a newspaper is in circulation, printed partly in English, and partly in Cherokee.

Another fact also deserves attention:—After a new government had been established for a long time, no atrocious crime had occurred, until a man committed murder. He had a regular trial, and was condemned to be hanged the next day. It is stated that the jury were in tears when they brought in their verdict. All the men, women, and children present, fasted from the time he was condemned until after the execution, and

were principally engaged in singing, exhortation, and prayer.

“ The following extracts contain an interesting detail of the recent circumstances of this people, and are from the pen of Mr. Worcester, a missionary lately residing at New Echota :—

“ Dear sir,—I cheerfully comply with your request, that I would forward to you a statement respecting the progress of improvement among your people, the Cherokees. Whatever might be said of the propriety or impropriety of missionaries discussing the question of the removal of the Indians, it can hardly be doubted that it is proper for any one to give a statement of what passes under his observation, in regard to the present condition of the tribes interested in that question. I shall not say any thing in this communication, which I shall be unwilling to have come before the public, accompanied with my proper signature, if occasion require.

“ Whatever deficiencies there may be in my statements, I shall use my utmost endeavour, that nothing colored, nothing which will not bear the strictest scrutiny, may find a place.

“ It may not be amiss to state, briefly, what opportunities I have enjoyed of forming a judgment respecting the state of the Cherokee people. It was four years last October, since I came to the nation; during which time I have made it my home, having resided two years at Brainerd, and the remainder of the time at this place. Though I have not spent very much of the time in travelling, yet I have visited almost every part of the nation, except a section of the north-east. Two annual sessions of the general council have

passed while I have been residing at the seat of government, at which times a great number of the people of all classes, and from all parts, are to be seen.

“ The statistical information which has been published respecting this nation, I hope you have on hand, or will receive from some other source; it goes far towards giving a correct view of the state of the people. I have only to say, that, judging from what I see around me, I believe that a similar enumeration, made the present year, would show, by the comparison, a rapid improvement since the census was taken.

“ The printed constitution and laws of your nation, also, you doubtless have. They show your progress in civil polity. As far as my knowledge extends they are executed with a good degree of efficiency, and their execution meets with not the least hindrance from any thing like a spirit of insubordination among the people. Oaths are constantly administered in the courts of justice, and I believe I have never heard of an instance of perjury.

“ It has been well observed by others, that the progress of a people in civilization is to be determined by comparing the present with the past. I can only compare what I see with what I am told has been.

“ The present principal chief is about forty years of age. When he was a boy, his father procured him a good suit of clothes, in the fashion of the sons of civilized people; but he was so ridiculed by his mates as a white boy, that he took off his new suit, and refused to wear it. The editor of the Cherokee Phoenix is twenty-seven years old.

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He well remembers that he felt awkward and ashamed of his singularity, when he began to wear the dress of a white boy. Now every boy is proud of a civilized suit, and those feel awkward and ashamed of their singularity who are destitute of it. At the last session of the general council, I scarcely recollect having seen any members who were not clothed in the same manner as the white inhabitants of the neighbouring states; and those very few (I am informed that the precise number was four) who were partially clothed in Indian style, were, nevertheless, very decently attired. The dress of civilized people is general throughout the nation. I have seen, I believe, only one Cherokee woman, and she an aged woman, away from her home, who was not clothed in, at least, a decent long gown. At home only one, a very aged woman, who appeared willing to be seen in the original native dress; three or four, only, who had at their own houses dressed themselves in Indian style, but hid themselves with shame at the approach of a stranger. I am thus particular, because particular instances give more accurate ideas than general statements. Among the elderly men there is yet a considerable portion, I dare not say whether a majority or a minority, who retain the Indian dress in part. The younger men almost all dress like the whites around them, except that the greater number wear a turban instead of a hat, and in cold weather a blanket frequently serves for a cloak. Cloaks, however, are becoming common. There yet remains room for improvement in dress, but that improvement is making with surprising rapidity.

“The arts of spinning and of weaving, the

Cherokee women, generally, put in practice. Most of their garments are of their own spinning and weaving, from cotton the produce of their own fields; though much calico is worn, nor is silk uncommon. Numbers of the men wear imported clothes, broad-cloths, &c., and many wear mixed cotton and wool, the manufacture of their wives; but the greater part are clothed principally in cotton.

“ Except in the arts of spinning and weaving, but little progress has been made in manufactures. A few Cherokees, however, are mechanics.

“ Agriculture is the principal employment and support of the people. It is the dependence of almost every family. As to the wandering part of the people, who live by the chase, if they are to be found in the nation, I certainly have not discovered them, nor even heard of them, except from the house of Congress, and other distant sources of information. I do not know of a single family who depend, in any considerable degree, on game for a support. It is true that deer and turkies are frequently killed, but not in sufficient numbers to form any dependence as the means of subsistence. The land is cultivated with very different degrees of industry; but I believe that few fail of an adequate supply of food. The ground is uniformly cultivated by means of the plough, and not, as formerly, by the hoe only.

The houses of the Cherokees are of all sorts, from an elegant painted or brick mansion down to a very mean log cabin. If we speak, however, of the mass of the people, they live in comfortable log houses, generally one story high, but frequently two; sometimes of hewn logs, and sometimes un-

hewn ; commonly with a wooden chimney, and a floor of puncheons, or what a New England man would call slabs. Their houses are not generally well furnished ; many have scarcely any furniture, though a few are furnished even elegantly, and many decently. Improvement in the furniture of their houses appears to follow after improvement in dress, but at present is making rapid progress.

“As to education, the number who can read and write English is considerable, though it bears but a moderate proportion to the whole population. Among such, the degree of improvement and intelligence is various. The Cherokee language, as far as I can judge, is read and written by a large majority of those between childhood and middle age. Only a few who are much beyond middle age have learned.

“In regard to the progress of religion, I will state, as nearly as I am able, the number of members in the churches of the several denominations. The whole number of native members of the Presbyterian churches is not far from one hundred and eighty. In the churches of the United Brethren, there are about fifty-four. In the Baptist churches I do not know the number ; probably as many as fifty. The Methodists, I believe, reckon in their society, more than eight hundred ; of whom I suppose the greater part are natives. Many of the heathenish customs of the people are gone entirely, or almost entirely, into disuse, and others are fast following their steps. I believe the greater part of the people acknowledge the Christian religion to be the true religion, although many who make this acknowledgment know very little of that religion, and many others do not feel

its power. Through the blessing of our God, however, religion is steadily gaining ground.

“But, it will be asked, is the improvement which has been described general among the people, and are the full-blooded Indians civilized, or only the half-breeds? I answer that, in the description which I have given, I have spoken of the mass of the people, without distinction. If it be asked, however, what class are most advanced, I answer, as a general thing—those of mixed blood. They have taken the lead, although some of full blood are as civilized as any. But, though those of mixed blood are generally in the van, as might naturally be expected, yet the whole mass of the people is on the march.”

Political troubles have unhappily arisen since the date of this letter. The government has been hindered in its operations, their laws have been counteracted, by the extension of the jurisdiction of the state of Georgia over their territory, many of their citizens have been imprisoned, and the Cherokee nation has been threatened with banishment from their country. The missionaries of the board have been forbidden to reside among them, by the laws of Georgia, and four of them were arrested. The charge has been that they have used improper exertions to induce the Cherokees to refuse to sell their country and remove across the Mississippi river; that they have encouraged them to oppose the extension of the jurisdiction of the state of Georgia over them, and to resist the general policy of that state and of the government of the United States, so far as they were concerned. But these allegations, brought before the public in the most general

manner, without specification of time, place, or circumstance, and without any attempt at proof, the committee of the board of missions have always been confident were wholly without foundation, and could not be substantiated by any competent and impartial testimony.

"These transactions," says the *Missionary Herald*, "present a new scene in the history of the United States. It yet remains to be seen in what light our citizens will view it, and what feelings they will express. Heretofore, when they have seen men seized, tried, convicted, and imprisoned, they have seen them to be the intemperate and profane, the fraudulent, riotous, and frequenters of the haunts of dissipation and crime; they have seen them taken for their deeds of dishonesty and outrage, and made to bear the penalty of the law, with the full approbation of the whole intelligent and virtuous part of the community. Now they witness a new scene. They behold men of highly-cultivated minds, men of irreproachable moral and religious character, citizens pursuing lawful occupations in a peaceable manner, charged with no crime but that of being found occupying their own houses and lands, where they had gone with the express approbation of the government of the United States; such men our citizens now see dragged from their schools, their pulpits, and their ministrations at the Lord's table, chained one to another, like felons of the first order, and hurried before a criminal court and to prison. Our citizens have been accustomed to see offenders against the laws arrested by civil officers, acting in obedience to the warrant of a civil magistrate; but now they see armed soldiers,

without any civil precept, scouring the country, arresting whom they please, and releasing them when and where they please. Our citizens have been accustomed to see persons that were under arrest, especially before their condemnation, treated with great humanity, subjected to no unnecessary confinement or hardship, borne down with no insult or abuse; but now they see those who make no attempt to resist or escape, loaded with irons, forced to travel great distances on foot, vilified, reproached, and threatened by their captors. Such scenes as these are strange and unexpected in this country; they are so strange, that perhaps our citizens cannot believe that they exist. But they are actually witnessed at the present time; and the missionaries which the churches have sent forth to the unevangelized are the sufferers."

Since the preceding paragraph was penned, Mr. Worcester, and Dr. Butler have been tried, and the charges already adverted to were urged against them by the judge, when he sentenced them to the Georgia penitentiary for the term of four years, though the only crime alleged in the indictment, and for which they were put on trial, was that of being found residing in the Cherokee territory without having taken a prescribed oath.

The penitentiary in which they are, contains about one hundred prisoners. They are confined at night in separate rooms; they are clad in a shirt and trowsers of coarse cotton, having the initials of their names, and the term of imprisonment painted in large characters on the breast; a blanket is furnished for a bed and covering at night; and their food is coarse, though whole-

some and of sufficient quantity. Mr. Worcester is principally employed in a shop as a mechanic, and Dr. Butler in turning a lathe-wheel.

In a letter from the former an interesting proof is given of the consoling power of true religion. "Though I am in apparent distress," he says, "I am not cast down; though I am troubled, I am not forsaken; and though my body is imprisoned, my soul is at full liberty. O this precious liberty of soul! It is of more value than liberty of body, than the society of the nearest and dearest friends; yea, it is of more value than life itself; the enjoyment of rubies and all the riches of the world are not to be compared with it. Here I find communion with God more precious than in any other place; for here it is the source of all my enjoyment. Being cut off from the various enjoyments of life, why is it not reasonable that there should be additional enjoyment in God; even that enjoyment which will fill up the vacuity occasioned by the privation of other enjoyments. I hope I am now, and shall ever be, thankful for the enjoyments of this place." There is also, it appears, a prospect of much good. He adds, "I am confined by night in a building with fifty-eight others; we occupy two rooms, connected together by a pair of stairs. I have worship every evening; when I read the bible, exhort, and sing, before prayer. Sometimes I am occupied for hours in answering questions on religious subjects. There are two or three of our number I have some hope are really pious; though their fruits must decide their true state. Several have solemnly resolved to renounce their profaneness and other acts of wickedness."

The case of the imprisoned missionaries was

brought before the supreme court of the United States in February, 1832. On the 3d of March its opinion was given in their favour, and an order issued for their release ; but this had not been complied with by Georgia, when the last intelligence was received.

The course thus pursued and continued is an awful one, so far as the aggressors are concerned. Jehovah makes the cause of his people his own. "Vengeance is mine ; I will repay, saith the Lord." The day of visitation will therefore come ; and who can tell when it will close ? The wrath to be poured out is that of God, and it is a fearful thing to fall into his hands. Other generations may look on Georgia as we do on the oppressors and enemies of the christian cause, whose sin and punishment are indelibly engraven on our memories. But what has thus occurred shall tend to the promotion of the truth. How will it stir up the friends of missions to more self-denying and generous exertion, while their prayers shall become more ardent and prevailing. Many of the prisoners, to whom the gospel has thus been brought, may yet become the sons of God. The missionaries too shall come forth as gold. They are preparing for higher and holier services. The violence to which Satan urges his vassals, at once militates against his own power, and extends the kingdom which, with equal folly and malignity, he dares to assail.

In 1817, some missionaries from Brainerd proceeded to the Choctaw nation, where they commenced a station, to which they gave the name of Eliot. But not long after the school was established, and the mission family began to be cheered by the prospect of success, they met with a severe trial in

the murder of an old woman, named Ell-e-kee, who had lived with them some time, and afforded them valuable assistance. The circumstances were these: A young female came from a distance to reside near the place where Eliot now stands, a short time before the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury's arrival in that country, but she fell sick, and an old woman, a conjuring doctor, engaged to perform a cure. She, therefore, went through a variety of operations, such as burning the body in many places, and producing ulcers, applying decoctions of roots and herbs, internally and externally, until she pronounced her cured. The father was apprised of the recovery of his daughter, and came to conduct her home. He settled the doctor's bill, by the payment of a horse, and went to bed, intending to proceed on his journey early the next morning; but during the night his daughter died. It was immediately decided that she died of "witch-shot," and a large reward was offered for the discovery of the offender. A conjuror was consulted, who denounced the Chickasaw woman, Ell-e-kee, as the witch who had done the deed. At that time she did not live with Mr. Kingsbury, but occupied a little cabin, two or three miles off, with her two daughters, two little grand-daughters, and her son, about twenty years of age, who went out to labour, but came home at night. The father of the girl, attended by a number of stout men, armed with various instruments of death, went out, therefore, in pursuit of their victim, and entered her cabin, saying, they had been hunting for cattle. Affectionate and hospitable in her disposition, Ell-e-kee set out the best repast her little cottage afforded; when, after they had finished supper, the leader of

the band of ruffians slipped behind her, and caught hold of her hair, saying, "I have bought your life; you are a witch; and must die." She had only time to say, "Other people tell lies, and you believe them," before the murderers fell upon her, stabbing and cutting her flesh with their long knives, and then finished the dreadful work by dashing her head with clubs. As she fell, one of her little grand-daughters received her lifeless body, and the barbarians disappeared. When the son of Ell-e-kee returned home, he was appalled by the sight that met his view; and as he had often laboured for the missionaries, he went to them with his tale of woe. Mr. Kingsbury gave directions for a coffin to be made, and hastily repaired to the scene of death. He found the dreary cabin partially illumined by a dim fire, the daughters in the deepest affliction, and the little girls sobbing over the remains of one whom they all loved most tenderly. The mangled corpse lay on the floor of earth bathed in blood, and partly covered with a blanket. When this was removed, the grief of the mourners was again renewed, and their loud sobs and moans told the deep anguish of their bleeding hearts.

Mr. Kingsbury did all that was practicable for the comfort of the family. The next day the customary services were performed; and after the coffin of Ell-e-kee was lowered down, the people brought all her clothes, and what little money she had, and even the skins that formed her bed, and put them into the grave, and filled it. The reason of this was, that the Choctaws have some vague notions of a hereafter, and suppose their friends will have need of the same things in a future state, that they most valued in the present life. A few years

ago, the favourite dogs, horses, cattle, &c. of a man were shot, and buried with him. It is painful to add, that many murders have been committed for supposed witchcraft every year. The kindness manifested by the missionaries in the case of Ell-e-kee, however, did much to win the confidence of the natives.

The desire discovered for instruction was often peculiarly strong. To give one instance, a caravan of Indians, removing from one part of the tribe to another, encamped near Eliot, and gladly employed Mr. Fisk to repair their tools, as they intended to forego the chase, and to live by agriculture in their new settlement. The travellers were invited to visit the mission-school in the evening; and it made an attractive appearance when the pictures and lessons were arranged, and the room was well lighted. The strangers entered it with evident amazement and delight; and the neat appearance of the children, their orderly, cheerful, and agreeable behaviour, and their sweet singing, induced one of the visitors to remark, that "he should not be tired of sitting there all night." The next morning, when the party were about to proceed on their journey, a girl, about thirteen years of age, pleaded most earnestly to be taken into the school, but she was told that many had been refused, and that no more could be received. Her friends endeavoured to pacify her, by reminding her that she had no clothes like the scholars, and that this was a sufficient reason for her not remaining. To her, however, it was no objection; for she had a cow, which she said she would sell, and purchase suitable clothing. Mr. Kingsbury felt unable to refuse any longer, and resolved she should stay, fully persuaded that the Lord would provide. After his

consent was given, an inferior chieftain, uncle to the little girl, offered to pay for her clothing and blankets, and thus, to her great delight, she entered the school.

Almost the first christian visitor ever received at Eliot, was Adam Hodgson, esq., an English traveller from Liverpool, who, assured of a hearty welcome, turned out of his way sixty miles. He thus describes his interview with Mr. Kingsbury in his own room, which, with his accustomed hospitality, he had resigned for the accommodation of his friend :—" A log cabin, detached from the other wooden buildings, in the middle of a boundless forest, in an Indian country, consecrated, if I may be allowed the expression, by standing on missionary ground, and by forming at once the dormitory and sanctuary of 'a man of God;' it seemed to be indeed the prophet's chamber, with the 'bed and the table, the stool and the candlestick.' It contained also a little book-case, with a valuable selection of pious books, periodical, biographical, and devotional; among which I found many an old acquaintance in this foreign land, and which enable Mr. Kingsbury, in his few moments of leisure, to converse with many who have long since joined the spirits of just men made perfect, or to sympathize with his fellow-labourers in Otaheite, Africa, or Hindostan. About midnight we became thirsty with talking so much, and he proposed that we should walk to the spring at a little distance. The night was beautifully serene after the heavy showers of the preceding night; and the coolness of the air, the fresh fragrance of the trees, the deep stillness of the midnight hour, and the soft light which an unclouded moon shed on the log cabins

of the missionaries, contrasted with the dark shadows of the surrounding forest, impressed me with feelings which I can never forget."

Speaking of the mission-family, Mr. Hodgson remarked, "I was particularly struck with their apparent humility, with their kindness of manner towards one another, and the little attentions which they seemed solicitous to reciprocate. They spoke very lightly of their privations, and of the trials which the world supposes to be their greatest; sensible, as they said, that these are often experienced in at least an equal degree, by the soldier, the sailor, and even the merchant. Yet, in this country, these trials are by no means trifling. Lying out, for two or three months, in the woods, with their little babes, in tents which cannot resist the rain here, falling in torrents, such as I never saw in England, within sound of the nightly howling of wolves, and occasionally visited by panthers, which have approached almost to the door: the females must be allowed to require some courage; while, during many seasons of the year, the men cannot go twenty miles from home (and they are often obliged to go thirty or forty for provisions,) without swimming their horses over four or five creeks. Yet, as all these inconveniences are suffered by others with cheerfulness from worldly motives, they could wish them suppressed in the missionary reports, if they were not calculated to deter many from engaging as missionaries, under the idea that it is an easy, retired life. Their real trials they stated to consist in their own imperfections, and in those mental maladies, which the retirement of a desert cannot cure. In the course of our walks Mr. Williams pointed out to

me a simple tomb, in which he had deposited the remains of a younger brother, who lost his way in the desert, in coming out to join them, and whose long exposure to rain and fasting, laid the foundation of a fatal disease. It was almost in sight of one of those Indian mounds, of which the oldest Indians can give no account. They resemble the cairns in Scotland; and one of the missionaries mentioned having seen a skeleton dug out of one of them. I was gratified by my visit to Eliot, this garden in a moral wilderness; and was pleased with the opportunity of seeing a missionary settlement in its infant state, before the wounds from recent separation from kindred and friends had ceased to bleed, and habit had rendered the missionaries familiar with the peculiarities of their novel situation. The sight of the children also, many of them still in Indian costume, was most interesting; I could not help imagining that, before me, might be some Alfred of this western world, the future founder of institutions which are to enlighten and civilize this country; some Choctaw Swartz, or Eliot, destined to disseminate the blessings of christianity from the Mississippi to the Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Frozen Sea. I contrasted them in their social, their moral, and their religious condition, with the straggling hunters and their painted faces, who occasionally stare through the windows, or with the half naked savages, whom we had seen a few nights before, dancing round their midnight fires, with their tomahawks and scalping-knives, rending the air with their fierce war-whoop, or making the woods thrill with their savage yells. But they form a still stronger contrast with the poor Indians,

whom we had seen on the frontier, corrupted, degraded, debased, by their intercourse with English, Irish, or American traders. It was not without emotion that I parted, in all human probability, for ever, in this world, from my kind and interesting friends, and prepared to return to the tumultuous scenes of a busy world; from which, if life be spared, my thoughts will often stray to the sacred solitudes of Yellow Busha, as to a source of the most grateful and refreshing recollections."

In order that the following narrative from Mr. Kingsbury, dated Jan. 28, 1829, may be better understood, it may be stated that the Choctaw nation is divided into three districts, each of which has a principal chief elected by the people; and that each of these districts is divided into many smaller portions, over each of which a headman or captain presides, who is elected by the people of his clan. He says—

"For more than a year past, there has been manifested in those parts of the nation where it was enjoyed, an increasing disposition to hear religious instruction. In the early part of last year, a few individuals became pious: two of them have united with the church, and two others are candidates for admission. In the neighbourhood of Black Creek, about forty miles below Eliot, where our lamented brother Hooper bestowed his last labours, a very general seriousness prevailed at the time of his death. The people had resolved on building immediately a meeting-house, and individuals had offered very liberal subscriptions towards that object.

"But the most marked and general attention to the subject of religion, and one which has given a

new impulse to the cause among the Choctaws, commenced under the labours of our methodist brethren in the south-west part of the nation. At a general meeting, convened in July or August expressly for religious instruction, and which with propriety might be called a camp-meeting, six or seven Choctaw men became deeply impressed, while listening to a simple statement of the crucifixion of our Saviour. Several hundreds have manifested a desire to be instructed in the gospel. A number of these give good evidence of piety; and it is peculiarly gratifying, that among them are several of our former scholars. In respect to some of these, we had despaired of any advantage arising to themselves or others, from their education. Now there is a prospect that they will become teachers of schools, interpreters, and perhaps preachers of the gospel, to their nation.

“It is worthy of notice, that, at the commencement of the above work, the old men, whom once it was supposed nothing could move, were the first affected; and all, with one exception, were captains of clans. When these warriors, whose cheeks had never before been wet with tears, were ridiculed because they wept, they replied, ‘It is not the hand of man that has made us weep: it is our Maker that has caused it. You never saw us weep for what man could do to us, but we cannot withstand God. If your Maker should deal with you as he has with us, you would weep too.’ These are now persons of prayer, and appear to be new creatures.

“This work of grace has carried with it such convincing evidence, that almost all have been constrained to acknowledge it the work of God.

One of the principal chiefs, an enlightened man, and formerly no ways disposed to favour such a work, has been entirely convinced that no other than the Almighty God had power to produce such a change in the Choctaws. He now spends much time at religious meetings, and on other occasions, in making known the gospel to his people. Some very unusual and remarkable means seemed to be required in the case of the Choctaws, to overcome their prejudices, and to arouse them to an attention to the gospel. Such means, it is conceived, infinite Wisdom has employed in relation to the above-mentioned religious excitement.

“On the first sabbath in December, we had a meeting at the new station near Col. Folsom’s, the senior of the three highest chiefs. It was a solemn and interesting occasion. The sacrament of the Lord’s supper was administered for the first time at that place. The chief of this district came out very decidedly on the Lord’s side, and spoke with much feeling and effect to his people on the truths of the gospel, affectionately recommending them to believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only Saviour for sinners, and to obey his commands. About ten expressed a desire to seek in earnest the salvation of their souls.

“On the last sabbath in December, the sacrament was administered at Eliot. The chief of that district was present, and twice addressed the people, very appropriately and earnestly, on the great subject of religion, recommending them to attend to the great salvation offered in the gospel. Much seriousness was manifested, and some were anxious to know what they should do to be saved. The next day the chief, with one of the brethren, went

to a place fourteen miles distant, where a council was to be held. A number of young people had also assembled on the occasion for a Christmas dance. It was between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, before all had supped. The captain, at whose house we were assembled, then invited all to the cabin which had been provided for us. It was literally filled, and also the piazza. After a short discourse, which was interpreted, the chief addressed them for an hour and a quarter, explaining to them the gospel, and inviting them to receive it. There was a patient, respectful, and solemn attention. On the first sabbath in January there was a general meeting at Hebron. This was a very solemn season. A number appeared deeply impressed with a sense of their sins, and some, who had previously been awakened, expressed a hope of an interest in the atoning blood of Jesus. On the sabbath following, a meeting was held at Ai-ik-hun-na, which was thought to be as solemn and interesting as the preceding. On both these occasions the chief of this district was present, and spoke much and to the purpose. It is a remarkable fact, and one which ought greatly to encourage the friends of missions, that two of the highest chiefs in the nation are now personally, zealously, and effectually labouring to communicate the gospel to their people. The only complaint now against the missionaries is, that they do not preach and visit enough. The fields are white unto the harvest, but the labourers are few indeed. It is not difficult now to obtain competent interpreters."

Among recent instances of success is the following:—"T. came to hear something more of that word, which has of late become so precious to his

soul. I never saw him when he appeared to be more happy in God. The following is the substance of his remarks. "Very true; Jesus, my Saviour, is good indeed; supremely good and kind, in showing mercy to such a vile worm as I am. How just he would have been, to cut me off in my sins. Not on account of any goodness in me, but through his great mercy, Jehovah provided me a Saviour, and has made me willing to submit to him. He saw me just ready to perish; but so great was his love and compassion, that he, as it were, stretched out his hands, and catching hold, saved my sinking soul. Surely, Jesus alone is my Saviour. I love him, but should not have loved him, if he had not loved me first, and died to save me. His blood alone can wash this polluted heart. I hope he has given me a desire to follow him, as long as I live; and, through his aid, I will do so. I have no hope but in him. I desire no other Saviour. As to myself, I am nothing; a worm, an insect of a day: my body is dust; and let it return to dust, from whence it came. Yea, should Jesus call for my soul this very day, it is well. I long to go and be with him. I do know that I am vile, exceedingly vile. I do not say that I am a christian. If I am one, I am the least; a very little child. But my Jesus has bought me; and let him come, however soon, and take his own child home. My heart cries unto him daily, at home and abroad, for his salvation. I hunger, I thirst, for more and more of his good Spirit. But, as I cannot get a full supply here, I long to go and be with him, that I may be satisfied."

Catching hold of the missionary's hand, he

said, "We should, indeed, love one another, since Jesus has loved us."

Speaking of the evil propensities of his heart, he smote violently on his breast, two or three times, and said, his heart wanted to go astray constantly; which made it absolutely necessary for him to watch, and keep it strictly. Much he said in words; but much more, if possible, was expressed in his actions, and countenance. After singing, he poured forth the breathings of his full soul, in humble prayer. Surely there is occasion to rejoice in what the Lord hath wrought in this man. It is all of grace.

In another part of his Journal, Mr. W. says "Y. stayed with us last night. This morning, at our family worship, I requested him to pray, after I had prayed in English; which he did, in a most feeling manner, much as follows. "O my Father! O Jehovah! This morning thou hast lent us; yesterday was thy day, not ours; but it is past, and ours has returned. On thy beloved day, I was in thy beloved house, and heard thy word. I slept here last night, and this morning I am here, in the midst of thy messengers, kneeling down here to make supplication unto thee. O my Father, hear me, pity me, help me. I am a poor ignorant red man, and know nothing. I have broken thy law, and profaned thy sabbaths, very much. I am a poor lost man. O Jehovah, pity me. O my Father! thou, of thine own mind, in love to souls, didst give up thine only Son, Jesus Christ, to die for lost sinners. Jesus surely is the Saviour of such. O Jehovah, thou hast pitied us, thy poor red children, so that thou hast sent us thy word, by thy servants that are in the midst of us.

We praise thee, O Jehovah, my Father above! When I hear of Jesus suffering and dying for poor sinners, it gives me sorrow of heart. O Jesus! thy blood was spilt, [or poured out,] and thou didst, in agony, die for sinners. With thine own blood thou hast bought my soul. Thy blood can cleanse from sin: nothing else can. O that thou wouldst pity me, and wash my filthy heart with thy precious blood. [Tears almost forbade his utterance.] I am thine: we are all thine, by the purchase of thy own blood. Do not cast off one of us. Do pity us; we are helpless. If we say we will cleanse our own hearts, and try to do it, we cannot. O Jesus, thy blood alone is our hope, we will trust in thee for salvation. We want to be thy good and faithful children, but if thou do not help us continually, we can never get to heaven. O Jesus, take hold of us, and hold us fast, and never let go thy hold of us, till thou hast carried us far beyond the skies, to thine own blessed abode; and we much desire that thou wouldst come quickly, and take us there. Do hear this short supplication, for Jesus' sake, O Jehovah, my Father above. This is all. Amen."

"The pathos, with which this was uttered, made it truly affecting. I confess I was previously dull, but it sharpened the sensibilities of my soul, to hear this son of the forest, who had never heard the gospel, till about two months ago, thus confess his guilt, and thus plead the efficacy of that all-atoning blood. Who, but the Holy Spirit, has taught him this, and made him so much to excel, in true knowledge, thousands who have been born, brought up, and ever lived, under the full blaze of gospel light? This poor Indian is an object of more real

worth, in the estimation of the King of kings, than all that is in the world, which comes short of a simple, humble, but full confidence, in Jesus' all-atoning blood. God speed thee, my red brother! Be comforted; Jesus will soon wipe away thy tears, and fill thy thirsty soul with his fulness."

One young man, soon after his conversion, thus addressed a large assemblage of his countrymen:—
"Fearing that some of you have supposed that it is only an imaginary something crept into my heart, I would take the opportunity to inform you better.

"Brothers, many of you know that we were trained up together in this land from our childhood. We have been not only like the children of one nation or one town, but we have been like the children of the same parents, born, fed, and clothed in the same family, by the side of one fire. We have been children together; and as we have grown to manhood, the chain of friendship has become stronger and stronger. We have walked together in the tracks of our forefathers; and as they ignorantly sported along the dark path, so have we their offspring. And, brothers, you well know that I have been one of the most forward to follow the example of those who have gone before us, that I have been one of the most active leaders in wickedness, and one of the first to keep up the customs of our fathers. In me you have placed much confidence. It is with pain that I now look back on the days that are past. O that I then knew what I now know. You have esteemed me as your friend. So have I esteemed you. I have loved you and loved to be with you, and have felt that our regard for each other was the

same. I love you still. Yes, my brothers, and my relatives, and all my beloved friends, you who hear me this day, believe me when I say this. I feel a deeper interest in you all, than I have ever felt in my life before ; particularly in those of you who have found the bright path, and are striving to walk therein. I wish now to be among you, to give myself to Jehovah our heavenly Father, of whom the beloved missionaries have told us so much, and by whose goodness we have been kept until this day.

“ But to you, my brothers, my beloved friends and relatives, who are not disposed to receive the good word into your hearts and to forsake the wicked paths, to you I say that I am compelled to bid you farewell. I am sorry to leave you, but I can continue with you no longer. I can follow you no farther. Your sinful amusements by day and by night give me pleasure no more. Your sports upon the ball-ground I can take delight in no longer. I find no satisfaction in them. I have seen my wicked heart and my sins. The Lord has been pleased to show me that I was altogether wrong : and I trust that he has taught me the better way, and changed my heart. The remainder of my days I hope to spend in the service of God. Come, my beloved friends, and go with me.”

From several interesting sketches given by Mr. Williams, the following are selected :—

“ Tahoka is really a miracle of grace. He is now about fifty years old. When I came to this station he was considered a more dangerous enemy to the mission than any other man in the settlement. He has a deep penetrating mind, with a more than

ordinary gift of speech, and has hitherto exerted more influence in this clan than any other man, the chief excepted, though not vested with any considerable authority; and this influence was chiefly employed for evil purposes. A year ago last winter, he was awakened to some sense of his sinfulness and danger, and began to pray in secret. He even publicly confessed his follies, and promised amendment: but, alas, his seriousness wore off, and he sunk down again into vice. It was no longer ago than last summer, that he knowingly led the whole country to their sports on the sabbath. For this I reprov'd him sharply, but affectionately, in private. He sunk under it. It pleased God, I think, to accompany that reproof with a blessing. He did not forget it; but he dared not to make any more promises of amendment. It was not till December last, that he came out boldly on the Lord's side. When he did, he exhibited the plainest marks of sincerity. It was with his whole soul; but not till after some weeks of great mental distress, and a great conflict with the adversary. His manner is persuasive, and interesting to all, if I except some of his ungodly neighbours. None, however, but the ungodly and envious, find fault with his remarks. I know of no one, without any education, so able as he is to instruct and interest an audience, or an individual in private. His help in religious meetings is considered a real acquisition. Humility is a striking trait in the character of him who not long since was so self-sufficient and haughty. He is, in many respects, an eminent example to all believers. We cannot deny him the most cordial christian fel-

lowship. To win souls to Christ is his chief desire. Well may we all rejoice over such trophies of redeeming and sanctifying grace.

“Lunantubbi is perhaps thirty years old, and for the last two or three years, he has been a remarkably moral man. He is extremely slow to learn; so much so, as to call into exercise our whole stock of patience: yet he does not give up his object. He certainly is such an example of perseverance in this attempt, as I never before met with among Indians. We have now much reason to believe that he has an experimental acquaintance with the truths of the gospel. The doctrine of regeneration is particularly interesting to him, as appears evident in most of his exhortations and prayers. The written and preached word is apparently sweeter to him than honey or the honeycomb. Often, while hearing it, his countenance brightens up, and is quite interesting to beholders. He seldom says much in public, but is ever ready to pray when called upon; and sometimes, when at our house, and about to leave, he proposes prayer, saying “I want to pray a short prayer to our Father above, and then I will go.” After which he seems to go on his way rejoicing.

“Yimmichubbi is probably twenty-five years old. Under the first sermon he ever heard, he was awakened and took his seat among the inquirers. He has since then attended meetings as he was able; and we have, for some months past, had the most pleasing evidences of his piety. He is remarkably tender-hearted and affectionate. I think St. John, the beloved disciple, would call him one of the “little children.” The atoning blood of Jesus is his theme. In prayer he has

been from the first quite fluent, except when interrupted by tears and groanings which cannot be uttered, but which speak to the hearts of the hearers. At one meeting, when it appeared for a time that no one would come over on the Lord's side, he felt grieved at the hardness of their hearts, and told me of it with tears. But his sighs and tears of sorrow were emphatically turned to praise and thanksgiving before the meeting closed. This man is also learning to read, and makes good progress.

“ Charles Milton, was a former pupil of the school at Mayhew. He left school rather too soon. Though he can read and write (from a copy) pretty well; yet his actual knowledge of English is very limited. He is now about twenty-one years old; and, though so young, he has been appointed by the chief one of the “light horse men,” or executioners of laws, and is the only one in this clan. As such he is faithful. Some months since he heard of a whiskey trader in the settlement about three miles distant. He immediately called for help and pursued the enemy, who had decamped through fear, several miles, when he overtook him and dashed the kegs in pieces. He was awakened last winter. I visited him at his shop, and found him thoughtful, but as yet, prayerless. I urged upon him the duty of prayer. He began that very day to call upon the Lord, and, in a few days afterward, came to me, in a dark night, to tell what the Lord had done for his soul. He appears well as a christian and as a man; quite modest, though ever ready to pray and exhort on suitable occasions. I have much reason to believe that he has been the means of awakening several indivi-

duals to a sense of sin. At a late meeting near Eliot, whither he accompanied me, as there were but few red people present, he addressed the white and coloured people through an interpreter. We hope he may be spared to do much for his people."

It is not easy to estimate the influence which a few really pious men, in a small settlement, may exert by their example, private intercourse, and public exhortations. The truths of the gospel are, by these converts, brought home to the bosoms of the people, and their effects upon their own kindred are seen by all. The missionary also derives great advantage from the feeling thus created in favour of him and his instructions. May the time soon come, when there shall be no settlement in the nation where such leaven shall not be found or its results witnessed.

One of the stations among the Choctaws, to which the name of Mayhew has been given, is thus vividly described by the Rev. Mr. Goodell, missionary to Palestine. "As I drew near the long wished for spot, there opened unexpectedly to my view an extensive prairie, which contains several thousand acres, and which appeared to be without a single stone, or tree, or fence, except the railing which enclosed the fields of Mayhew. These fields are on the north side of the prairie, and directly in front of the mission-house. Casting your eyes over the prairie, you will discover, here and there, herds of cattle, of horses, and of wild deer, all grazing and happy. This is certainly the loveliest spot my eyes ever saw. The prairie has very gentle elevations and depressions, which contain each from a hundred to a thousand acres, and which, from a distance, resemble the undulating

motion of the waters of the Atlantic, a few leagues from the land, after a tremendous storm. As I walked on, pausing and wondering, Mayhew would often almost wholly disappear, and again it would rise to view in still greater loveliness, half encircled with the oak, the sycamore, and the mulberry, which border on the prairie on all sides. Flowers, red, purple, yellow, and indeed of every hue, were scattered by a bountiful God in rich profusion on each side of my path, and their fragrance was as if the incense of heaven had been offered. The distance from Mayhew, which at first appeared to be not more than a few hundred rods, I found to be not less than two miles. But though the distance was so great, and though my limbs, through excessive fatigue, could scarcely perform their office, yet, in contemplating this lovely scene, with all its interesting associations, my soul, ere I was aware "made me like the chariots of Amminadib."

The Rev. Cyrus Byington recently says, "the Lord is now blessing this people, and gathering in his chosen in a remarkable manner." On the first sabbath in June, 1829, at a meeting in the wilderness, about fourteen miles from Mayhew, twenty persons, including two white men, were admitted into the church. Among these, was colonel David Folsom, and two of his brothers. Ninety were numbered among serious inquirers. Colonel Folsom, by nature and practice an eloquent man, addresses his countrymen for one or two hours at a time, and has been thus much engaged for some months.

The Choctaws, like the Cherokees, have, however, had to pass through much disquietude and suffering. Although the chiefs had agreed to cer-

tain articles of a treaty, under the impression that they must leave their present country, or submit to the laws of the state of Mississippi, and all the consequent evils; yet it was an opinion, almost universal among the common people, that the treaty would not be ratified. They knew that the great mass of the Choctaws were opposed to selling their country; that their wishes had not been consulted; and that the assent of many who were regarded as having agreed to the treaty, had been obtained by misrepresentation and deception. They knew, also, that they owned their country, and had a right, by solemn treaties, as well as by immemorial possession and usage, to hold it independent and unmolested, under laws of their own making, and rulers of their own choosing. They could not, therefore, believe that those, from whom they had been accustomed to look for just and kind treatment, would do any thing so unjust and oppressive, as to approve and bind upon them a treaty, which took their country from them without their consent. But when the news arrived, that the treaty was actually ratified, and that they must all find new-homes within two years; gloom and despondence prevailed through the nation.

The christian party, and especially the members of the churches, felt the calamity most deeply. They thought of the breaking up of their meetings, schools, and christian neighbourhoods, and the separation from the missionaries and teachers, the value of whose labours for themselves and their children they had begun to appreciate. They assembled together immediately after receiving this mournful intelligence, and having examined their schools, sat together around the table of their Lord

and Saviour, and reflected on the privileges which they must soon leave, and the unknown hardships and privations they must encounter, when they drew up and presented the following address to the missionaries:—

“ Friends and brothers—Good many years ago you came in our nation, and said you come among them in order to teach the children of the Choctaw people. Our people rejoiced to have you teach their children, and were glad to embrace the opportunity. You told us that you had a beloved book, which tells about great Jehovah. The talk from this book we have not heard as we ought to have done. But good Spirit, who is the Maker and Head of all things, has been pleased to open the ears of many of our people to hear the words of this good book. You know all about—we need not make many words about it. But we will appeal to what is known to yourselves of our attachment to the schools among us, and more particularly the word which this good book teach us to walk upright before God and man. Also, there has been much done for us to have books put in our hand, that many of our people can learn to read in their own language.

“ Friends and brothers, we can multiply words, and say much on many advantages that we have received. But we will stop, and ask our hearts, who has done these things for us whereof we are glad?

“ Friends and brothers, when you came among us, good many years ago, you found us no school—no gospel—no songs of praise to Jehovah was heard.

“ Friends and brothers, we will give glory and praise to Jehovah in sending some here to teach

us the way of life. It is you, our dearest friends, whom the Saviour of sinners has been pleased, in his own goodness, to make an instrument in his hand of what has been done for us.

“ Friends and brothers, therefore you see our situation. We are exceedingly tried. We have just heard of the ratification of the Choctaw treaty. Our doom is sealed. There is no other course for us, but to turn our faces to our new homes, toward the setting of the sun. Our rulers have assured us, on many accounts it will be best to make preparation to remove next fall; and as many as can get off, it will be done.

“ Brothers, therefore we claim it as our privilege, as members of the church here, and also we have the full assurance of approval of our head men generally—that we humbly request the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, to send us many of the preachers to go with us. Those who are here, we would be glad to have them go with us to our new homes. We would offer the same protection and friendship as we have done here. You see us, how we are situated. Unless you do something for us more beyond the great river Mississippi, we shall be in a distressed situation.

“ We humbly ask the prayers of the churches generally, and particularly the church which we stand in relation to (the Presbyterian church). We need their prayers, and help from them, as we are about to return to the wild woods.

“ We are your friends and brothers in Christ.”

The following letters, addressed to one of the missionaries who was about to leave the nation for a few months, show with what resignation the

pious Choctaws bear their calamities, how highly they value their christian knowledge and hopes, and how constantly they keep their eye on heaven, as a place of holy rest from the anxieties and troubles of this sinful world. Surely the gospel is worthy of all acception, that can, in such a period of trial, excite such thoughts, feelings, and hopes, in those who were, a few years ago, stupid and debased heathen. The change in its aspect, and in its fruits, is almost inconceivable. It must be deemed by the missionaries an ample reward for all their labours.

A young native, who is a member of the church, writes thus to one of them :—

“ Do pray to our heavenly Father for me. I am a sinner—have a wicked heart ; therefore, perhaps, my white brother will remember and pray for me. If we go over the river, O that he would go with us. Though our land is gone—as to our souls, they are not gone. If we get to our heavenly Father's country, we shall be happy.”

Another writes as follows :—

“ O my brother, though the people say that our land is gone, it is nothing to me. The good land above—heaven—that good resting place, is reserved for me. This I continually think of. I may, perhaps, go over the Mississippi—but do not know. I may first get to heaven—I do not know. I want you to pray that Jesus would have mercy on me, and I will also pray to our Father above. Jesus is altogether good. Jesus is our Saviour. Thinking of this, I greatly rejoice.”

Another of the natives, who had enjoyed the advantages of an English education, uses the following language :—

“ O remember this poor people while you are gone, and pray for them. Pray that believers may be strengthened in faith to go on their way to heaven ; and pray that unbelievers may be brought into the kingdom of Christ. We rejoice to think you intend coming back and going with the Choctaws over the Mississippi river to preach to them. O may God have mercy on this poor people, and bless them abundantly with the riches of his grace. Remember poor us before a throne of grace. Pray continually for us, for we need the prayers of good people. Farewell. Your Friend and Brother.”

These appeals prevailed, and the Choctaws were accompanied in their removal by two missionaries. The following extract from the letter of a gentleman not connected with the mission, who was travelling from the Choctaw nation to New Orleans, shows the interesting and hopeful circumstances under which this new mission will be commenced. The date is Nov. 14, 1831.

“ I passed a night at an encampment of nearly two thousand Choctaws, who were on their march to the west ; and it was to me, I assure you, a deeply interesting occurrence. I had been but a few minutes on the spot where they had encamped for the night, when the blowing of a horn announced that the hour of their evening devotions had arrived. I attended their meeting, and gave them, through an interpreter, a pretty long talk, to which they listened with the deepest silence and attention. Then I called upon one of them to pray in his own language. I suppose that a hundred of them, at least, instantly prostrated themselves on the ground, and all was solemnity around. Oh, it was a heart-thrilling scene. } Would, thought

I, that those churches which have contributed to the support of the missions among these Indians, could only behold this spectacle. What a rich reward would they feel that they had received. And would, too, I felt, that all the enemies of missions and of the Indians were present, and their flinty hearts would melt in tenderness and compassion towards them."

CHAPTER XI.

The Captive.—The Osages.—Traditions.—Desire for a Missionary.—Hope of Success.—Instances of Usefulness.—Manifest Improvement.—Recent State.—The Creeks.—Good effected and promised.—The Chickasaws.—Indian Council.—Effect of a Convert's Address.—Interesting Service.—Influence of the Gospel in Affliction.—Usefulness among the Ottawas.—Visit to the Tuscaroras.—Letter of the Sachems and Warriors.—Red Jacket's Speech.—The Senecas.—Zeal and Intrepidity of Mr. Holmes.—Triumph over Impostors.—Respect for Marriage.—The Chiefs impressed.—Temporal and Spiritual Good enjoyed.—Youthful Convert.—Hopeful Cases.—Revival of Religion.—Indians in New York.—Traditions.—Sacrifice of the White Dog.—Prophets.—Church Discipline.—School at Cattaraugus.—Progress of the Scholars.—Additions to the Church.

IN a journey of Mr. Cornelius, appointed in 1817, by the American Board of Commissioners,

to visit several tribes of Indians, he and his companions were stopped in their way by the overflowing of a small stream. Towards evening, a party of Arkansas Cherokees encamped for the night not far off, and he therefore went to them to ascertain their feelings as to the institution of schools. They had kindled a fire under a tall tree which stood on the rising ground; their baggage, consisting of various articles of travelling furniture, some sacks of corn and other provisions, the skins of wild beasts with which they made their beds, several bunches of bows and arrows, and their guns and tomahawks, was scattered about; some were sitting, the rest were standing, and all presenting a truly savage appearance. Some of the weapons too were stained with blood, having been taken in war with the Osage Indians, from the bodies of the killed or wounded.

Observing that the only female was a little girl, apparently not more than five years old, he inquired whose child she was, and was told she was a captive. On asking what had become of her parents, one of them took two scalps from his sack, and holding them up, said "Here they are!"

Compassionating the circumstances of this little child, who gazed at these horrid memorials of conquest with astonishment, as though she knew not what to make of the sight, and finding that a horse had been given for her to the original captor, Mr. C. wished to prevail on the Indian whose property she was considered, to have her sent to Brainerd, soon after his return home, and this he engaged to do on the payment of one hundred dollars. The next day the waters of the creek had fallen, and

Mr. C. resumed his journey, which he could not but think had been providentially interrupted; and he soon had the satisfaction of meeting with a lady, who said, if one hundred and fifty dollars would ransom the child, she was willing to give that sum for the purpose.

Various difficulties arose in obtaining the captive's release after this generous donation was received, but at length she was received at the station, and named Lydia Carter, in remembrance of her benefactress. Efforts were then made to obtain the redemption of her sister and of a little Osage boy, but it was only successful as to the latter, who was called John Osage Ross, in honour of the person who, after great toil and difficulty, became his deliverer. When Lydia arrived at Brainerd, where she was adopted by Mr. and Mrs. Chamberlain, she had no knowledge of the English language, but so rapidly did she acquire it, that, in less than a year, she was able to speak it as well as children commonly do who have learned no other. She discovered great vigour of mind for one of her age, but owing to the hardships previously experienced, long-continued illness greatly retarded her education. In the things of God she was early instructed, and although she gave no decisive evidence of an inward change, her feelings were so serious and tender, that it seemed as if the Holy Spirit had begun to operate on her heart. Her temper was remarkably kind and affectionate, and when she did wrong she confessed her faults, and expressed her sorrow. She was very grateful for the favours she had received, and often spoke in the tenderest manner of those who had, instrumentally, delivered her from captivity. Of the fate of her

father nothing was certainly known, but, on one occasion she described how her mother was killed, by some men who shot her in the breast.

To the great regret of the mission family, the two children were demanded by the Osage nation, and were therefore delivered to a person commissioned by the government to receive them. Lydia was to be returned to her parents and friends at Brainerd by the first opportunity, but John was to live with Governor Miller, and to accompany him in a journey to New England.

Lydia's health, however, soon failed, and death was evidently near, but her mind was calm, and through all her sickness she seemed resigned to the will of God; she frequently repeated the hymns she had learned at Brainerd, and from these appeared to derive comfort. They, doubtless, led her to think much of the Saviour, whom she promised her parents, when she left them, that "she would always remember." In this state she continued for a few weeks, and then expired. He who took little children in his arms and blessed them, received her, it is hoped, to be for ever with him. It is cheering to add, that two of the party of Cherokees, from whom she was obtained, have lately become followers of the Prince of Peace. They are fruits of a recent revival, and are now members of a christian church. One of them, who could speak a little English, acted as interpreter in the interview with Mr. Cornelius. The other is the leader of the band, and the very person who went to his bag, and held up the two scalps. It is hoped he will be the means of much good to his people, among whom his influence is considerable. He is a man of much activity and enterprise, and

would now, if qualified, go as a herald of salvation to the benighted Osages. His wife has been admitted into church fellowship, and one or two of their children are considered pious.

Probably few portions of the heathen world have been in circumstances more unfavourable to missionary labours, than this people. Their wandering and predatory habits render it exceedingly difficult for missionaries to have much intercourse with them; and what little instruction is communicated at any time is very soon forgotten, while they are engaged periodically in hunting and in war. Still the American Board of Commissioners has sent missionaries among them, by whom great exertions have been made.

The following is a conversation with Sans Nerf, a man about sixty years old, who had been acquainted with white men about forty years; and who had visited St. Louis and the city of New York, and in both those places had been told something respecting the God of christians.

Before that time, what did you hear about God? "I have formerly been taught to consider the sun, the moon, the earth, and the sky to be the principal gods." Who first told you about God? "The old men told me about him from my childhood." His ideas were confused respecting God's intercourse with men, but he believed the sun and moon are angry with men and kill them; and of the requirements of God he knew nothing. Do you think often of your gods? "When a big brave dies, and when we want to go to war, we put mud upon our faces, and look to the sun and moon for success." Did you formerly pray to your gods, and what did you pray for? "The Osages put mud

on their faces, and ask the ground, the sun, and moon to help them to go to war and for success. This is all they pray for." He appeared in total ignorance of the nature of sin; but, when asked on the subject, said, "All I desire was to kill; and if the enemy kills my son or nearest friend, it is all well: there is nothing wrong." Were you ever restrained from doing what you pleased, because you were afraid of displeasing God? "I never felt any restraint from the gods, but I sometimes thought they hated me, because I did not succeed in obtaining the objects which I desired." Did you think there would be another life after the present? "I believed that when the body was dead that was the end."

Similar questions were afterwards put to a man eighty years of age, who had known white men for twenty years, but had never heard of God or the christian religion until the day before, when he came to the station and heard the missionaries preach. The following was the conversation:—

What have you heard before about God? "My ideas have been, that there were four gods which I could see—the sun, moon, seven stars, and yard-ell; and another god which is unseen, that I do not know: I never could tell where he was." Who first told you of these gods? "The old people taught me from my youth." Had these gods any thing to do with the concerns of men? "If we want to go to war or hunting, we put mud on our faces and fast seven days, and then in a dream the several gods bring us tidings of certain success." What do your gods require you to do? "The sun requires us to go to war and bring a scalp; the moon to bring a skin and to make moccasins, and

one star requires us to paint the leader red when we go to war." Did you think of these gods often? "Very often—more or less every day." Did you pray to these gods? "We pray every night and morning, and once a year we hold a great meeting." What did you pray for? "We put mud on our faces, and pray for success in any thing we desire to do." Do you know any thing about sin? He could not answer distinctly, but was confused upon the subject. Were you ever restrained from doing what you pleased from fear of offending your gods? "No." Did you think there would be another life after this? "Yes." Where did you think you would then live? "At an old town on the Missouri: we shall have bodies as here: it will be good hunting ground: there will be plenty of game: we shall go to war as here. Different nations of people will go to different places."

By a treaty made with the government of the United States, in 1825, the Osages ceded those portions of their territory, in which the stations of Union and Harmony were situated, and retired forty or fifty miles from them. Boarding schools for their children have been continued at those stations; and a small band of Indians has settled near each of them for the purpose of receiving instruction and aid in agriculture and other arts. These have been aided to a considerable extent, appear to be pleased with their more regular and comfortable manner of living, have become in some instances quite industrious, and have given serious attention to religious instruction. The following remarks were recently made by Mr. Dodge respecting those living near Harmony.

"The band of Indians have received orders from

the agent to return to their country, which they will probably do between this and the coming spring. They have shown very clearly, by their labours, what they would do if they had means to do with, and some judicious person to direct them how to act. It is true, their crop of corn has been light the present year, by reason of the drought, which has been very pinching the latter part of the season: but they appear to be greatly encouraged by the advantages received from the little done for them the last spring. They seem to be determined not to go back to the old town, but to settle by themselves, and cultivate the ground. They have requested me to go and reside with them at the Neosho."

This, it may be remarked, was a band from that portion of the tribe called Little Osages, the most rude and savage part of the tribe. It consisted of forty or fifty families; and with the aid received from the mission, had enclosed and planted thirty acres of land. Two religious meetings were held among them on the sabbath, and much religious instruction was communicated at other times. Considerable numbers attended the meetings, and some appeared interested. The remarks which follow have reference to the tribe generally.

"We continue our efforts to instruct the people as far as we can gain access to them; but this is extremely limited. It is but few who hear about God or the way of salvation by Christ. The great mass of the people are pressing their way blindfold to ruin. That they should remain so ignorant, after so much time and treasure have been expended among them, may, perhaps,

be no small source of discouragement to those who support missionaries in the field. But pray for the blessing of God upon these Osages. It may be He will hear your prayers, and will yet have mercy on the souls of this people : and if so, then the weaker the instruments employed among them, the more conspicuous will the majesty and glory of God appear in the work."

Considerable encouragement, however, has recently been afforded. Mr. Pixley, in a letter dated 25th of December, 1829, states his own views respecting the present state and the prospects of the mission among the Osages. He is situated within the present limits of the tribe, and near to one of the largest villages. He has obtained such an acquaintance with the language of the people, as to be able to converse with them and preach the gospel, without an interpreter.

"I never felt myself more at home among the Osages than at present: I never had more of their confidence; and, indeed, never had higher hopes of eventual success. Some of the principal men told me yesterday they would never more think so lightly of what I say to them. I see nothing why the gospel should not take as complete effect here, as at the Sandwich Islands, or elsewhere, when the communication shall be fully made, under circumstances calculated to inspire them with a belief of its truth. Two evenings since, I went into a lodge for the special purpose, as I often do, of trying to communicate something in order to enlighten their benighted minds. After talking awhile, at their request I sang a hymn of my own composing in their language, relative to the omniscience and omnipresence of

God, as judge of the world, and with respect to the future state of the righteous and the wicked. But what made the scene peculiarly pleasant was the fixed attention of two children between nine and twelve years old, who came from the other end of the lodge, and drawing close to me, listened with great interest, and seemed to understand and drink in all that I said. Dark and gloomy as this valley is, sometimes a ray of hope so shoots across my cheerless path, that, ungrateful and unworthy as I am, I should greatly add to these, if I did not acknowledge that my cup is mingled with consolations neither few nor small; and that the bitterest trials and self-denials of missionaries are more than made up to them, in the inward comfort and peace they are permitted to enjoy. It is no uncommon thing now to hear this people, when they smoke, call upon God to give them good thoughts, and lead them in the right-hand path, instead of asking for success in killing Pawnees and stealing horses: not that they have laid those aside, but it shows that what is said to them is taking root, and is conversed about. Who would think it strange, if, in these days of God's working, this valley of dry bones should all at once begin to move? Indeed, I think it more likely I shall not be prepared for such an event, than that it will not come. God's promises are sure; but, alas, too often his people are not ready, waiting and prepared for their accomplishment."

Mr. Vaill, of the mission at Union, also gives an encouraging account of the prospects there. Although there was no special seriousness among the children of the school, or the Osages in the

vicinity, yet it is an indication of good when the Spirit of God is in the midst of a mission family, prompting to greater prayerfulness and fidelity, and converting those who reside with them.

“Never was the church here so much awake, and several of our labourers are asking the way to Zion. Lately one left our employment, giving good evidence of a change of heart; and yesterday, another, who is the head of a family, gained some evidence that he had submitted himself to God. Three or four are in a state of anxiety, and the spirit of inquiry seems to increase. We do feel as if we were enjoying a revival of religion at this place, and we bless God for it. We cannot report any special attention among the children, yet the school has never been so interesting; and a disposition to study and to obey has never been so prevalent. Not a word in the Indian language is spoken without permission, which is a great means of their advancement. We have never felt more hope of doing good at this place extensively than since the Cherokee treaty. We can raise up youths, and, by the blessing of God, fit them to be interpreters, and take them and go forth in every direction, and preach to the poor of different tongues.”

By the late removal westward of the Creeks and Cherokees of the Arkansas, the station at Union has those two tribes in addition to the Osages, within a short distance; so that children from each of them may be received into the school, and evangelical labours may, in some measure, be extended to them all.

From more recent accounts it appears, that at Union, two Creeks, members of the school, and two

African labourers have been admitted into the church. The missionaries lately visited all the Osage villages, and preached the gospel to hundreds who never heard it before, and some listened with deep interest. A school at Union is very prosperous: a Sunday-school, long kept up at this station, and an infant school, are also productive of good. Into the former, one hundred and thirty-four have been received. At Harmony there is also a school, and a sabbath-school. In the year 1830, the girls manufactured one hundred and fifty-five yards of cloth, which was used in the mission family.

The Hopefield station, about four miles from Union, was commenced near the end of the year 1823. The number of families gradually increased. About thirty acres of land were fenced and brought into a good state of cultivation, many comfortable houses were erected, industry increased, hunting and war were almost entirely relinquished, and the people were convinced that this change in their condition and manner of living was for their good. No Osage man had been known before to engage in such labour. These things had hitherto been done by the women. Considering how thoroughly their roving and indolent habits were inwrought, and how dishonourable the men had always esteemed manual labour, their perseverance, success, and the general improvement which was manifest, surpassed expectation. When the new treaty was made with the Cherokees of the Arkansas, Hopefield fell within the Cherokee country, and it became necessary to remove to another place, which, though deferred for a year or two, has now been effected. Mr. Requa writes:—

“The location of this station is on the same side

of Grand River with Union, about twenty-five miles north of it. The land is good, and for an Indian settlement, perhaps a better place could not have been selected in this part of the country. Fifteen Indian families followed us up here, and others are expected here in the fall, to be permanent residents. The Indians have been very industrious since their arrival at this place; several of them have cleared, cultivated, and made rails sufficient to inclose four acres of land each, by joining their fields. All this labour has been well done, with very little assistance from me. The expectation that their residence here would be permanent has given a spur to their industry, and rendered their labours pleasant to them. In fact, I have never known them so industrious, so cheerful in their labours, and to behave so well in every respect, as since their removal. The chiefs and some of the principal men have taken no little pains to instruct the people of all classes in their duty. The chief has told them repeatedly, that as they have left their old place, they must, or he wanted them very much to leave also behind them all their bad conduct; and, as they have come to a new place and good land, they must adopt the new instructions, and listen to the good advice of the good white people among them. He has also exhorted them, more particularly, to renounce their quarrelling, backbiting, stealing, &c. entirely. This, together with the instructions they have received more directly from the word of God, has certainly produced very beneficial results; a very considerable reformation has been effected. They appear to be disposed to live in peace with each other. They attend more generally to the religious meetings held among them, and even take a part in the exercises. The chief, in several in-

stances, after I have addressed them from the word of God, has exhorted them earnestly to profit from what they had heard, to respect the word of God, to reverence the sabbath, and not to forsake the assembling of themselves together to receive instruction from their teacher. If the interest that the chief takes in our meetings sprung from the love of God shed abroad in the heart, I should rejoice the more; but I fear that the praise of men, or the desire of gaining the good opinion of the missionaries near us, is the true motive of action with him; nevertheless, good is done, and we ought to rejoice even in the day of small things.

“Their reformation, in respect to stealing, is worthy to be noticed. It is notorious, that the Osages are remarkable for stealing. But this people, since their residence here, though they have had many opportunities, have not taken clandestinely, to my knowledge, the least article. The chief, not long since, when on business at Union mission, in conversation with Mr. Vaill, told him, that he had left sticking in a log, at some distance from his house, a very valuable axe, and he expected to find it there when he returned; but remarked, at the same time, that if he had done so a year ago, he would never again have seen his axe. They begin to see that honesty is the best policy, and a thief is detested among them.”

The settlers at Hopefield have lately obtained some assistance in their agricultural labours from the agent of the United States, and other sources. Improving in character and condition every year, they fully establish the practicability of domesticating the wildest Indians by the judicious application of religious truth, and other appropriate

means. They are enlarging their fields, becoming more skilful and industrious in their labours, obtaining cattle and other useful animals, of which they have been hitherto destitute, and seem inclined to abandon warfare and the chase.

A very recent letter from Mr. Washburn, who has visited the station, is further illustrative of the state of this people.

“The different reception given to us this year from that of last year, the access granted us to different classes, and the greater interest manifested in the truths of the gospel, are all the effects of Divine truth. It is true, we found no one convicted fully of sin, no one anxiously inquiring after the way of salvation, but we did find several that expressed a conviction that their system of idolatry and superstition was sinful, that it provoked God, and was the cause of their poverty and misery, so that they never would be happy and prosperous till they embraced the true religion. This was very clearly expressed by some of the most intelligent and influential men among them. I will give you a few instances. Wau-soh-shy, the principal chief of a village, is one. He was absent at the time of our arrival at his village, but we put up at his lodge. About an hour after our arrival, he came home. As soon as he got his supper, he told us that he was very glad to see us, and that he wished to have a great deal of talk with us about our religion. He immediately began, and in a most interesting manner. He held up six quills in his hand. One of these he placed alone: the other five he held up together. “These five,” said he, “are the Osage gods; the sun, the moon, the earth, thunder or the air, and the bird. Now

you say that these are no gods, but all of them the creatures of your God. I believe it. The Osages have worshipped these gods a long time, and they have never made us happy, they have never done us good. We have always been poor and miserable. I believe it is foolish and wicked to worship these things. I now cast away these gods.' And he flung away his five quills. He then held up the one quill, and said, 'This is one God. This is your God. Now tell me who he is.' The perfections of God, as manifested in creation and providence, and as revealed in his word, were stated with particular minuteness, especially those attributes developed in the redemption of sinners by Jesus Christ. 'All this,' said he, 'I understand, and it is all interesting. I believe it, but who is your God?' Another brother went over the same ground in another view, if possible, to make it more plain and more interesting. He also dwelt fully on the unity of God and the great sin of idolatry. He explained the meaning of the various names of God. When he closed, the same question, with greater earnestness, was all the reply of the chief, 'Who is he? Has any one seen him?' He was answered, 'No man hath seen God. He is a Spirit, invisible to mortal eyes. His existence and his perfections are manifested by their effects, and more clearly revealed in his word. That it was unreasonable to require a sight of him before we would believe. That we all believed many things that were not obvious to our senses, that their effects fully satisfied us of their existence, and that they possessed the qualities indicated by the effects, which we beheld.' To all this his answer was, as before, 'Who is he? Has any one seen him?'

To this it was answered, 'Yes. He became flesh and dwelt among us.' A history was then given of God manifest in the flesh. 'Now,' said he, 'I am satisfied. God has been seen. When any one asks me if the true God has ever been seen, I will tell him, Yes: he lived in the world, in the form of a man, more than thirty years.' His mind was now satisfied on the subject, which had given him the greatest perplexity. He was much interested in the preaching, and we felt some hope that he was beginning to experience the teachings of that Spirit of truth who is sent to guide into all truth. And here I would remark, that it appears to me that the greatest obstacle in the way of the conversion of the Osages, is what I would call materialism. Many would ask the same questions as this chief, relative to the existence, not only of the divine Being, but of the soul after the death of the body. They have no idea of an immaterial spirit. They walk by sense, and not by faith. In Whitehair's town, the parable of the prodigal son was the subject of one of the sermons. After the meeting, a man of intelligence and influence, who had paid a most interested attention, observed, 'I understand who is that wicked son, but who is the good Father?' meaning just the same as Wau-soh-shy did by his often repeated question, 'Who is he?'

"Another interesting case is that of Bel-oe-zoh, second chief of Whitehair's town. His mind is evidently excited to inquire on the subject of the gospel, and he is, as I think, fully convinced of the truth of christianity, though I fear he has little or no personal conviction of sin. A few days before our meeting in his village, he gave the people a talk in full council. He told them that they had

practised their old customs and superstitions a long time; that they had done them no good. They had always been wretched. They suffered a great deal from their enemies, and from poverty and sickness. He believed that God was angry with them, and was punishing them for their idolatry. It would never be any better with them till they abandoned their old customs. That it was time to do this, and to listen to the talk of the missionaries. He believed, if they would do this, they would be happy and prosperous. He urged them to do so, and closed by affirming, that, for himself, he never would have any thing to do again with their old ceremonies. On the whole, we think there is great reason to be encouraged in respect to the Osages. Good, we think, has been done by our tours among them in making a favourable impression, and we hope more good, even saving good to some, may result from the continuance of these annual tours. But, in my view, it is too much to expect, that in this way, the Osages, as a people, will ever be converted to God. More good would be done by making these tours frequently; but to bring them, as a nation, to bow and to confess Christ, missionaries must be so located as to have daily access to them, must instruct them individually, and from lodge to lodge."

To the Creeks the gospel has been preached by the missionaries of the American board. One of the chiefs invited Mr. Montgomery, that they might have this privilege. He thus forcibly expressed himself: "We wish you to come and preach the gospel among us; we consider that we have a right to whatever will improve our nation, and we think the gospel will do it." This was the

address of the young general Chilly M^cIntosh. Their agent, colonel Brearley, had thought fit to forbid preaching, or any missionary operations in the Creek nation. "I was, therefore," says Mr. M., "led to walk circumspectly; and at length succeeded. The whole number, who are seriously anxious for their souls, is more than a hundred. Half of them, it is hoped, are true converts. Some of the chiefs and whites have been violently opposed to the work of God among them, and threatened their slaves, and their wives and daughters, with stripes, for attending meetings, and in some instances have inflicted them. But the good work still goes on." A church has recently been formed among them; and the interesting service is thus described:—

"The sabbath proved to be cold and rainy. We opened our morning exercises in the rain, and continued till Mr. Dodge had finished the first prayer, and it was interpreted. And even then, many were for continuing the service in the rain; but fearing some would take cold, who were thinly clad, we suspended the worship for one hour, and they resorted to their fires. Though they had no tents, yet scarcely any left the ground. When we found that the rain continued, we resorted to a couple of small cabins, and proceeded with our duties. In these cabins we were so crowded, that we were compelled to receive the communion standing, and hold the elements in our hands, having no communion board but the stands where our saddles and baggage were laid; yet the Lord granted us a sweet banquet with his lowly followers among the Creeks. Oh, what will it be above! Had the weather favoured, a much larger number of per-

sons would, no doubt, have been present on the sabbath ; but as it was, we had reason to thank God, and go on our way rejoicing, for all the things the Lord has done to build up his own kingdom, and gather in many precious souls among this people. On Monday morning we left the Creek country with gladdened and revived spirits ; and, returning to Union, related, at the monthly concert for prayer, the encouraging things which we had witnessed."

Since then additions have been made. The religious experience of the members is said to be of a remarkably decided character, and their conduct to be exemplary.

Three young men of the Creek nation recently went to Union with a pressing request to be instructed, that they might become teachers among their people. They are above twenty years of age. Two are members of the church, and give the most satisfactory evidence of piety. The other is a son of old general Mc-Intosh, already mentioned, who was killed by the Creeks for selling his country. He is a young man of great promise, and, perhaps, there is not his superior in talent among that people. The loss of his young wife aroused him to reflection and attendance on the means of grace. After having spent his childhood and youth in dissipation, a great change has taken place, which, it is hoped, will prove saving. He is now mainly anxious to do good to his people.

A station, called Monroe, has been established by the Missionary Society of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, among the Chickasaws. Eighteen months were occupied in clearing land and erecting buildings. In 1823, about forty acres

were under cultivation. A school had been established in the preceding year. The gospel was preached; and latterly a revival in religion appears to have taken place. Wholesome laws have also been enacted, and, to the astonishment of the missionaries, strictly enforced. Whiskey is banished from the country. A thief is punished with thirty-nine lashes, and is compelled to return the stolen property, or what is equivalent. One hundred men (twenty-five out of each district) are appointed to carry the laws into effect, and are paid by the nation.

“A few days since,” says Mr. Holmes, in 1829, “I attended one of their councils. It is their custom to transact no business on the day they assemble, and that is the most suitable time to talk with them on religious subjects, as it does not interfere with their arrangements. I proposed to the chiefs to come together after supper, to which they cordially consented. The night was peculiarly pleasant: not a cloud was visible; and the light of a full moon was spread over the forest. One of the principal men published, with a loud voice, that we were going to give them a talk, and we were gratified to find that all came, and seated themselves to hear. The chiefs occupied chairs, and the warriors sat, in a semicircular form, upon the grass. One of the head-men interpreted. After I had talked for some time, I asked W. H. Barr to follow me with some remarks. He did so, and continued to speak about three-quarters of an hour; informing them, that it was by the bible he was brought to be what he was; that formerly he had gone to ball-plays, dances, and other places of amusement, to which young people resort; but that by this good

book he had been changed. He was in darkness once, but now, by the Spirit, he was in the light. He hoped his people would not continue in the old way, which was dark, and exhorted them to return. I have not yet witnessed such profound attention and good order at any Indian meeting. The exercises were closed with prayer; after which we expected they would immediately disperse, as they had been so long together, that we feared that their patience was exhausted; they, however, prolonged the meeting, and made several long speeches on what they had heard. About eleven o'clock we retired, leaving them still in council. The chiefs expressed themselves freely on the subject, and not one word of disapprobation was uttered.

“ They were astonished and delighted to hear their child, as they called William, exhibit so much maturity of mind. The principal speaker said, ‘ When the missionaries came, I told you what they were going to do for us, and now you see for yourselves.’ The opposition, which a few months since was so violent, has gradually disappeared; and if any now exists, it is latent.”

An account of a meeting where Indian chiefs and warriors lay aside their savage character, and sit at the feet of Christ to hear his word, and celebrate his death, cannot but be interesting. It is thus given :—

“ Our religious council, or four days’ meeting, has been held, and we hope will prove to be the commencement of an important era in the history of our mission. In the evening, before the day appointed, a considerable number had arrived, and among them some who had come sixty miles. At

early candle-light our exercises commenced ; and as we have no church edifice we assembled in the woods under an arbor.

“ We had a plain pulpit and seats sufficient for nearly a thousand people. Mr. Blair and Mr. Adams were with us at the commencement. On Friday morning, Messrs. Williams, Wood, and Caldwell arrived from the Choctaw nation. Also Major Levi Colbert, Capt. Sealy, and Capt. Mc Gilvery, three of our principal chiefs, besides several other men of distinction, with their families. In the evening Mr. Byington came, with two of the Choctaw converts, Tahoka and a neighbour. On Saturday the session convened, and seven persons were received into the church, three of whom were from the neighbourhood of Martyn. Four were Chickasaws and three black people. On the sabbath, the memorials of Christ’s sufferings and death were set out in the view of the poor perishing heathen, and nearly a hundred of his professed followers were permitted to celebrate his dying love. It was delightful to see persons out of six different nations assembled together at the table of our common Lord, actuated by one spirit and animated with the same hope. Mr. Byington preached frequently and was well understood. Tahoka exhorted and prayed with the greatest fervency and his labours were evidently blessed of God. On sabbath afternoon, all who were in an anxious state of mind were asked to come forward and occupy seats provided for the purpose in front of the pulpit. About thirty presented themselves, the majority of whom were black people. The next morning we assembled at nine o’clock for our final meeting. A considerable number more came

forward to the anxious seats. Among the number of inquirers we counted fifteen Chickasaws. We continued together two hours, during which time the Spirit of the Lord appeared especially near. The anxious then arose, and arranged themselves in a line: opposite to them, and about five yards distant, our church, now consisting of above seventy members, took their stand. The whole was concluded with prayer.

“ During the meeting there was no extravagant feeling, bodily exercise, nor any confusion. It was a solemn and delightful season, and our hearts rejoice and bless God for what we have been permitted to see of his wonderful works among the heathen. Since the meeting, several new cases of awakening have come to our knowledge. The chiefs who were present, expressed their decided approbation of all they saw and heard. Since the meeting, we have preached at the king's, to an attentive audience. For two weeks we have had a considerable accession to our meetings, and the number of those who do not understand English has become so great, that we generally have our discourses interpreted. We hold two conference meetings each week, one for the Chickasaws and the other for the black people. I have now an interpreter constantly employed.”

“ The professors of religion generally are very consistent, and some of them remarkably devoted. One who is a Chickasaw has exhibited the triumph of gracious principles under the most trying circumstances. She had an only daughter, about eight years of age, who sickened on Saturday and was a corpse on the following Monday. None of her relatives were with her until a few hours before

the child's death; and, indeed, no person thought her in a dangerous state until the dying agony commenced. 'When I announced to the mother,' says a missionary, 'that the child was dying, she submissively replied—The will of the Lord be done.' She talked of the dispensation with more apparent christian resignation than I have yet witnessed in any land, and we have every evidence that it was sanctified to her. A few days after the child's decease, she remarked to me, that she thought she had more sensibly realized the preciousness of the Saviour, during this affliction, than ever before. By the request of the family, the funeral service was conducted in a christian manner. An appropriate sermon was preached at the house; the coffin was then closed, and a procession formed. The clergyman went first, followed by the corpse, which was supported by four carriers. Then followed the parents of the deceased, the grand parents, near relatives, the children of the school, and neighbours, of whom there were a great number. At the grave the most perfect order was observed. No wailing was heard, nor any undue excitement of feeling. This we consider a great triumph of the gospel over heathenism. From time immemorial, on such occasions, the Indian had exhibited by his wailing, dishevelled the hair, &c., how appalling death is to those who know not the gospel. This was the first instance in which a native was buried in a christian manner.

"A black woman, who had been a consistent member of our church for more than a year, was also called about two months since into eternity. At the time of her decease, she was fifty miles from us, and had no christian friend to admi-

nister to her the consolations of the gospel, and to receive from her dying lips her last testimony. We have only heard that, from the commencement of her sickness, she faithfully warned those around her to prepare for death."

There are now two churches: one containing about ninety, and the other twelve members. The schools have been diligently maintained. Some of the children have been sent for a time into the white settlements, where they have become thoroughly domesticated. They speak the English language fluently, all can read, and nearly all write. The character and progress of most of them, especially of the younger, are highly promising.

Unhappily the Chickasaws have been much agitated for the last two years, by the apprehension of being compelled to leave their country. The extension of the laws of the state of Mississippi over them has broken the force of their own, and has led to the use of intoxicating liquors, which were before strictly excluded. Intemperance is now going through the nation like an overwhelming tide, and, unless soon checked, will terminate in utter ruin. Should a treaty be ratified, as is expected, nearly all the christian and civilized portions of the tribe intend to avail themselves of the liberty it offers to take reservations and remain behind; and then the mass of the unenlightened part will enter the unbounded wilderness of the west.

The Ottawas, for whose benefit a mission in Ohio was specially designed by the Board of Commissioners, though children from other tribes are admitted to the school, reside on small reservations, lying at intervals on the Maumee river.

Surrounded by white men, they are brought in a great degree under their influence, and as is commonly the case with Indians in such circumstances, are poor, indolent, and addicted to intoxication. A desire to have their children educated, appears, however, to prevail, and some persons have of late been brought to God. A chief, named Sasa, was so much pleased with the school on a visit to this place, that he said he should come and reside near the station, and send his children for instruction. He returned to Portage in order to prevail on all his party, consisting of ten or twelve families, to remove with him. A Sunday school is also in operation, and the gospel is preached. A mechanic worked at the station for about six weeks. When he arrived he seemed extremely ignorant and thoughtless as to religion; but he soon manifested an inclination to read tracts and religious publications, and frequently conversed on serious subjects. He went away apparently impressed, and the missionaries heard nothing from him for a time, till at length, accompanied by his wife, he paid them a visit. He appeared to be a new man. They were both rejoicing in hope. The simple tale of his wife was truly affecting: a family altar had been reared, and the house where discord had previously reigned, had become a Bethel.

Several years ago, the New York Missionary Society sent the Rev. E. Holmes on an exploratory mission to some of the north-western tribes of Indians.

Having arrived among the Tuscaroras, near the falls of Niagara, he met with a very friendly reception. Before he left them, several of their sachems and warriors addressed a letter to the so-

ciety, in which they implore their assistance and compassion in the following affecting strains: "Fathers and brothers, we should be very glad to have our father Holmes to live among us, or any other good man that you would send, to teach us the meaning of the beloved speech in the good book called the bible; for we are in darkness; we are very ignorant; we are poor. Now, fathers and brothers, you have much light; you are wise and rich. Only two of our nation can read in the good book the bible: we wish our children to learn to read, that they may be civilized and happy when we are gone, that they may understand the good speech better than we can. We feel much sorrow for our children. We ask you, fathers and brothers, will you not pity us and our poor children, and send a schoolmaster to teach our children to read and write? If you will, we will rejoice, we will love him, we will do all we can to make him happy."

After noticing the opposition which some of the Indians had shewn to such benevolent attempts of the white people, and the abandonment of the scheme in consequence, they add, "We are sorry Indians have done so; we are afraid some of us shall do so too, and that the great Spirit will be angry with us; and you, being discouraged, will stop and say, 'Let them alone; there is nothing to be done with Indians.'

"Fathers and brothers, hearken. We cry to you from the wilderness; our hearts ache, while we speak to your ears. If such wicked things should be done by any of us, we pray you not to be discouraged; don't stop. Think, poor Indians must die, as well as white men. We pray you,

therefore, never to give over, and leave poor Indians, but follow them in dark times; and let our children always find you to be their fathers and friends when we are dead and no more." This expostulatory letter was signed by two sachems, and seven warrior chiefs.

On taking leave of the Tuscaroras, Mr. Holmes proceeded on his journey, and visited the Senecas, who resided at Buffaloe Creek. From them, however, he did not meet with a reception equally favourable. After he had at their request, preached a sermon to them, the chiefs held a consultation, on the subject of the mission; upon which Red Jacket, the second Sachem, a cunning artful man, rose and delivered a speech, in which, among other things, he said, "Father, we thank the great good Spirit above, for what you have spoken to us at this time, and hope he will always incline your heart, and strengthen you to this good work. We have clearly understood you, and this is all truth that you have said to us.

"Father, we Indians are astonished at you whites, that when Jesus Christ was among you, and went about doing good, speaking the good word, healing the sick, and casting out evil spirits, that you white people did not pay attention to him, and believe in him; and that you put him to death, when you had the good book in your possession.

"Father, we Indians were not near to this transaction, nor could we be guilty of it.

"Father, you do not come like those that have come with a bundle under their arms, or something in their hands; but we have always found something of deceit under it, for they are always aiming at our lands. But you have not come like one of

these; you have come like a father and a true friend, to advise us for our good. We expect that the bright chain of friendship shall always exist between us; we will do every thing in our power to keep that chain bright, from time to time.

“Father, you and your good society well know, that when learning was first introduced among Indians, they became small; and two or three nations have become extinct; and we know not what is become of them. It was also introduced among our eldest brothers, the Mohawks, and we immediately observed that their seats began to be small; this was likewise the case with our brothers the Oneidas. Let us look back to the situation of our nephews the Mohegans; they were totally routed out from their seats. This is the reason why we think learning would be of no service to us.

“Father, we are astonished that the white people, who have the good book called the bible among them, that tells them the mind and will of the great Spirit, and they can read it, and understand it, that they are so bad, and do so many wicked things, and that they are no better.

“Father, if learning should be introduced among us, at present, more intrigue or craft might creep in among us. It might be the means of our suffering the same misfortunes as our brothers. Our seat is now but small; and if we were to leave this place, we should not know where to find another. We do not think we should be able to find a seat amongst our western brothers.”

But though Red Jacket's speech was of so unfavorable a nature, yet Farmer's brother, the chief Sachem of the Senecas, offered to commit his grandson to the care of the New York Missionary

Society, in order to be educated by them, in the hope he might afterwards be useful to his nation. This proof of confidence was the more extraordinary, as one of his grandsons, whom he had entrusted to the United States, had, instead of being advanced in useful knowledge, been totally ruined in respect of his morals; a circumstance which he depicted in strong and lively colours.

After Mr. Holmes' return to New York, his report being of so encouraging a nature, he was appointed as a missionary to the North Western Indians, particularly the Tuscaroras and the Senecas, near the falls of Niagara. In August 1801, he accordingly returned to settle among them, and from the former he again met with the most favourable reception. They not only thankfully listened to his instructions, but expressed a desire that the whole of their nation, scattered through other parts of the country, might be collected together to that place, that they might be instructed in the gospel of Christ; and, indeed, he was not without hope, that a number of them had been brought to the saving knowledge of Divine truth. The legislature of the state of New York having appropriated a sum of money for the building of a church and school-house, they were accordingly erected, and found highly convenient for the purposes of the mission.

From the Senecas, Mr. Holmes' reception was less favourable. By secret artifice and open calumny, an Indian impostor, called the prophet of the Alleghany, had excited so formidable an opposition to him, that the sachems and chiefs referred the question to the warriors, whether he should be allowed to preach or not; and the war-

riors, in their turn, agreed to refer it to the prophet. Happily, however, this manœuvre was defeated, through the zeal and intrepidity of Mr. Holmes. In full council, he delivered his message with distinguished fervour and fidelity, setting before them, on the one hand, the rich mercies of God in Jesus Christ; and, on the other, the fearful judgments which they would incur, by their unbelief. This boldness appeared to produce the happiest effects. The progress of the delusion was arrested, and the prophet began to lose his credit. To this a quarrel between that impostor and a woman, whom they call a prophetess, contributed. She pretended to have been caught up into the third heavens, but the prophet refused to acknowledge her, and the contest put them both to shame. After some further consultation, the Indians returned Mr. Holmes the following answer: "We have taken time to deliberate. We have been embarrassed with doubts. We thought not proper to proceed hastily, lest not having thoroughly weighed the proposal, we should do wrong, and have reason hereafter to repent of it." They then proceeded to express their willingness to listen to the gospel; and to desire that a school might be established among them. Indeed, Mr. Holmes enjoyed full tranquillity among them; and the mission appeared to be more firmly established than ever.

In December 1803, Longboard, one of their chief warriors, passed through the city of New York, on his return from Washington, whither he had gone to transact some business relative to the collection and civilization of his people. The directors of the society had a most agreeable interview with him, in the course of which he declared

the resolution of the Sachems, and of the rest of the nation, to maintain inviolable their friendship with the Missionary Society, and their attachment to the gospel, notwithstanding all the difficulties that might arise, and the machinations of their enemies. He promised to communicate an account of this interview to his nation; requested the prayers of the society for his safe journey home; begged them to sympathize with his weakness and ignorance, as it was but a short time since he had heard the voice of the Lord; and declared his hope, that, in the course of a few years, the whole of his nation would embrace the gospel.

But notwithstanding these warm professions of friendship, Longboard, on his return home, became the advocate of the impostors who possess so much influence over the credulous Indians, and the violent enemy of the mission. Conferences and councils were held with great solemnity, to decide on the question, whether they should give any further heed to the gospel, or revert to the religion of their forefathers. Longboard exerted his eloquence, his influence, and his address, in favour of their old superstition; and when he saw his cause, after open and full discussion, losing ground among the men, he very dexterously resolved to have the question referred to the judgment of the women. But even this expedient failed. With a modesty and magnanimity which he had not anticipated, they declined giving any opinion on the merits of the case; but reprobated a breach of their agreement with the Missionary Society. At the same time, the providence of God so ordered, that a young Indian, who had received some education, and learned a trade at Albany, was present at this

council. His candid and manly testimony to the truth of the gospel, to the purity of the views with which the mission was instituted, to the folly of the dreamers, and the danger of adhering to them, produced a powerful effect; and the whole dispute terminated in the triumph of truth, and the shame of its opposers.

In one of their Reports, the directors say every thing has been tranquil and prosperous. The happy influence of christianity is now conspicuous in the change of several of their most offensive habits. Their savage dances and frolics are discontinued; once, when an attempt was made by some of the nation to engage in an idolatrous feast, a sufficient number could not be collected to carry the plan into execution. They have renounced the use of ardent spirits, and their resolution has now stood the test of more than two years' probation. They observe the Lord's day, and are regular and respectful in their attendance upon divine worship; even during their last hunting excursion, they abstained from their employment on the sabbath. A number of their youth attend the school, and their proficiency promises to be of the highest utility. They are much attached to singing; and it is now far easier to assemble their young men for a lesson in psalmody, than for the purposes of dissipation. Among the many proofs of great improvement among the Tuscaroras, it ought not to be omitted, that the loose connexion of the sexes is growing into disrepute, and the marriage contract rising into esteem. Old Sachinessa, their venerable sachem, began. He came forward with his partner, with whom he had lived a long series of years, and insisted on being joined to her in the

presence of the congregation, by christian marriage. It was the first instance that had ever occurred in the nation, and a more interesting scene, Mr. Holmes declares, he never witnessed. His example has since been followed by others; and there is a rational prospect, that, in a short time, their conjugal relations will be as regular and sacred as in christian countries. Sachinessa has never relaxed in his exertions for promoting the spiritual interests of his people. His public exhortations, his private visits, his example, his entreaties, his tears, have been employed with a vigilance, a perseverance, and a zeal, which might put thousands in the christian world to shame. Indeed, so sensible are they of the importance of the gospel, that, besides attempting to collect the fragments of their own nation to share in its blessings, they have recently sent a deputation to some of the interior tribes, with the view of spreading the word of life, and urging on their brethren the duty and necessity of embracing it.

Mr. Holmes's connexion with the New York Missionary Society was, after some time, dissolved; and he was succeeded in his labours among the Tuscarora Indians by Mr. Andrew Gray. Sometimes very interesting scenes were exhibited among them. One day Mr. Gray preached from these words: "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God." This discourse appeared to make a deep impression on the mind of the principal sachem, who immediately on the close of the service arose and addressed his countrymen in a long harangue. Whilst he was thus engaged, Mr. Gray descended from the pulpit, and took a seat among the hearers. For a considerable time

the chief seemed very earnest. At last his voice faltered, he sighed deeply, resumed his seat, leaned his face on the head of his cane, and the tears rolled in streams down his cheeks. Mr. Gray inquired the cause, and was informed by Cusick, his interpreter, that in his speech he represented to his countrymen the great benefits which he himself had derived from believing in Christ, exhorted them to open their hearts and receive the same privileges, and mourned over their stupidity and obstinacy. Another instance of a similar kind happened still more lately. Paulus, a professor of christianity, undertook one sabbath morning, before divine service, as he often does, to address his friends on much the same topics. After continuing his talk a considerable time, he began to mourn over the hardness and unbelief of his countrymen. His distress he exhibited by his voice, his gestures, and his tears.

In 1821, the mission was transferred to the United Foreign Missionary Society. The faithful labours of the missionaries here have evidently been attended by much temporal and spiritual advantage. The people live in comfortable dwellings, have in a great measure abandoned the chase, and depend on the produce of the soil for their principal support. A mission-farm with good barns and orchard is occupied by a man of exemplary life. The sabbath is generally regarded, and public worship attended with decorum and solemnity. Schools have been established. Some youths have made considerable proficiency in the elements of an English education, and discover an increasing desire for improvement. In 1824, there was a church, regularly organized of twenty-one members.

An Indian girl, of the tribe, died lately very happy. Her father is a pious man; but she was ignorant and careless, till at the age of fifteen, she was seized with illness, which brought her in a few months to the grave. God was very merciful to her in her sickness. The missionary who instructed her gives the following account:—

“ Young and deplorably ignorant as she was, I could scarcely suppose her capable of receiving the truths of the gospel. I conversed, however, and prayed with her: her father frequently did the same. He often found her praying for herself; but from her great diffidence, little could be learnt from her as to the state of her mind. A few days, however, before her death, it was evident that the Spirit of God had taken possession of her soul, and had communicated light and strength in an extraordinary degree. She no longer appeared as an ignorant Indian child. Her father said, ‘Mary, you know that you must repent of all your sins before you can go to heaven.’—‘Father,’ she replied, ‘God has taught me. I have confessed my sins to Him, and He has favoured me; I know that he has favoured me.’ Her aunt came in, to assist in waiting upon her; and on coming near her bed, began to weep: ‘Aunt,’ said the dying Mary, ‘why do you cry?’—‘To see you so sick. Your flesh is all gone. I feel sorry for you.’—‘Aunt, I am not sick. I am not poor. I am happy now. I do not want any thing. I shall soon be well. Don’t cry for me.’ Her father’s business made it necessary for him to be absent a part of the time: she said to him, ‘You must not leave me. I want you with me, to talk to me and pray with me.’ He asked, ‘Do you

think you have sincerely repented, and given your heart to Christ?'—'My Father,' 'she replied, 'I cannot tell you how it is; but God has helped me: I know he has pitied me. I am happy.' Her parents and sisters came round her bed, the day before she died; and, perceiving that she failed very fast, they all burst into tears: she remained unmoved: at last she said, 'Mother, do not cry: I am happy.' About noon, all the family perceived that the hour of her departure was at hand. All gathered round her bed, and wept very much in silence. She fixed on them an eye of earnest affection—gave her head an expressive nod—placed her hands on her breast—closed her eyes—and breathed out her soul!"

What a contrast is thus presented to the state of Red Jacket, who died as he lived, a heathen. He charged his wife to put a phial of water in his hand, just before he ceased breathing, to prevent the wicked one from carrying off his soul.

A relation of his, captain Strong, renounced heathenism, and brought his little children to the missionary school. Red Jacket and Black Snake, another chief with whom he was connected, made every effort to retain him, but in vain. When he took his children to Mr. Thayer, he said, "Brother, I am not a stranger to you, you have known my character and sentiments; you know me to have been opposed to missions, you have even heard me speak of them in the great council; you may be surprised to see me come and ask you to take my children; you may think I cannot be sincere, and that I do this to make difficulty. But I assure you that would not be like Indians. When I spoke against you, I thought

it was right; I now see I was wrong; I thought you were not my friend: I now believe you are my friend. And the appearance of the children in the school, and the conduct of my brothers, who have set their hearts to keep the sabbath-day, and listen to the voice of the great Spirit, convinced me that they are in the right way."

In a letter, dated Nov. 22, 1831, Mr. Wright remarks:—It is now a month since I came here. During this time, "I have been much interested with what I have seen and heard. The day after I came here, I visited a heathen woman, who was afflicted with the scrofula. Her home was a hovel, with scarcely an article of furniture or crockery in it, and with nothing for her comfort, except what the mission family had sent to her. Her skin had become dead and crisped, as though it had passed through the fire. She lay upon a few old rags strewn upon hard boards, without any covering except a woollen blanket. Her attendant was a brother, who while I was there gave her some drink, which, for want of a spoon, he communicated to her mouth through a tunnel made of the bark of a sapling. She could scarcely swallow, and was unable to converse. The next day she died: and, as her friends were heathens, she was buried without any religious service. This poor woman, a few days before her death, was anxious for her soul, and sent for Mr. Thayer, to pray and converse with her. When she saw him, she told him that while she had reason, which she feared would be continued but a short time, she wished to be instructed in the way of salvation. I could not but contrast christianity with paganism, and desire that the influence of the former,

even if it were limited to the present life, might supplant the latter. I daily see abundant evidence of the fact, that temperance, industry, intelligence, piety, and happiness, are the effects of the gospel among Indians who have embraced it.

I visited, about a fortnight since, a Mrs. Crow, a young Indian woman, grand-daughter of a chief warrior. She was confined to a sick bed, and distressed for her soul. She said she feared that she had been so great a sinner that she could not be saved. I pointed her to the Almighty Saviour. She has since recovered her health, and from her conversation and appearance, gives us reason to hope that she has passed from death unto life. She is distinguished for her talents, but unable to speak the English language. If she is a christian indeed, we trust she will do much good to her people.

Several others have of late publicly confessed themselves to be sinners. One man, about thirty years of age, arose at the close of the second service on the sabbath, and said his conscience smote him so much, that he could not keep his distress a secret any longer; that he had looked before him and perceived that he was walking in a broad road, at the end of which was destruction; that he was resolved to put away all his sins and become a christian. At the close of a religious conference meeting, an aged chief arose, and confessed that he was a great sinner. When he had taken his seat, an aged woman said she did not expect to live long, that she was in the habit of daily praying to God, and intended to serve him as long as she lived."

Mr. Elliot gives the following account of a

revival among the Tuscaroras, in a letter, dated December 4, 1831:—

“ The revival commenced with power on Feb. 15th. The church then consisted of fifteen members, who, with a few exceptions, slumbered and slept. But the Lord did rend the heavens and came down, the mountains did flow down at his presence. The church now numbers fifty-six members, in good standing, forty-one having been added since the 15th of May last; thirty-eight of whom were members of the temperance society. Our church is now a temperance society in the strict sense of the term. Since the commencement of the revival there have been fourteen marriages. All efforts to effect an acknowledgment of plighted faith in matrimonial engagements were useless, previous to the awakening. The reformation has had a powerful tendency to bring order out of confusion in this particular. Within the last six months twenty-one children have been baptised, and it is believed the parents of these children feel their obligations in relation to their offspring to a degree hitherto unknown. They can now find time to meet and pray for their conversion to God.

“ This work of grace has greatly checked and retarded the progress of intemperance out of the church as well as in it. There are now in this village but three or four habitual drunkards. We have, by Divine assistance, given this hydra serpent, Intemperance, a serious blow. But he yet lives, and has recently troubled the church. None of the forty-one who have joined by recent profession have been poisoned by this monster; but two who had been suspended and cut off for years fell into this degrading sin a few weeks after they were restored.

We hope that all the rising generation will be saved from the iron grasp of intemperance. Thirty-one have joined the temperance society within a few months past.

“ The revival has had an important bearing upon the industry of the people. The fact that they have erected and finished a school-house at their own expense is a proof of this statement. A year since no man could have persuaded them to do this.

“ Again, this work of God has effected much in relation to the sabbath. Formerly, great ignorance and stupidity prevailed in reference to the sanctity of the Lord’s day. Some members of the church could converse upon worldly subjects, and haul in hay and grain, if there were an appearance of rain. This they have acknowledged to me, and said that they had been encouraged in this work of supposed necessity. All persons in this village now rest from labour on the sabbath; no trifling conversation is allowed by members of the church, and no visiting. The young men used to meet on Saturday to play ball; but this diversion has been entirely abandoned for more than eight months past. The same season is now consecrated to prayer, as a preparation for the duties of the sabbath.

“ These are the legitimate effects of the gospel upon the minds of an unenlightened and wicked people. It is the power of God to salvation. The change in the character and habits of these Tuscaroras is just what might be expected. If it should be enduring, they may be said to be new creatures. If it should not be enduring, still the change from intemperance to sobriety, from a disregard of the sabbath to its religious observance, from unfaithfulness to the marriage covenant to strict fidelity, from

idleness to industry, is all gain while it lasts. It is seen to extend, also, not merely to those who are hopefully converted; but the public sentiment is improved, and a restraining influence is exerted on the whole population.

“The school-house built by the Indians is twenty-four feet by twenty, well made, comfortable and convenient. It was erected without the use of ardent spirits, and entirely at their expense, except the value of ten or eleven dollars furnished by the mission.”

The following statements are added respecting the civilization of the Senecas:—

A considerable degree of civilization exists among the Indians in the State of New York, which is, to a great extent, the result of missionary efforts. “The most of them, I believe,” says Mr. Harris, of the American Board, “have ordinarily enough produce to carry them through the year: and many sell considerable quantities in the market; such as pork, cattle, corn, hay, potatoes, oats, peas, beans, wood, &c.; whereas, a few years ago, these same people, as a body, were nigh starvation, a great part of the year. But in nothing, perhaps, is their civilization more apparent than in their style of building. Their log cabins and pole barns, half covered with bark, are now frequently exchanged for substantial, well made houses and barns. They have all the means of rendering themselves independent, where they have enough of energy and industry so to do. Of this, however, it is to be lamented that they have yet so small a share. The spirit of industry, we hope, is extending itself through the nation.

“The vice which is most destructive to these Indians, is drunkenness. I am happy to state,

however, that several respectable chiefs, and others who have long been addicted to it, have reformed, in a very great degree, within a few years. One who is regarded as the principal chief of this nation, was considered by all who knew him, two years ago, to be an incurable drunkard. For about a year he is not known to have used any liquor, or at least so as to be overcome by it, in a single instance. He appears to have become quite serious: says he looks to God for help, and hopes sometimes that he has found it. He prays fervently in his family, mornings and evenings; and, I am told, is most earnest when he prays for the drunkards of his tribe. He is externally changed, and the Lord grant that it may be the index of inward purity. The reformation, in this particular, will apply to others of the chiefs also. Their example and warnings, and public expressions of penitence, have had a very happy effect, in checking a vice so ruinous to Indians, particularly among the younger portion.

“ The desertion of their wives and families was formerly the source of great and frequent mischief and distress among this people. It is now highly disreputable, and an instance is of very rare occurrence.

“ I have consulted with some of the oldest and the most respectable men of the Senecas concerning their traditions, and find but little that will probably be very interesting. Their traditions respecting the Divine character, and beings either good or evil, are so much mingled with fable, and partake so largely of the spirit of the marvellous, as to become disgustingly tedious. It is easy, however, to trace the influence of the Roman catholic

church upon the religious creed of the Indians: as it is well known that the catholics have, during the two last centuries, exerted themselves considerably to convert the six nations to their faith. The uninstructed Indian's idea of hell is purgatory outright. On this account, it is the more difficult to ascertain with precision what ideas, in their religious opinions, are purely Indian.

“ The ages of the old men who were consulted, all respectable chiefs, are severally, eighty-one, sixty-four, fifty-seven, and fifty-five. These men state, that the first attempt they ever recollect to have been made to teach their people the gospel of Christ, was by the Rev. Samuel Kirkland, about sixty-five or seventy years ago. He remained with them at their village, (now Geneva) near two years; had begun to excite some attention among the Indians, and had opened a school for the instruction of their children, when the person with whom Mr. Kirkland lived, of whose hospitality he had always faithfully shared, suddenly fell down dead. The superstition of the Indians was such, at that time, as to lead them to account for this man's sudden death, on the supposition, that it was a judgment of Heaven on the person for harbouring some wicked person; and they soon after passed a resolution that he, Mr. K., be expelled the village. He was afterwards accepted by the Oneidas. This was about the first of their intercourse with the whites, as nearly as they can recollect.

“ The attempt that proved most successful in doing away their prejudices, was made by Mr. Hyde, who came to them in the capacity of a teacher. The minister appointed to labour with him, they refused. ”

“ By means of these several attempts, their attention was gradually called to the importance of the christian religion. Before this, they regarded God as no other than a man; a person of similar appearance and disposition to themselves. They supposed him good looking, and always naked, well painted, having pieces of dog-skin around each leg, and each arm, and blankets of dog-skin around his shoulders. This being they were in the habit of invoking twice a year: once early in the fall, and again in the latter part of the winter. At the latter season, the great yearly sacrifice of the white dog was made.

“ This sacrifice was attended with great form and ceremony. The people were previously strictly enjoined to prepare themselves for the approaching solemnities. The young robust hunters were taxed a deer each, for the necessary supply of provisions, during the continuance of the feasts; and contributions were expected from different quarters. Three councils must be held to make inquiry if all things were ready. At the third sitting, a day was appointed when the solemnities should begin. One person was always sent through the village to give notice of the determination, by saying, ‘ To-morrow, at such an hour, on the firing of a salute, you must expect our uncles to appear:’ meaning two select men, whose business it was to go round from house to house, in the dead of night, dressed in complete suits of black bear skin, with wreaths of braided corn-husks around their heads and ancles, and a corn-pounder in their hand. Approaching a house they would always thump up against the door, sometimes exclaiming as they entered, ‘ Now

expect to see the big heads:' meaning that great respect must be shown to persons whose office is pre-eminently sacred. They would then enter the lodge, go to the further extremity of it, thumping on the floor, as they went: and on returning, one would begin, in a ceremonious manner, to draw a stick across the ashes, while the other would converse in a very solemn tone on the nature and importance of paying due attention to their religious rites. They would then retire. This ceremony would be again repeated the next night, for the purpose of arousing the people to a sense of their obligations to attend on the worship of their god. On this second visit, the people were reminded to remember all their dreams, which they would be at liberty to propose at the first general meeting, with a view to let the conjurors, or others who chose, guess them out, in some such manner as Samson put forth his riddle to the men of Timnath. The fortunate discoverers (if any were sufficiently expert at guessing, and if not, the chiefs,) were obliged to furnish the dreamer with something which would correspond to the nature of the dream: for instance, if any person was favoured with an interesting dream respecting a canoe, or gun, or bow and arrow, some imitation of these things must be made and presented to the individual, who ever after regarded it as one of the most sacred of things, as a guide in all his wanderings on earth, and a passport even to the heavenly paradise.

“ On the third day, these heralds, perfectly naked and well-painted, would repeat essentially the same ceremony, with increasing earnestness and zeal; and would take up, in a kind of scoop

or shovel, some of the ashes, and scatter them round the room, saying, 'This we do out of regard to god, who is our son.' They would then be followed by others, men and women, performing the same ceremony, going from house to house, doing the same thing, and repeating the same words. The next day, six of the best men in the village would be sent round to state to the people, that they had come to visit them in company with god himself; who they pretended made one of their number.—'Your son,' they would say with great stillness and solemnity, 'has come to visit you.'

"After this ceremony had been performed, the next thing was to attend on the great annual sacrifice of the white dog. The dog, on being strangled, was highly painted and adorned with ribbons, and suspended to a post previously prepared. The officiating priest, at the proper time, would advance, take down the dog, lay it on the pile of wood already in flames, and throw upon the consuming victim, a handful or two of Indian tobacco. After this, the priest would begin to pray, as follows:—'Here, our son, is a present for you, from your parents: we present you with this dog, of the skin of which you can make garments for yourself: we also present you with a little tobacco—a very little: we pray that you will accept it, as coming from your faithful and loving parents. Have mercy on us, and send us all those things that are necessary for our comfort and happiness,' &c. This is the only time, the Indians say, in which they ever pretended to pray: but the priest, they say, actually prayed in this manner, and the people all listened with the most profound attention.

"On the conclusion of this ceremony, the

people, old and young, would begin to dance; while some person would sing. Of these dances, they have a great variety. Usually, when the dancing commenced, the most unbounded revelry commenced. And, as they were conducted chiefly in the night, very great licentiousness was practised; although every thing of the kind was strictly forbidden by the officiating priest. It was generally expected that, at these seasons, husbands and wives would be parted from each other, and deeds of darkness, and crimes of high order be committed with supposed impunity.

“ These Indians never had any idea of being called to any future account, whatever their conduct might be, if they properly attended upon these solemnities, which they believed their god had prescribed. They believed, indeed, that persons notoriously wicked and base in their dispositions and habits, could not expect to go directly to the heavenly paradise; but would be compelled to take a road which must lead to the residence of Nis-ha-o-no, the evil spirit, who would take great pleasure in scourging them severely, and then permit them to pass on. They thought that their god really made all things to grow, and governed the world. But the individuals, of whom I made inquiries, believe that the Indians generally consulted, in a more devout and humble manner, their household gods, than they did their great deity himself.* These household gods were gene-

* It probably cannot be well ascertained that the worship paid to these images did not commence subsequently to the first intercourse of the Indians with the Roman catholics, and did not have its origin in the ceremonies of that church.

rally images made of wood, and sometimes the representations of things which had been given to them officially, in answer to their dreams. One of these images was erected a number of years ago at the Allegany reservation. It was made from a large pine log, and was fourteen feet in height. The native dances were generally performed around this image while it lasted.

“There was a set of men among this people, who were styled prophets. They professed to hold intercourse with spiritual beings, and with their god himself. Among these, was the great Allegany prophet, who several years ago lived at the Allegany reservation. This man had obtained, by his proficiency in the arts of enchantment, a great ascendancy over the religious prejudices of the people. The last year of his life he prophesied that he should die at such a time; and he did actually die about the time predicted, a natural death, as the Indians suppose. This fact appears very unaccountable to the Indians even now. They say, they hope he was a good man, though ignorant, and that perhaps he has gone to heaven.”

In order to understand the first of the following extracts from a letter of Mr. Thayer, dated Nov. 6th, 1828, it must be remembered, that about one half of the Senecas, on their several reservations, have renounced their former superstitions and heathenish rites, and embraced christianity; and are in favour of the introduction of knowledge and the arts of civilized life. The remainder are still attached to the superstitions of the tribe, and opposed to all the changes which have taken place. They have heretofore manifested much hostility to the efforts made to extend a knowledge of the gospel.

“ When I wrote last, exertions were making to unite the pagan with the christian party. At different councils held recently, some of the leading pagans said they had long enough wandered in the ways of darkness and error, and exhorted the people to embrace the religion of the gospel. I visited them from house to house, and found them generally disposed to listen to religious conversation. Some pagans said, that, if I would appoint a day, they would assemble to hear me talk upon the subject of the gospel. A day was appointed, and all the chiefs and principal men, of both parties, attended and listened to a talk of more than three hours. Not far from this time, at a funeral, almost the whole population assembled, which afforded another opportunity to publish to the pagans the truths of the gospel. Some few attended with us at our sabbath meetings, and there were some appearances of seriousness; so that we began to hope we were about to receive the blessing of the Holy Spirit. But suddenly a dark cloud arose, and spread over the whole people.”

Mr. Thayer proceeds to state the outlines of a difficulty which arose between two native members of the church, which immediately produced a great excitement among the people, and made it necessary for the church to examine the case, and endeavour to reconcile the parties.

“ The pagans looked on with amazement, wondering if these were the fruits of the gospel. Things were in this state, and growing worse, when, on finding, after repeated trials, that the church could not settle its own difficulties, it was proposed to send for Mr. Harris and the church at Seneca. All agreed to submit to them. Accordingly, Mr. H. and most of the Seneca church

arrived at this place on Saturday last. After the usual exercises on the Sabbath, three prayer meetings were appointed at different places for the evening. On Monday morning, the council, consisting of about forty persons, convened in the school-room, and was opened by prayer. A particular and impartial investigation commenced, which continued all that day, most of the night, and the whole of the next day. On Tuesday evening, the case was submitted to the members from Seneca, and such of the Cattaraugus church as were not implicated. They retired by themselves, and after considering the whole cause, made up their judgment: 1. That both the individuals, with whom the difficulty originated, had been guilty of very wicked conduct, and should be suspended from the church, until they should repent, and evince their repentance by a course of christian conduct: 2. That the other offending members should be duly admonished and exhorted to repentance, and if, on receiving this, they manifested a proper state of feeling, they should be forgiven.

“ One of the offending members was absent from home, when the council convened, and during the whole session, which we much regret. On Wednesday morning, the whole council being assembled, and prayer offered, the judgment was communicated; after which a most tender and affecting scene took place, of mutual confessions and asking forgiveness among the members of this church. All appeared deeply affected, except the two suspended members, who seemed hardened. After several hours spent in this manner, the whole was closed with prayer. Thus our fears have been

disappointed, and our hearts filled with thanksgiving and praise to our covenant God, for this apparently happy result.

“It is now our most earnest prayer, that the great Head of the church, would follow this token of mercy with a great outpouring of his Spirit, and that his cause may triumph most gloriously. Pray for us, who are placed as leaders of this people, that we may have wisdom and grace given us from on high, to make us faithful in every duty, and more devoted in the sacred cause in which we are engaged.”

The candid, intelligent, and truly christian course adopted by the church, for the settlement of this difficulty, indicates that they, in some measure, understand and exercise the spirit of the gospel: they know how to forgive and love one another.

A boarding school, which was formerly kept up at Cattaraugus, was discontinued three or four years ago; and in the place of it a school opened on the plan of having the scholars board with their parents. This was found by the Indians to be inconvenient, and they petitioned for the re-establishment of the boarding school, but it was declined by the committee, on account of the expense. The Indians then proposed to set up a boarding school at their own expense, provided a teacher and some person to take the care of the children and prepare their food could be furnished. This was agreed to. They therefore erected a good building, containing a school-room, kitchen, dining-room, and lodging-rooms for the boys and girls. Provisions were also brought by the parents, and a school of from twenty to thirty scholars, commenced at the close

of 1827, which continued about six months, when the Indians found they had no more provisions to spare. The school, of course, stopped. In the spring of 1828, special exertions were made by the people of the settlement, to raise such a quantity of provisions as would enable them to keep the school in operation during the whole year. The sum of one hundred dollars was allowed them from the treasury of the board, to aid in the support of children whose parents are poor, or are pagans. A society has been formed among the christian females of the tribe, and another among the males, for supporting the same class of children. Each of these societies contributes more than twenty dollars annually. It should be remembered, that the Indians on this reservation, had previously built a good meeting house for themselves. Mr. Thayer gives the following account of his present school.

“ There are two children supported in school by the Indian Female Benevolent Society. The whole number of scholars is fifty-two. The number living in the boarding-house, under our immediate care, is forty-six; though the number at one time has not exceeded forty, and is sometimes not so great, as some are almost constantly absent on account of the sickness of themselves or friends. This is an evil which it is difficult to remedy.

“ I think most of the scholars are learning tolerably well. Could the present school continue in steady operation a year or two, I think the progress of the scholars would be very considerable; but fluctuating, as it has been for two or three years past, little can be expected. A few days since, three children were brought to the school by

the pagans, together with provisions for their support."

There has been a flourishing Temperance Society, on the principle of total abstinence, at this station, for more than a year. It is remarkable that movements as to temperance among the Indians, correspond with efforts on the same subject among the whites. Probably few communities have taken more decided measures for suppressing intemperance, and promoting good order and morality, than the Indians at Cattaraugus.

"At our communion in December last," says the Missionary, "seven persons were admitted into this church. Three of them were from the Alleghany reservation. The other four reside in this place. Our meeting was solemn and interesting.

"About a month since I visited the Indians on the Alleghany reservation. Those who profess religion there seem to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace, and to be steadfast and unmovable, abounding in the work of the Lord. The dew of the Spirit seems to be descending on them and on their families. Within a few months past, several who had been anxious for their souls for a considerable time, have indulged hopes that their hearts have been changed by the Spirit of God; and there are others inquiring what they must do to be saved. In one of the neighbourhoods, the Indians have erected a school-house, and employed an Indian teacher, who has under his care between twenty and thirty scholars. I visited the school, and was exceedingly interested. The children appeared studious and obedient. One of the youth of the same neighbourhood is now at the academy in Fredonia. I am

informed that he is resolved to get an education ; that he is now reading Latin, and supports himself.

“ A few months since, the meeting-house at Alleghany was burnt by an incendiary, who was supposed to be one of the heathen Indians, and a violent opponent of christianity. Another meeting-house is soon to be erected by the pious natives.

During the church conference held at Cattaraugus, eight persons were found at one of the meetings anxiously inquiring after the way of life. Their feelings, as ascertained by those who conversed with them, are thus described :—

“ They all confessed themselves to be great sinners, and said it was their determination hereafter to forsake sin, to trust in Christ and to walk in the path to heaven. One of them said that he had resisted the force of Divine truth till he could resist no longer ; that he believed it was the power of God which brought him there ; and that he was astonished to think what a sinner he had been, and that he should be permitted to have another opportunity to attend to the concerns of his soul. On the last day of the conference the Lord's supper was administered, and two persons were admitted to the Alleghany church, and one to the Cattaraugus church. There has been, for several weeks past, more than usual attention to the subject of religion in this place. We hope there are a few who have recently become the friends of God. There are some who are now alarmed in view of their sins. We ask the prayers of God's people in our behalf—that the Holy Spirit may not be grieved by us, and that the gospel here may have free course and be glorified.”

CHAPTER XII.

The Red River Settlement.—Staging the Dead.—Baptism and Marriage.—Anticipation of Good.—Visit to Fort Churchill.—Indian Family.—Symbolical Figures.—Patriarchal Travelling.—The Esquimaux.—Superstition.—First Communicant.—Schools.—Fearful Inundation.—Severe Privation.—Pleasing Facts.—Indians at Machinaw.—Letters from Girls in the School.—The Convert Eliza.—Mission at La Point.—Letters from Boys in the School.—The Chipeways.—Kahkewaquonaby's Addresses.—American Baptist Board.—Western Indians.—Visit to a Village.—Wretchedness and Superstition.—Interesting Boys.—Conanda and Soswa.—The Chief Noon-day.—Individual Obligation, in reference to the Heathen, and Unbelieving at Home.

A MISSION appears to have originated in the suggestions of the Rev. John West, who, in 1820, arrived as chaplain to the Hudson's Bay Company, at their settlement on the Red River. At this place there was an unfinished building, intended for a Roman catholic church, with an adjoining house for the residence of the priest, but no protestant church or school-house. Mr. West, therefore, took up his abode at the colony fort. Here he performed Divine service every sabbath-day, and his ministry was generally well attended. Sometimes considerable impression appears to have been produced; one individual, who had not been

in a place of worship since he left England, a period of thirty years, described the first day of his attendance as the happiest of his life. Several marriages were also solemnized, some adults, principally half-breeds, the children of European fathers and Indian mothers, were baptized, and a school was commenced.

On a journey to the provision posts at Brandon-house and Beaver Creek, Mr. West had a carriole, called a cariote, drawn by three wolf-dogs, with a driver, and followed by a sledge with his luggage, also drawn by two dogs. The weather was so extremely cold, that sometimes a part of his face was completely frozen, but the inconvenience was removed by rubbing it with snow; and though at night his only canopy was the heavens, he observes, that he slept much better than he could have anticipated, with a blanket doubled on the frozen snow, and a buffalo robe as a covering; while his attendants watched alternately, and kept up a good fire.

At one place he witnessed a singular process. "In burying or staving their dead," he says, "the Indians generally put all the property of the deceased into the case; and, whenever they visit the corpse, which they do for years afterwards, they will encircle the stage or burying-place, smoke their pipes, weep bitterly, and frequently cut themselves with knives, or pierce themselves with the points of sharp instruments. As I followed a corpse to the grave, a melancholy train of thought arose in my mind, from the dark and ignorant state of the poor Indians around me; and I earnestly wished that British benevolence might reach them in missionary exertions; to impart unto

them, through Divine grace, the blessings of that gospel which brings life and immortality to light." On reaching Beaver Creek, he was particularly noticed by some Indians, who had come thither for the purpose of barter, and who, on hearing he was a religious teacher, stroked him on the head as a fond father would a favourite child. Towards evening, however, the effect of the liquor they had obtained for their commodities, became exceedingly annoying, and, he observes, there was such a bacchanalian scene as he had never before witnessed. The next day being the sabbath, the company's servants assembled twice for divine worship. About forty persons were also addressed on baptism and marriage; and such an effect was produced on an elderly man, who had long lived in the disregard of these rites that he earnestly requested that he might be married to the female with whom he resided, and that his seven children might be baptized.

On a successful appeal to the Church Missionary Society in behalf of this people, Mr. West thus expresses himself:—"No one ever received news from a far country, which more gladdened the heart, than your letters did mine. I read them again and again with lively emotions of gratitude, and with joyful hope that, as the sinews of war are now afforded, the banner of the cross may be successfully unfurled among the British North American Indians. My ground of rejoicing is this—the expressed interest and co-operation of the Hudson's Bay Company, as affording facilities which otherwise could not be obtained, in seeking to extend the light and influence of the christian religion among the natives of this vast territory. God

be praised that commerce is now consecrated to this purpose ! For centuries they have been left to wander through life, uncheered by even a single ray of Divine truth ; but this darkness, I trust, is now past, and ‘ a foundation is laid,’ as one of the directors writes to me, ‘ for extending the blessings of religion, morals, and education, wherever the representative of the company may set his foot.’ All, all, is encouraging to proceed ; yet I will not conceal my fears, that expectations may be raised too high, as to the progress that may be made in that vast field of labour which presents itself. ‘ There are a great many willows to cut down, and roots to remove,’ as an Indian chief said to me, when he welcomed me to the country, ‘ before the path will be clear to walk in.’ The axe, however, is laid to the root of the tree, in the establishment of schools, as the means of instruction, and of diffusing christian knowledge in this moral wilderness ; and we may triumph in the hope that numbers will arise to enjoy what they are capable of feeling—the endearments of social life, as well as of moral and religious elevation.”

In a letter written in 1815, he observed, “ I have trodden the burnt ruins of houses, barns, a mill, a fort, and sharpened stockades ; but none of a place of worship, even upon the smallest scale. I blush to say, that over the whole extent of the Hudson’s Bay territories no such building exists. It is surely high time that this foul reproach should be done away from among men belonging to a christian nation. I must confess that I am anxious to see the first little christian church and steeple of wood slowly rising among the wilds, and to hear the sound of the first sabbath bell, which has tolled here since the creation.”

“As I was returning, one evening, from visiting some of the settlers, about nine or ten miles below, the lengthened shadows of the setting sun cast upon our buildings, and the consideration that there was now a landmark of christianity in this wild waste, and an asylum opened for the instruction and maintenance of Indian children, raised the most agreeable sensations in my mind, and led me into a train of thought which awakened a hope, that, in the divine compassion of the Saviour, it might be the means of raising a spiritual temple in this wilderness to the honour of his name. In the present state of the people, I consider it no small point gained to have formed a religious establishment. The outward walls, even, and the spire of the church, cannot fail of producing some effect on the minds of a wandering people, and of the population of the settlement.”

It appears that, during winter, the severity of the weather sometimes precluded the settlers from assembling for the purpose of Divine worship; but, from the beginning of March till about the middle of June, the congregation consisted, on an average, of from one hundred to a hundred and thirty persons. The sabbath afternoons were devoted to the gratuitous instruction of all who chose regularly to attend; and on these occasions there were generally forty or fifty scholars present, including some Indian women unmaried to Europeans, besides the Indian children on the missionary establishment.

On the 10th of June, Mr. West preached a farewell sermon to a crowded congregation, and having administered the Lord's supper to those who fervently joined with him in praying for the Divine blessing to rest upon the missionary

who should officiate during his absence, he parted from his flock and the members of the missionary establishment with tears. "It had been," says he, "a long, and anxious, and arduous scene of labour to me; and my hope was, as about to embark for England, that I might return to the settlement, and be the means of effecting a better order of things."

Almost immediately after reaching York Factory, Mr. West made arrangements for visiting the Esquimaux Indians at Fort Churchill, the most northern post belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company. Captain Franklin had suggested the expediency of walking from York Fort to that factory, as the passage in a canoe might be long delayed by the immense quantities of ice floating in the bay. Mr. W. therefore, resolved, notwithstanding the distance, to adopt this plan, and having engaged one of the company's servants, with an Indian hunter, they set out in company with two Indians, who happened to be returning to Churchill. "It was necessary," says he, "that we should embark in a boat to cross the North River; and, in rowing round the point of marsh, we perceived a brightness in the northern horizon, like that reflected from ice, usually called the 'blink,' and which led us to suppose that vast fields of it were floating along the coast, in the direction that we were going. It happened to be low water when we crossed the mouth of the river; so that the boat could not approach nearer than about a mile from the shore; which obliged us to walk this distance through the mud and water, to the place where we fixed our encampment for the night, and where the musquitoes inflicted

their torments upon us. We were dreadfully annoyed by them, from the swampy country we had to traverse ; and I was glad to start, with the dawn of the following morning, from a spot where they literally blackened our small canvas tent, and hovered around us in clouds, so as to render life itself burdensome. The day, however, afforded us very little relief, while walking nearly ankle deep in water, through the marshes ; and such was their torture upon the poor animals, that we frequently saw the deer coming out of the woods, apparently almost blinded and distracted with their numbers, to rush into the water for relief. This gave our hunter an opportunity of killing two of them in the afternoon ; so that we had plenty of venison, and a good supply of wild fowl, which he had shot for our evening repast." The next morning, Mr. West and his companions resumed their journey at sun-rise, but the former had obtained little refreshment during the night, in consequence of having been wrapped in a blanket, almost to suffocation, in order to elude the stings of the musquitoes. From these troublesome insects, however, he was happily delivered by a change of wind, blowing from off the ice, which was now visible from the horizon to the shores of the bay. After fording Stony River, they came upon the track of a polar bear, with which the Indian hunter appeared extremely anxious to fall in ; but the ferocious animal seemed to have taken a survey of the party, and to have retired into the recesses of an adjacent wood.

On the travellers fording the Broad River, they saw, at a short distance from its banks, the smoke of an Indian tent, to which they directed their

steps. The family, who were upon a hunting excursion, were clothed in deer skins, and the man, who appeared to be a half breed, stated, that though he was now leading an Indian life, his father had been formerly a master at one of the company's posts. He also expressed his willingness to accompany Mr. West to the factory; but as his two sons were gone out in pursuit of a deer, he said he must leave some directions for them on their return. Accordingly, having prepared a broad piece of wood, with his axe, he sketched out several figures, to denote the party with whom he had set out, and by a curved line appended to these, intimated that they were to follow. "We then proceeded," says Mr. West, "after the wife had put some kettles upon the back of a miserable looking dog, and had taken her accustomed burden, the tent, with some other articles, on her own shoulders. The little ones were, also, severally laden with a knapsack, and the whole had the appearance of a camp of gipsies moving through the country."

Before the tents were struck the next morning, the hieroglyphics which the old man had left upon the piece of wood brought his two sons, whom he had left hunting, and who had walked the greater part of the night, in order to overtake their family. It seems that the Indians are in the habit of painting symbolical figures, such as those to which we have alluded, on the dressed skins of buffaloes or other animals, and some of these are occasionally bartered at the company's stations. They thus represent the achievement of a victory in war, by sketching out a picture of the successful chief, with the distinguishing mark of his

nation, and by rudely delineating the warriors who accompanied him; whilst a number of little figures denote how many prisoners were taken, and so many headless bodies denote the number of those who were slain.

On the 18th, the travellers, who had now no provisions but from what they shot on their journey, came to a tent of Chippeway Indians, where they experienced a very cordial reception; the woman beginning to cook venison for them on their arrival, without even inquiring whether they were hungry; and the men proposing to accompany them to Churchill. "As soon as we had finished eating," says Mr. West, "the tent was struck, and the whole party proceeded, with the old man a-head, with a long staff in his hand, followed by his five sons and two daughters, and the rest of us in the train; which suggested to my mind the patriarchal mode of travelling."

On the arrival of the party at Fort Churchill, which they reached on the morning of the 21st, an Esquimaux, named Augustus, who had accompanied Captain Franklin to the shores of the Polar Sea, came out to meet them; and expressed much delight on ascertaining that Mr. West had undertaken such a journey for the purpose of visiting his tribe, who were expected to arrive, within a few days, at the factory. He had not seen his countrymen since he had acted as one of the guides in the northern land expedition, but intended to return with them to his wife and family, laden with the presents and rewards which he had received for his faithful services. "On the 25th," says Mr. W. "the servants of the company, with the officers, assembled for divine service; and la-

habit of visiting the ruins of the old factory, about five miles beyond the company's present establishment, in anxious expectation that his countrymen would arrive by the way of the coast, in their seal-skin canoes; and one morning he stated, on his return, that there was an Esquimaux family tented by the shore, under one of the rocks. "The next day, therefore," says Mr. West, "I accompanied him to the spot, with an interpreter, under the idea that I might obtain some interesting information; and was much pleased at seeing the family living in the exercise of social affection. The Esquimaux treated his wife with kindness, and there was a constant smile upon her countenance, very opposite to the oppressed and dejected look of the Indian women in general. Through the medium of my interpreter I obtained the following information:—

"Most of the Esquimaux have one wife, but good hunters have sometimes two. They never leave the sick, infirm, or aged, like the northern Indians, to perish; but always drag them on sledges in winter, and take them in canoes in summer, till they die. They never burn their dead, but always bury them. They do not know who made the sun, the heavens, the waters, and the earth; nor whether the person who made these things be dead or alive. They know, however, that there is a bad spirit among them, who causes them to suffer; and they pray to him not to hurt them. They believe when a wicked man dies that the bad spirit takes him, and puts him into a hole under ground, where there is a perpetual fire; but when a good man dies, the moon takes him up to a happy place, where he lives as he did upon earth, only he has less to do.

"The Esquimaux was fond of saying that formerly they were as white men—like me. I encouraged him in this idea; but observed that white men now knew a great deal more than his tribe, and that many persons in my country wished them to be taught who made the world, &c. On my asking whether they would like to have a white man live among them, to clothe and teach their children, the Esquimaux and his wife appeared to be quite overjoyed at the question, laughed heartily, and said that they wished to know the great Spirit; adding, that if I came to live among their people, they were sure they would treat me well; as they would be much pleased in having their children taught what white men knew; and would bring provisions, as there was plenty of musk-oxen, deer, and salmon. We parted cordially, shaking hands; and, at the same time, I observed to him, that if white men came to live in his country, it would not be because white man's country was not better than his, but because white man loved the Esquimaux, and wished to teach them how to live and die happy."

Of another party, who arrived a few days afterward, Mr. West observes, "As some of the Esquimaux were returning to Chesterfield Inlet, I assembled them, and had the following 'talk,' previously to my giving them a few presents:—

"Standing in the circle, I said, 'I speak true. I love Esquimaux; and many in my country love them, and wished me to visit them. As a proof that I love them, I came far across the sea, where the sun rises, to see them, not to make house, and trade with them; but to ask them (and they must speak true,) if they should like white man to make

house, and live in their country, that he might clothe their children, and teach them to read white man's book, to write, and to know the great Spirit."

Mr. West had no sooner ceased speaking, than they all, with one consent, expressed their approbation of his proposal by laughing and shouting; adding, that they would supply plenty of provisions, and would never steal from white man in their own country, though they were conscious that this was sometimes done at the factories. Mr. W. then gave to each individual a clasp-knife, a little tobacco, and a few beads for their wives.

"The Esquimaux," he remarks, "who had accompanied captain Franklin, was very anxious that I should see his countrymen conjure; and immediately after I had given them the presents, he got a blanket and a large knife, and told me that one of them would put the knife through his body, and not die, or fire a ball through his breast, leaning upon a musket, without being injured. I objected to the deception; and told him that if his countrymen could really conjure, they should draw to their shores the whales, which were then appearing in the river opposite the fort. It was with some difficulty, however, that I prevented the exhibition."

About fifty miles north of Fort Churchill, Mr. West visited another tribe of Esquimaux, who are in the habit of traversing the coast in the neighbourhood of Knapp's Bay. "We pitched our tent with them," says he, "for two days; and I never knew Indians behave so orderly as they did. They partook of their meals with great cordiality and cheerfulness; and never came into my tent with-

out being asked. To seven of the oldest men among them I repeated the questions which I had put to the others; and they all appeared overjoyed with the expectation of having a white man among them to make house, and teach their children; promising to furnish him with provisions, and not to steal. I gave to each of these, also, a knife, with a portion of tobacco, and some beads to take to their wives.

“In parting with these Indians, to return to Fort Churchill, I felt a lively interest for their eternal welfare; and shall greatly rejoice if any plan can be devised to accomplish the object of educating their children. They are an interesting race of people, and appear to me to present a fine field for missionary labour, with the hope of much success.”

In returning from this excursion to the factory, he observes, that he had to proceed along a coast the most dangerous to navigate that can be conceived; from the water being studded with fragments of rocks, for miles from the shore, and which are only visible at the reflux of the tide.

On his journey he came to a tent of Indians who were encamped on the shore, for the purpose of killing bears; and in front of the little encampment, he observed the head of one of these animals, which had been recently shot, placed upon some pointed sticks, in expression of some superstitious notions. It seems that these people have a great dread of bears, and are in the habit of wearing necklaces formed of their claws, as amulets or charms to preserve them from their ferocious attacks. “A short time before I left the Red River

colony," Mr. West says, "an Indian came to my residence with a necklace strung with some large claws; and, being induced to part with it for some tobacco, he addressed it in a very grave speech, when he took it from his neck, and laid it for me on the table, in language to the following effect:—' My grandfather! you and I have been together some time; but we must now part. Go to that chief, and, in leaving me, be not angry, but let me kill buffalo when I am hungry, and another bear when I meet with it; and then I will make another necklace of the claws.' I smiled at this address; when, looking at me very seriously, he said, 'If you offend the bear (meaning, I suppose, the spirit of the animal whose claws he had given me,) the bears will be sure to eat you.'"

Two days after this occurrence, Mr. West arrived in safety at York factory, after having walked, on his return, the supposed distance of one hundred and eighty miles, through a trackless country, abounding in swamps and long grass, and dreadfully infested, in many parts, with musquitoes. Here he had the pleasure of meeting with the Rev. David Jones, who had arrived from England three days before, in his way to the Red River settlement, and with whom a conference was now held on the concerns of the mission. After a few days, Mr. West sailed for his native country, and Mr. Jones proceeded, with the two Indian boys who had been placed under Mr. West's protection, to his place of destination, where he arrived on the 14th of October, after a tedious passage, occasioned by what is termed a head wind on the lake.

In the midst of much outward distress, it

appears, the labours of himself and Mr. Cockran, who afterwards arrived, have been attended by many encouraging circumstances.

“I have had,” says Mr. Jones, in Dec. 1825, “several conversations with a female native Indian of this colony, in regard to her partaking the Lord’s supper. She has been most assiduous in the use of the means for a long time; and her knowledge of Divine things has been increasing so rapidly, as to become a striking proof of the gracious and efficient teaching of the Holy Spirit. She came to-day again, with her half-breed daughter, who is also determined to forsake the world and follow Christ. I could not help shedding tears of joy at this additional proof of Divine approbation afforded to my labours. This is the first real Indian who has become a communicant.

“Last fall, an Indian came to the settlement for the benefit of medical assistance, having had his hand shattered by the bursting of a gun. He is a very extraordinary man; his inquiries concerning our religion manifest a degree of intelligence which would make him shine as a light in the world, if illuminated by the gospel. He is particularly anxious to learn all that he can before he returns to his wilds in the spring, in order, as he says, to make his ‘friends and children more wise.’

“The half-breed young woman just mentioned, told me to-day, that she does all that she can to instruct him, but finds it very difficult to explain herself to him in the Indian language on particular subjects. She said, ‘I was never so anxious to speak well to him as I was this morning; and never made a worse hand of it: my

sister and I both tried, again and again, but could not get on well at all.' 'My young friend,' said I, 'what were you so anxious to tell him of?' She replied, 'I was endeavouring to tell him what the Saviour suffered for him, and why it was necessary that he should suffer as He did, in order to save sinners.' I encouraged her to proceed in her instructions with him and his wife, by setting before her the promises of God which bore on the subject. At the same time I could not but think how delighted many christian ladies in England would be with this my young disciple. Two years ago this young woman was as ignorant as any Indian in the country; but now she has learned to read her Bible, and has found a Saviour there, the sweetness of whose love makes her long for the time when her poor countrymen shall participate therein. Let the friends of missions then go on, and they shall reap if they faint not; yea, they do reap, in part, already."

Of the schools, Mr. Cockran thus reports, in July, 1826:—

"Both the Sunday and week-day schools were in a flourishing state in the winter: the children regularly attended, even when the weather was very stormy; but, since the latter end of April, we have all had to pass through many vicissitudes: from the 3d of May, the settlers have been so dispersed, that it is impossible for their children to attend the schools. We hope that in a few weeks they will be more collected, and then our schools will flourish again. The Indian boys are making considerable progress in knowledge: some of them seem to attend with a great deal of

sincerity when religious instruction is delivered, but it is natural to them to give close attention to everything."

The desire which some of the Indians evince for the instruction of their children, appears from the following circumstance mentioned by Mr. Jones:—

"Mr. Ross told me, in reference to the parents of the boys brought to Red River school, that they were very indignant when he first, at the instance of governor Simpson, solicited their giving up their sons; and asked him if they 'were looked upon as dogs, willing to give up their children to go they knew not whither.' But when he told them that they were going to a minister of religion, to learn how to know and serve God, they said he might have 'hundreds of children in an hour's time;' and he selected two, being the sons of the most powerful chiefs in that part of the country."

Mr. Jones thus describes the state of the people:—

"A striking combination of circumstances, tends at present to throw a gloom over the temporal interests of this colony. The failure of the buffalo in the hunting grounds commenced the distress; since that time, the season, both in duration and severity, has exceeded any former instance of the kind within the memory of the oldest inhabitant. The settlers have, for a long time, been obliged to support their cattle entirely on wheat and barley, and the consumption has been so great as to lead me to apprehend a scarcity of seed for the soil. The season is getting so late as to render it probable that no wheat

crops can be expected at all; and should anything occur to prevent the prosperity of barley and potatoes, we shall be threatened with a famine. Many prayers and strong cries are sent up to Him who alone can save, and I hope they will be heard."

The distress occasioned by the severity of the weather, was increased by a destructive inundation from the beginning of May till the middle of June, in the course of which, nearly every house was swept away, and the country laid under water as far as the eye could reach. The missionaries, in common with the rest of the inhabitants, were obliged, for about a month, to leave their dwellings, and reside in tents pitched on a high spot of ground.

On the 12th of June, Mr. Jones states, in his journal: "We are now nearly re-established in our dwellings. The parsonage is all in one room, and served for a church yesterday, where I preached twice; Mr. Cockran having gone to the hills, where the people are still encamped. The ploughs are at work to-day, and I trust that we shall yet have crops of barley and potatoes. The people are now drawing near the banks of the river, to the site of their old habitations. Thus deliverance comes in God's own time and way. We want nothing but faith to rely on Him."

Mr. Cockran subsequently writes:—"Though the flood has destroyed almost every house, yet we have escaped very wonderfully: we have received very little damage; our churches are standing; our dwelling-house, with the schoolmasters' and the school-house, are left alone; as it were, as monuments of the preserving mercy of God."

Other cases of the gracious interposition of God have occurred ; but the missionary remarks, in a more recent letter :—" Though we did not suffer last winter, many of our fellow-creatures did very severely. Many families subsisted several weeks on hazel-nuts, which they gathered from the trees, and from the top of the snow. Others subsisted by angling ; they cut a small hole through the ice, and let down their line and hook, and waited till a kind Providence directed a fish to them. The hardships which some endured are inconceivable ; if I were to tell you how some lived, you would not credit me ; you would not believe that the brittle house of clay, the foundation of which is in the dust, would take half so much to pull it in pieces. You would suppose that one half of the hardships would extinguish the lamp of life violently, or make it cease to burn for want of oil."

On the whole, the mission wears an encouraging aspect. The following interesting facts have recently occurred. An aged woman, called by a name meaning the Rosebud, worshipped an idol, to which her devotion was extreme. Christian instruction at length produced an impression upon her, and a very great change became manifest in her general conduct. She said, at last, to her son-in-law, " Robert, you must go and speak to the minister for me, for I want to be a worshipper of the true God. Tell him I have thrown away my foolish things, and wish to give myself to the Saviour of the world." She was afterwards admitted to baptism : her answers, on examination, were very satisfactory. After baptism, Mr. Jones asked for her idol ; but she replied : " Noo-shee-syn (my grand-child), to hear of these things pains my

ears now ; to think of them, troubles my heart ; I therefore wish you to pass them by."

Mr. Cochran asked some who offered themselves for the communion, and who appear to have been led to Christ, whether they thought that they could get to heaven without him. With tears, they answered : " Without Christ, we can do nothing ! We are sinful creatures ; we can do nothing but sin, unless Christ keep us from it, and keep us in the way to heaven." Two Indian boys, who had been brought by governor Simpson, about four years ago, from the Columbia river, on the other side of the Rocky Mountains, and had been under the instruction of Mr. Cockran, went home, on a visit to their parents. They have since returned, bringing with them five other boys : four of these are the sons of four different chieftains, the heads of four large tribes of Indians dwelling beyond the Rocky Mountains, and each of them speaking a different dialect from the others. They manifest a considerable desire to learn ; and, should it be accordant with the Divine will, may become the instruments of guiding many of their countrymen to the knowledge of the true God.

At Machinaw, a mission has been established, by the American Board, for some years. This island is the centre of the fur trade, and thousands of Indians flock together there, to barter what they have for other commodities. From early in the spring, until the close of navigation in the fall, numerous bands of them collect on the shores ; and sometimes there are from one to two thousand at once in their encampments.

The following letters, from girls in the school, tend to show how far the minds of the scholars are

cultivated, what is their manner of thinking, on what subjects they think, and how well they can express their thoughts in writing. The penmanship of the original is truly respectable, and superior to that of females generally who have had only a common education. The letters were addressed to one of the Assistant Secretaries of the Board, who visited the station. As to the matter and manner of the letters, the girls received no assistance.

Letter from C. S. Mackinaw, Feb. 11, 1830.

Sir,—My teacher reminded me, that when you was here, you requested the girls to write you ; and I will with pleasure. I hope a revival has commenced on this island. Seven profess to be christians. One of them is a young Indian who was found lying in the street, the day after new year's, drunk. He was ignorant, he did not know the word of God but very little. We hope now that he has given himself to Jesus, that dear Friend. His name is Me-squa-da-se, or Turtle. How true that verse is, " The last shall be first and the first shall be last." I cannot but hope the Lord will continue to have mercy on our people, and will bring many to the knowledge of the truth as it is in Jesus. But how cold and stupid my heart is: how little I feel for the salvation of souls!

Oh for a closer walk with God,
A calm and heavenly frame ;
A light to shine upon the road,
That leads me to the Lamb.

I have been in this mission six years. I have not attended school much, on account of my health ; there was a time when my teachers thought that I

should not live long. And I was not prepared to die. O how I used to wish to get better. I thought if I might get better, I would prepare to die. After I got better, I would be serious a little while. Sometimes it was because I saw others under conviction. And then I would think there is plenty more time to prepare for death. So last winter, when there was a revival, and when I saw my companions giving themselves to Jesus Christ, I felt I had to think that my best friends were leaving me behind. I thought I would arise and go to my Father which is in heaven. About two weeks I was under conviction. About one week I felt tired. I thought I would try no longer. And so I heard my teacher say that perhaps it was the last time that the Spirit was striving with us. So I thought I would not rest until I had found peace with God. I felt so distressed that I thought I was sick, and I thought I was the chiefest of all sinners. On the 12th of April, [1829,] I hope that I chose that good part which Mary chose. My parents are catholics, and they are displeased, because I was received into the church. We have reason to fear that our boys are still travelling in the broad road of destruction. Mr. G., will you please to pray for them, that they may be brought from darkness to light. It is expected that the church will be completed in about three or four weeks.

I am respectfully yours, C. S.

Letter from J. B.

Dear Sir,—Hearing that the express is going, so I thought I would write to you. I am very happy to tell you what the Lord has done for my

soul. I think I can say with all my heart that Jesus is precious to me. I feel as if I could say to sinners, "What a dear Saviour I have found." I feel, when I look round, as if I could take them by their hands, and carry them to the foot of the cross. But I cannot do any thing for them, only to pray for their precious souls. I think if I could do any thing for them I would be very willing to do it. I can now say that it is good to be in the hands of Christ, and a good thing to be a christian. On the 2d day of Feb. I was willing to leave myself in the hands of God, and just where I left my sins I found peace. I was about four weeks under conviction, and was not willing to give up all for Christ's sake. I thought I could do something for myself and did not believe that he would save me. I was afraid to trust in him. Although I was often told that he would save me, if I let every thing go, and believe in him. But I wanted to see some great thing before I gave up all my sins. And when I was brought to see where I was and what I was doing, I then thought I would give up all, and not try to save myself any more, as I have done too long. I have been trying three years and a half to save myself, but it was all in vain. My teachers would often tell me that every moment I stayed away from Him the more danger I was in. I could not eat nor drink: I wanted to pray all the time. I was afraid that this was the last call that I would ever have, for I had slighted the kind Saviour too often. And now I felt that I would never be weary to serve him as long as I live. Sometimes I used to give up myself for lost. I thought I was too wicked to be saved. But now I hope that God has shown me that the vilest sinners can

be saved, if they are willing to trust in him. I think now that he is a merciful Saviour, and will not let sinners perish, but rather to come to him and live. He is just the very Friend we need, the Friend of sinners. I feel now as if I could go and compel sinners to come to God that the house of the Lord might be full. I think this is my sincere desire, to go back where I came from and tell the poor heathens what a dear Saviour he is, and that God sent his Son into this world to die on the cross for us poor creatures, that we through him might be saved. I know that some of them feel anxious to have a mission there. I do sincerely hope that you will send some missionaries to them. I feel very anxious when I think of them, especially when I think of my parents. For my mother has said, that she would rather have a mission there than to have all the goods of this world. I had nothing then to tell my poor mother about God. I did not know the preciousness of Jesus. I only used to read the Bible to her, but never hardly said any thing to her about her immortal never dying soul. But now I think I could take her by her hand, and say to her, Mother, come with us, and, perhaps, by the help of God, we might do you good. She has some serious feelings since we lost my little sister. My parents live a great way distant from Lake Superior. They come here every summer to visit us, and stay here about four weeks. I feel thankful that God has brought me to this family. But I never could thank him enough for his kind mercies to me. O what shall I render unto the Lord for all his goodness towards me. I never can praise him enough.

I feel sometimes I would weep day and night if

I think it would do any good. But tears wont save lost sinners. But to pray for those that are running in the broad road that leadeth to destruction. May you pray without ceasing, that they may be brought to see their dangerous state. I often think I could go round and gather the followers of king Jesus to meet and pray that the gospel of eternal life might be preached to all the world. Oh, when shall that happy time come, when every one shall know him from the least to the greatest! Oh, when shall sinners come to the foot of the cross and have their sins forgiven.

I am very happy to say that the Spirit of God is still striving with us in this place. There are eight indulge hopes since this year began. Two of my class-mates. There are some inquiring the way of salvation. And we hope that you and other christian friends will pray that this blessed work may be carried on.

J. B.

The following narrative is derived from the communications of the Rev. W. M. Ferry, and "exhibits," as the Board remark, "in an affecting manner, the contrast between those who are without the gospel and those who enjoy its light and embrace it; so far as the effect on their character, condition, happiness, and prospects is concerned."

"The Indian name of Eliza was O-dah-be-tuhghe-zhe-go-quai; signifying, in English, the mid-way-sky-woman, or the place of the sun at noon. She was born about three hundred miles up the south shore of Lake Superior; and was, by blood, of the Ojibeway tribe.

"Being related to the principal persons of her

tribe, (her uncle was a chief,) she was chosen to become interpreter of dreams. This took place when she was, probably, about sixteen or seventeen years old. The qualifications for this rank or honour were, according to the superstition of her tribe, to be decided by living ten days in a separate hut, without any other nourishment than a little water each night: she faithfully observed the prescribed abstinence, although it nearly cost her her life: her bodily strength was almost exhausted; and, on being brought out of the hut, and probably too plentifully fed, she fell sick, and did not recover for several months: and yet, of her own accord, soon after her recovery, she fasted nine days more.

“ From this time she was considered an extraordinary being. The tribe would not permit her to work; but, provided with a wigwam, or hut of distinction, she constantly received from them the best of their food and clothing. She was also furnished with a large otter skin, or medicine sack; stored with every article thought to be necessary, either for the magical cure of the sick, or for interpreting dreams: this sack, which she carefully preserved, was her badge of her honour; and, in all their medicine dances, she was greatest among the great. On these occasions, she took the lead in drinking whiskey; and thus became so excessively intemperate, that in some of these scenes she twice lost her sack, which, with the death of her children, and the neglect of the Indians, so dispirited her, that she abandoned herself to every vice.

“ About nine years ago, she lost another child, the third of four. For awhile she listened to advice and abstained from drinking; but it was not

long before she was allured away into the woods by an Indian man and woman, where whiskey had been previously carried, and there they persuaded her to drink with them. In this drunken frolic, the woman fell upon her, and wounded her nose; this being the greatest disgrace, in her estimation, which she could possibly suffer, for a long time her friends had to watch her, to prevent her destroying her life: once, she tried to hang herself; another time, she threw herself into the lake; but an Indian caught her by the hair, and drew her again into the canoe. After this, she began to think that the unknown Indian, who, as she supposed, had the care of her life, was unwilling that she should kill herself, and she gave up all further attempts to effect it. Having but one child left, she remained sometimes on the island of Mackinaw, and sometimes on the main land, with no fixed object, but to get whiskey by every possible means.

“ I first became acquainted with her about five years ago. Soon after our family was open to receive children, I one day met a boy; and, on ascertaining who he was, went, with an interpreter, to the hut of the mother. A wretchedly destitute and miserable scene we witnessed. At that time, no persuasion could induce her to let me have her son; but, going the second time, and the boy himself being willing, she, at length, though reluctantly, gave her consent. The following spring, more out of pity than for our convenience, I employed her, first in the kitchen, and after at the sugar camp, on condition that she would drink no whiskey, and conduct herself properly. By much counsel and care, she did so much better than I had expected, that I finally told her, that, provided she

would be steady, and do such work as she was able, she might have a home with us. From that time, I believe, she was never intoxicated more than three or four times.

“ About three years since, she began to pay serious attention to religion ; but, for some time, was very fluctuating. While under the sound of instruction, she would be affected sometimes to tears. For several years, during the hours of the Sunday-school, we have had a separate school for Indian women and others, for the purpose of reading and explaining the scriptures and tracts. At these meetings she was often affected ; though afterward, as she says, she would throw the subject off, and become, in a measure, indifferent. Impressed with the idea that there could be no mercy for such a creature as she was, and the thought of her religious state making her unhappy, she would avoid being present at the meetings, or at family worship : yet she often felt so strong a desire to hear the sound of prayer and singing, that she has gone to the door, and remained there as long as she thought she could without being discovered, sometimes till nearly frozen. During most of that winter, she felt much uneasiness of mind, that, not daring herself to look to God for mercy, because she was such a sinner, she felt it a relief to overhear the worship of others ; as if God might possibly hear their prayers, though she was unworthy to be present.

“ During the spring, while at the sugar camp, she was greatly distressed. When gathering sap, she often had thoughts like these—‘ Here I am going the same round daily, from tree to tree, and can find no relief. I must always carry this wicked

heart ; and, when I die, be miserable for ever !” A pious Indian woman, who had charge of the sugar camp, used to converse with her ; and, after praying, would ask her, if she did not feel the importance of joining in heart with her. She said she did ; and though there was, to her mind, no prospect of ever being better, yet she would, as she said, forget herself, and feel strong desires for mercy. After her return from the sugar camp, she thought that every one must look upon her condition as hopeless ; and, as before, she often stayed away from divine worship, because she thought it unfit for her to be there.

“ Most of the following summer she spent at the farm ; where, at times, she seemed to awake to an affecting view of her state, and with such feelings, that she would go away from the house, and pray and weep much alone ; but, for the most part, she indulged despair, and found no relief.

“ The next autumn, we had unusual sickness in the family ; she and her son were left at the farm alone, for two or three weeks : they were both taken ill, and, probably, suffered somewhat for want of nursing, before we were aware of it, and could bring them home. In reference to this time, she says, that she thought with herself that she had found no relief to her mind in our way, meaning that of christians ; and that she would again try her old way, her medicine, or sorcerer’s songs ; and spent the better part of several nights in songs and her former Indian mummerly. After she was brought home she discontinued this ; but she thinks that she nearly lost all anxiety about her soul, and seemed to have no feeling further than to take care of her son : he had greatly profited by the

instructions which he had received, and conversed much with his mother; but nothing seemed to move her. A few days before his death, which took place shortly after, he told her he should die soon, and that he wanted her to promise him never to drink any more whiskey, to remain with the mission family, listen to their instruction, and pray every day to God; then, when she died, she would go to God and be with him. At first, she told him, that if he died she would die too: but her son said that was wrong; for that God only had a right to have her die when He saw fit. At length she promised him that she would remember and do as he had requested.

“During the whole scene attending her son’s death and funeral, her behaviour was singularly calm and solemn. When she perceived that his spirit was really departed, the tears rolled down her face, and she exclaimed in Indian, ‘My son! my son!’ but, further than this, not a complaint or groan was heard to escape her lips.

“After the funeral, I sat down with her, and had a long conversation. Among other things, I asked her, why it was that she appeared as she now did; and whether it had been so at the death of her other children. She said, ‘No; for I had, as is common among the Indians, wailed, and man-gled my own body, in my affliction. I have no such feelings now. God is good; and I feel that what He has done must be right.’ She expressed no consciousness of the love of God in her soul, yet she furnished evidence that her feelings were under the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit. Nor was it long, through the mercy of her heavenly Father, before she began to experience peace and

joy by believing in Christ. Her soul was also filled with love to all the members of the family. At times, her mind would recur to the scene of her son's death; but, to use her own expression literally interpreted, 'I felt as if I was in a narrow happy way; and if a thought came to me about my son, it seemed like being drawn out of this way, and I longed to get back immediately.' With these feelings towards God and christians, she now became very anxious for the souls of her own people; and said, 'Oh, if they could only see as I do, how happy they would be!'

"When asked, a considerable time afterward, about the state of her mind, she said, 'I have always been happy in God since then: the more I have seen of the love of Christ, and the longer I have lived, the more I have desired to love him, and to be more and more like him in my soul. I do not know that I have since ever had any sorrow of soul so great, as I have had for those who are ignorant of God. Sometimes, when going to church, or while there, it has made me weep to think of those who do not love God. There has never been one day, since I found peace to my soul, when I did not feel that God was with me.' The reason which she assigned for this mercy was, that God would soon take her out of the world; and that he was pleased to be thus preparing her for his presence.' 'Every sabbath,' she said, 'I have felt that this leaves me one sabbath less to be in this world; and brings me one sabbath nearer the time when I shall be with Christ.'

"I had afterward the following conversation with her. 'You said, that, before you found peace in Christ, you long felt yourself miserably wretched,

and that you often prayed: was it for the merits of these prayers that God gave you peace?' 'No: it was because of Christ's pity to my soul; because he died for sinners; and it was of God's mercy that missionaries were sent to teach me.'— 'Do you mean that you never had any fears that you were deceived?' 'I have always felt sure that God has had mercy on my soul; and, the more I have thought on my old wicked life, the more it has drawn me near to God; it has made me feel more humble in myself, and a strong desire to live only for Him.'— 'But, should God take away his Spirit from you, and leave you to yourself, what do you think would become of you?' 'I should be good for nothing.'— 'Have you any fears that God will ever take away his Spirit from your soul?' 'No.'— 'Why?' 'From what I have heard of His word, He has promised to keep those that trust in Him; and I believe He is faithful to his word.' 'There have been several times when in your sickness you have been very low, and have had reason to think that you should live but a few hours or days; have you, at none of these times, been unwilling or afraid to die?' 'No.'— 'Have you always felt, if it were God's will, that it would be a privilege to die, and you would be glad to have the hour come?' 'Yes, I have. This fall, when I was very sick for two days and nights, and felt that God could only make me better or take me away, I thought, if it were His will, how glad I should be to be sure that I was dying, that I might be with God.'— 'A year ago last spring, you were baptized and received into the church: can you tell me any thing of your feelings at that time about the ordinances?' 'After I understood their design, that

Christ had commanded them, and why he had done it, I had a very strong desire to be baptized and to receive the Lord's supper; nor is there any thing in this world that I felt to be so great a privilege. When I was baptized and promised solemnly to be for God, I really felt in my heart every word; and that I was now all the Lord's, and no more for myself, or for any other. I was happier than I can express, in the privilege of being there with the love of God in my heart; and when receiving the bread and wine, I felt that I could not be thankful enough to God for bringing me to his table once. I thought I should come there no more; but that the next time I should be at God's table in heaven.'—'You see, that it has not been as you thought. You have communicated several times: have those always been precious seasons to your soul?' 'Yes, every one of them.' 'Have they been as precious as the first?' 'Yes: as I have heard more of the Saviour, and have learnt more his love from the Bible, I have felt each time, if possible, more and more near and happy in him.'—'What good do you think that baptism or the Lord's supper could do for you, without a heart to love the Saviour?' 'None: there would be no joy to my soul in them.'—'Could you have this joy and peace, of which you have told me, if you did not, as far as you know, strive to serve God in all things?' 'No, I could not. Though unable to do any thing with my hands, and to labour for God, it is my sincere desire daily to have my heart much in prayer for my friends, and for the salvation of their souls; and because God lets me live, I believe he wishes me to be devoted in spirit to this.'—'Do you think you

love God and souls as much as you ought?' 'No: I try to love, but do not feel so much as I ought.' — 'When do you expect to have perfect love to God and souls?' At first she answered, 'Never; thinking I meant while in the body. After which she said, 'When I get to heaven.'"

A little time after the preceding narrative was written, this Indian convert died. Of her death, which took place at Mackinaw on the 23rd of November last, Mr. Ferry gives the following account:—

"She exhibited the character of the believer triumphing in death. For many months she had been almost daily looking for her departure. Though suffering much in body, yet she was uniformly patient and happy. She repeatedly said on the day of her death, 'I think I shall go to-day.' At night she shook hands with some of the members of the mission family; and, with a smile, spoke of it as the last time. But a few minutes before her death, in allusion to David's words, she said she 'feared no evil.' Surely no unbeliever, observing her course down the dark valley, could any longer doubt the reality of religion, or deny the importance of carrying the tidings of the gospel to the unlettered savage."

In reference to the happy frame of her mind, Mr. Ferry says—

"In what I have written, I have scrupulously avoided any thing like a more favourable colouring than facts would justify. In respect of uninterrupted peace and spirituality of mind, the case of this woman is unlike any other which I ever knew. She was, indeed, a privileged child of God, ripening fast for glory: sick or well, in pain or at ease, she

always met us with a placid, and most commonly with a smiling, countenance."

A very promising field has been opened among the Indians on the south-western shores of Lake Superior; and several gentlemen who spend most of the year in that vicinity, engaged in the fur trade, and visit Mackinaw in the course of their business, every summer, have taken a deep interest in the establishment of such a mission, and pledged themselves to make very liberal contributions for its support. Two of them offered each to support one missionary at his trading post; and subscriptions were made by them, in 1829, to defray the expense of conveying a missionary from Mackinaw to the place, a distance of nearly six hundred miles. But no missionary could be obtained. The committee hoped to obtain one or two who might be at Mackinaw on the arrival of the traders the following summer, and accompany them on their return to the interior, but were unable to do it. It was, therefore, thought expedient by the mission family at that place, that Mr. Ayer, the teacher of the boys' school there, accompanied by one of the scholars as an interpreter, should go and explore the field, using such opportunities as he might have, to communicate religious instruction, and prepare the way for future operations. On this subject, Mr. Ferry, under date of Sept. 13, 1830, remarks —

"The traders came in this year with the expectation and ardent desire of having a missionary go back with them. Mr. Warren brought in an extra boat, manned and furnished principally for the purpose of conveying a mission family up the lake to his post. The disappointment of not

having any one to return with them would not only be great, but as deemed by one and all here, would be pecuniary disheartening to them, and thereby injurious to the cause.

“ The tone of religious feeling among the traders, is on the whole evidently extending and deepening; although, in some cases, there is no change apparent for the better. Four of them furnished cheering evidence of piety, and were received into the church at our communion season in July. It was thought, for a while, that little or no liquor would be carried in this year by the Lake Superior traders, but this failed to be the case; owing in part to unexpected outfits in opposition, but more especially to the want of the aid of the Indian agent at the Sault de Saint Marie. It is, however, agreed among those at this place, that no spirituous liquor shall be given after the first of January next. This agreement was effected in connexion with the forming of a copartnership of the Indian traders who do business at this place.

“ The schools at the close of the last term, in July, passed one of the best examinations that I think we have ever had. Many traders and others were present, and expressed universal satisfaction. Although Mr. Ayre, owing to ill health, was in the school but very little for the last three months before he left; yet, having then two females in the boys' school, the progress made during the quarter was good. Miss C. has now the charge of the boys' school, and Miss T. that of the girls. The former numbers about seventy; the latter about sixty. We have also commenced an infant school.

“ Our religious benevolent societies in the village are enlarging and strengthening. The returns of the female Dorcas Society for the last year are considerable. That of the boys' society will also, I presume, be as much as at their last anniversary. There has been a full sustaining of the Bible and Tract Societies.— The growing interest felt in such objects, is seen in the recent formation of an auxiliary to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, also of one in aid of destitute congregations in our own territory, and of one yesterday in aid of the American Seaman's Friend Society. In all of these a deep interest has been felt, and a liberal patronage extended to them.”

The white inhabitants of Mackinaw, of whom these societies are composed, amount to about five or six hundred. A large portion of these are French Roman catholics, who, of course, contribute little or nothing to such objects; yet, it has been estimated that, during the last year, the sums contributed in that small village, in aid of the mission, and of other religious benevolent objects there and abroad, amount to thirteen hundred dollars. Yet, previous to the establishment of the mission in the year 1823, there was no religious community there, no professor of religion of any Protestant denomination, nor had more than two sermons ever been preached there, and the sabbath, it was said, had not travelled up so far.

Two letters from a boy in the Mackinaw school, were addressed to Mr. Green, who visited the station in the summer of 1829. The meeting-house, mentioned in the first, is a convenient and neat

building, erected about a year ago, for the use of the mission and the people of the village. The expense of it was principally defrayed by contributions made in the village, and by the traders from the interior. Very liberal contributions are also annually made by them for the support of the school.

Of the first letter an extract only is given.

“ Most of the traders have arrived here, and the rest are expected in a few days. My father is not coming this year, but the last he sent me a letter, and said in it, that, if I learned well this year, he would send for me, in order that I may assist him in keeping his account books, &c. I have been to school here four years, and three or four years before I came here. We had an examination of the schools on Tuesday, 13th of July, when most of the traders were present, and strangers that were then on the island. The traders appeared very much gratified with the improvement of their own and other children. We have a vacation of three weeks, and we work nine hours each day, and have three hours for ourselves. I work in the garden with another boy and Mr. Heydenburk. The rest of the boys work in the field, some draw wood, others water, &c. &c. Our garden looks a great deal better than it did last year. The church was finished and dedicated last March. It is a neat and handsome little building, and very convenient. The school-rooms in the lower part of the church have not yet been used. We are going to remove at the commencement of the next term. One of the boys, Reuben Smith, is working with Mr. H., learning the blacksmith's trade.

“ Your humble servant,

“ L. P.”

“ Dear Sir—As I was requested by one of the teachers, I express myself with full gratitude, what God has done for my poor soul. I hope, if my heart does not deceive me, our Saviour is precious to my soul. Not any thing of my own righteousness; but it is the gift of God. I feel to resolve to be in the hands of that Almighty God, of whom I have been long rejecting his gospel. I had such a deceitful heart, used to lead me to think it would be time enough to attend to these things. Thanks be to God, he did not permit me to go on as I was. In vain have I been looking forward to have the pleasures of this world. I could look ever since I can remember, I never found any thing give me so much satisfaction as to serve the Lord. I could bless God and thank all the christians for sending us missionaries to learn us how to read, and above all to tell us about God and Jesus Christ. I could say for one, I have been as ignorant about God before I came to live with the missionaries as many thousands are now. We have, for number of sabbaths, had two or three meetings on purpose for the Indians. A number of them hope they are born again. The meetings we have had, have been very interesting to me. What a blessing to see some of the Chippeways talking about God. But there is a great darkness yet all around us. There were six or seven Chippeways, from La Point, came down with traders; they told us, when we told them about God, that they never heard about God in their country. Some of the traders felt so anxious they brought down a boat from La Point on purpose to take missionaries up to that region. Mr. Ayer has gone on to that place, for this year, because there was no one

appointed from the Board. I hope, before they return, there will be some one appointed for that place. May God bless all the christians, all those that exert themselves to spread his gospel. And after, when they have done serving him here, be accepted at his hand, there to sit with him through eternity. I am yours, C. H."

Mr. Elisha Loomis, formerly connected with the Sandwich Islands mission, as a printer, from which he was compelled to withdraw, on account of ill health, has received a temporary appointment to this mission as a teacher. He is to proceed to the station accompanied by Mrs. Loomis, a mechanic, and a teacher. It is very important that, at least, two missionaries should be obtained, and be ready to accompany the traders to the interior on their return. The Indians, in that quarter, owing to the climate and character of the country, are now, and may probably continue to be, less exposed to the unfavourable influence of white men, than those on any other portion of the frontiers.

In Canada, the Wesleyan Missionary Society has several stations. One of the fruits of their labours, among the Chippeways, named Kahkewa-quonaby, lately visited this country, and addressed many public meetings. His first address, which was delivered at the Wesleyan anniversary in London, is subjoined, together with parts of his speeches at other meetings: these speeches, though, of course, in the strain of his first address, were varied by such appropriate matter as to show much intelligence of mind.

"My christian brothers and sisters, I shake hands with you all this day in my heart. I feel,

my christian friends, that your God, whom you have been worshipping and talking about this day, is my God also. I feel that the same religion which warms your hearts and makes you glad, warms my heart, and makes me glad also. I am come a great way, my white brothers and sisters: I am come from over the great waters, from the wilderness of America. I come at the request of my brothers and sisters in that land who love the great Spirit, to shake hands with you, and to see what God is doing among you. I feel very glad in my heart that God has preserved me, and brought me here to see your faces. You are all strangers to me, that is, I mean, personally; but you are not strangers to me in the religion of Christ. I have the same hope that you have; the same hope that, when my body falls to the ground, I shall go to the Lord Jesus Christ: and I hope I shall see all my brothers and sisters in the kingdom of God.

“Suffer me to tell you, that the Lord hath done great things for poor Indians in the wilds of Upper Canada, in America. The poor Indians have been long time sitting in darkness, and praying to the sun and moon, and many other things that are no gods; not seeing the good things that you see; not enjoying the good things that you enjoy, and that have done you so much good. But, through the labours of good men, good methodist people, who came to us at Credit River, and pointed out to us the Lamb of God that takes away the sin of the world, these poor Indian people, who are the remnant of a once powerful nation, were made to rejoice in good tidings, and brought to tread in the ways of God. Before this time

we knew nothing of the great Spirit: we knew that there was a great Spirit, but we did not know him aright: we did not pray to the great Spirit aright: we did not know how to worship Him aright: we did not come to Him by Jesus Christ. But, about eight years ago, some missionary people, with the word of God in their hands, and with the Holy Spirit in their hearts, came to us, and sat down by our wigwams, and told us what Jesus Christ had done for us, and how He died for poor Indians as well as for white people; and that if we would go to him, he would have mercy upon us. These things that they told us about our sins, made us at first very sorry; but many went to the great Spirit, and he had mercy on them, and took the sickness away from their hearts, and made them to rejoice very much, and gave them a good hope of going to heaven above.

“Since I have been hearing these good brethren talk about missionary efforts, and what God has done for men, and for the places where the black people live, I have said in my heart, ‘God bless you, and bless all you do, for the poor heathen, and in the cause of missions!’ I have no doubt you feel glad in your hearts that you have been the means, in the hands of God, of saving some poor people from destruction. And now you see before your eyes the effects of the preaching of the gospel of Christ. In my early days, I was brought up a heathen: I was taught to run in the woods, to handle the bow, and to hunt the game: I was taught to worship the heathen gods. But, about eight years ago, I was led to attend a methodist meeting: I understood a little English; and, when I heard the minister, I

thought he was speaking to me all the time, and telling me all my sins that I had committed. Then I began to be very sorry in my heart: I was made to fall down on my knees: I prayed to God almost all the night; and, just as daylight came, God spoke peace to my heart. Oh what joy came into me then! Then I remembered my poor relations and my poor countrymen; and, with tears in my eyes, I went and told them what God had done for my soul. And then they began to weep also, and to call on the great Spirit; and we worshipped Him together. And soon the whole tribe of my people all fell down and worshipped the great Spirit in the name of Jesus Christ. And this good work is going on hundreds of miles back in the wilderness: where no white man is, the voice of prayer and of praise is heard from poor Indians, made to rejoice in the knowledge of Jesus Christ by his gospel.

“I thank you, christian friends, that you have sent missionaries; and I thank God that he has blessed you in this great cause. I have a great deal to say; but I have travelled all the night, and have not slept any on the way, so I do not feel as if I could say a great deal now. But let me tell you, brothers and sisters, we were in a miserable state before we found Jesus. We roved about from place to place; we had no village, no good houses, no sheep, no oxen, none of these good things: but, when we got Jesus Christ, we began to desire these good things; and, as soon as the Lord visited our souls, we got societies, and we built log-houses, and we formed villages, and we got sheep and oxen, and we began to enjoy the comforts of life. And let me tell you, christian friends,

that, in order to do good to poor Indians, you must take them religion. Some men tried to convert them by making them farmers, and giving them oxen and ploughs, without the religion of Christ: this has never succeeded among Indians. But when their hearts are made sensible that they are sinners, and when they find that Jesus Christ the Son of God died for Indians as well as for white men, then they are prepared to be civilized, and to have all the comforts of life. Before this, they will not; but, like the deer in the woods, they wish to rove about: they must get Christ first, and then they will wish for all these things.

“My christian friends, I find that the religion of Christ is the same all over the world: the same love, the same happy feelings I have felt here this afternoon, I have also felt in the wilderness of America: I have the same love in my heart here and there. Some people in Canada tell us we are deceived: they say, ‘How can we know that God is ours? How can we have him in our hearts? How can we feel happy in religion? It must be all delusion and fancy.’ But I say, ‘If this be a delusion, it is a happy delusion: let me be deluded this way, if I may be happy here and then go to heaven!’”

“I shake hands with you, my brethren and sisters in Christ Jesus. This is all I have to say to you at present.”

At the meeting of the Religious Tract Society, he spoke as follows:—

“Before we heard from the good missionaries the words of Jesus, we were very little, poor, and needy. Our eyes were blind, and we could not see. There

appeared to be a great wall between us ; so that, while you had the light shining upon you on one side, we were all in darkness at the other : and, while in this darkness, we worshipped things which did us no good ; sometimes the sun, sometimes the moon, and sometimes the great Spirit that is thought to live in the great falls : for we believed that every particular thing was in the charge of particular spirits, as, that there was a spirit for the deer, and another for the fish ; and we offered up prayers and sacrifices to them, as our necessities required. But, in all this crooked way of living, we had no peace to cheer us on our way.

“ The Indians all believe there is a heaven made by the great Spirit, and that the great Spirit is the Father of all the children of men. We all believe that the great Spirit made both the white man and the red man, that is, the Indian ; but there is a wide difference from yours in our mode of worshipping the great Spirit. You worship the great Spirit through the Lord Jesus Christ : but we worship Him in darkness or superstition ; sometimes through the sun, or the moon, or other gods. We have an idea that the great Spirit will not hurt us ; but that there is a wicked spirit, very bad indeed, who does every thing to injure us. We make sacrifices to this wicked spirit, in order to keep in friendship with it. We have no idea, like yours, of heaven or hell, but we believe in a future state. We think that when the sun goes down in the west, there our future world is. We do not think that the white man’s spirit goes to the same place : we think it goes to a different place. This is the opinion which many of my countrymen have, when I attempt to preach unto them the

Lord Jesus. They say that the great Spirit gave us a country, different from yours, and where the sun sets, for our souls to go to when we die. In speaking to my countrymen on this subject, I have frequently told them that they were very much mistaken about their Indian country for souls to inhabit in the west. I have told them that the good book says, that the righteous shall go to heaven, and the wicked to hell. I have often told my countrymen that the white man had sailed all over the world; and that he had with his big canoe visited the west, where they thought the souls of the Indians went, and that he had never found out such a country.

“Sometimes in roving about, as our mode of life is, we arrive at places where there are no deer to be found, nor any fish to be met with; ah! then we get very hungry, and some of our people starve to death. Let me tell you what happened once on account of this dreadful suffering of hunger, two or three years ago. But I do not like to mention the circumstances [after a slight hesitation], yet I believe I must [with great firmness of expression]: I will mention it, for the purpose of showing you to what an extremity we are reduced in those seasons of famine to which I have alluded. The circumstance happened on our native shores, off the great Lake Huron. A man and his wife were out in the woods, and could get nothing to eat: they remained a great many days searching for food, without meeting with any thing to eat: the man at last fell asleep. The woman killed her husband whilst he was sleeping. She killed him for the purpose of eating him. She did it to preserve her own life. After com-

mitting this horrible act, for all the Indians abhor such acts as murder, she was obliged to flee away. She went off, and was shunned by all who saw her. I myself saw her last winter: she was then an outcast from her fellow-creatures: she was called by them 'Wendegoo,' that is, 'a man-eater.' The Indians thought the deed so wicked, that she ought to be left to perish.

"Let me tell you some things that have transpired since your fathers came among us. Before they came, we had no knowledge, no idea, of the fire-waters, what you call whiskey. We were strangers to these things; but some of your wicked fathers brought the poison among us; and what have been the consequences of its introduction? Why, it has been poisoning us, it has been killing us one after another, and now we are left only a handful, to weep over the graves and the ruins of our forefathers, and to have sorrow in our hearts. But I do not mention this, my christian friends, with any thing in my heart to reproach you, because I think it was some of your white heathens that brought this to us.

"There are now about two thousand of my countrymen receiving christian instruction from the methodists and missionaries, besides many who are taught by members of the church of England. Among the converted Indians you will be rejoiced to hear that there are fifteen schools in different parts of Upper Canada, and there are no less than four hundred and fifty Indian children attending them, learning the English Language: of these, two hundred can read the word of God, and understand it. There was no book in the Chippeway tongue: there was no written or printed

language among us : but, since we have found the great Spirit, the true God, we have tried and succeeded in making books. My brother, an Indian chief, and myself, were engaged some time in translating portions of the Holy Scriptures into the Chippeway tongue, which were accomplished. I have brought with me what we translated, the gospel of St. John, to get printed ; and I hope, if God spares my life, to be able to translate some of those good little Tracts which your society has, and have them printed and distributed among my people. My dear friends, the work of the Lord among us is going on very rapidly : we might increase our labours to a very great extent, if we had only the means ; but, on account of not having those means which are necessary to establish schools and missionary stations, we are very much tied in our hands, so that we cannot help our poor Indian brethren, who are yet destitute of the comforts of religion, and are ignorant of Jesus Christ.

“ It makes the heart of the poor Indian rejoice to see his child read in a book : to see him put the talk upon paper, and to see the talk go to a distance, that makes him to rejoice. I will give you one instance. At the River Credit we have a station. A chief had a son who was instructed in our mission school ; after, he was employed as a teacher in another school, and went away more than a hundred miles from his father ; after a time, he wrote a letter to his father in the Indian tongue, which he did not know how to read : the father brought it to me, to read it for him ; and, while I read, the tears ran down his eyes, and he rejoiced to hear the talk of his son on the paper at

a distance, and he blessed and praised God for that his son was instructed in reading and writing.

“ I will now tell you of the goodness of God in making some conversions, to my own knowledge. There was a son of a chief who resided with us, and whose name was Chichinaw, which, being translated, means “ Big-Canoe.” His father lived at the back of the lakes upon the Huron, and was a heathen. Big-Canoe became a convert; and, about two years ago, accompanied me on a journey to the part of the country where his people dwelt. We saw his father, and conversed with him; and he said, ‘ I accept your words, and will pray to the great Spirit.’ Having stayed a day and a half, I left the settlement; but Big Canoe remained, to complete the conversion of his father. In two months afterward I saw him again, and asked how he had succeeded with his people; and he said they had been all turned to the great Spirit, and were all worshipping him in their hearts: he had been allowed no rest, so desirous were the people of being taught; but he told them, he himself knew little more than his A B C. They wished him to tell them that, but he had no book: at last he thought of going into the woods, and taking the birch-bark, which is perfectly white: he wrote the letters of the alphabet upon it, with a piece of burned stick; and thus taught the people. I will state only one case more. In coming to this country, I passed through a white settlement on my way to New York: the people were very bad and wicked: I heard two men swearing: I went up to one of them, and put a little tract of this society’s, called ‘ The Swearer’s Prayer,’ into his hands, and then went away:

in a few months afterward I heard, from the clergyman of the place, that these men had been converted, and turned to God.

“I had heard much of England, and of the English, when I came down to Canada from my own country; and I had expected to see much, when I should come among you: but now that I have seen what you have done, and what you are doing, I must say, that until I came here I did not half know you or your country. But one thing I have seen, which I must own to you I did not expect to see among you: I have been here, now, two sabbath-days, and I have seen hundreds of your children running about the streets idle, and evidently neglected. How comes this, my brothers and sisters! You, who have the means in your power, ought to prevent these things. I know that this society is intended for that purpose; but then every man who thinks education good, and christian education good, ought to help. If you see a farmer who works smart, you will also see that he makes great profit; for the smarter he works, the greater will be his harvest. In the same way, the more you work at the society, the more you will lessen the number of those children who are now growing up without instruction.

“I am very glad, my christian friends, to meet you; and to see what you are doing for the spreading of the gospel among the poor benighted nations of the earth. I heartily wish you success, and I pray that God may bless and own your efforts in so good a cause. I am glad to be present at your meeting, so that I have it within my power, when I go back among my people, to tell them what I have seen in this great city; and what I have

heard coming out of your hearts, from time to time, in this place. I am glad to know that God is no respecter of persons, but that he is merciful to all ; that he has provided his good religion for all ; not only for our white friends, but for us poor Indians : for I find, since I have been among the white people, that the same hopes fill both our hearts ; and I find the same experience in the Indian's heart as in yours. We all rejoice in one Spirit, in one Lord, in one God ; and all walk together in one road to heaven. I hope that we shall all meet together in our Father's house, where we shall be all one in Christ Jesus."

The American Baptist Board have been engaged in missionary work, among the western Indians, for about fifteen years. They commenced at St. Louis, where a christian church was soon formed, and schools were established. The first evening, Mr. Peck preached at St. Charles, on the Missouri River, about twenty miles distant. A notoriously wicked negro was brought to Christ, a circumstance which produced a great awakening. Among the number of those seriously impressed, were two slaves, the property of a French catholic family. When they asked the consent of their mistress, to be baptized, she put them off, being ignorant of the design of the ordinance ; and on explaining it to her, as well as they could, she still objected, fearing they might be injured ; and inquired, if they should be, where she should obtain compensation.

Several missionary stations now arose ; and to two, were given the names of the first Baptist missionaries, Carey and Thomas. Mr. M'Coy

greatly exerted himself; frequently made excursions to the Indian settlements, and preached to as many as he could assemble, besides calling at the wigwams, for the purpose of religious conversation. He had a scholar, named Abram, who often accompanied him as an interpreter. About a year after he settled at Fort Wayne, he visited a large Indian village, when the chief came out to meet him, followed by a long train of his people, who all expressed much pleasure at the circumstance. He was conducted to the chief's house, or little hut—for all the people lived in small cabins, made of birch bark; and slight poles; and wherever he afterwards called, the place was crowded to excess. When the Indians saw that he felt uncomfortable, they swept the ground, and spread a mat for him to sit or lie upon, out of doors; and all seemed desirous of showing him attention. The visit had been long promised, and the chief had begun to fear disappointment, as Mr. M'Coy had told him he would come when the grass had reached a certain height; and, after daily measuring it, and finding it had done so, his anxieties increased. At the close of the visit, many affecting appeals were made, that he would "come and live with them, and tell his whole mind respecting religion;" and the attention and solemnity manifested, were surprising and encouraging.

Great privations were the lot of those who laboured in this part of the missionary field; but these did not diminish their ardour. The necessities and superstitions of many around them, were great and affecting. Some of the scholars of the mission school stated, on one occasion, that their grand-

mother was ill, a little way off; and, on Mr. and Mrs. M'Coy walking to the place described, they found that the poor old woman, who was lying on the bare ground, and covered over with a piece of old blanket, had just ceased to breathe. Several persons were lying about her, in the last stage of intoxication; and her children and others were lounging around, in all the misery of want and wickedness. The weather had been cold, rainy, and snowy for several days, and she had lain on the cold wet ground through it all, in a most filthy state of body, without a tent, or even a covering of bark. The whole company were, indeed, equally destitute of a shelter, except that afforded by one piece of tent-cloth, which was raised over two or three of them. Scarcely a handful of coals was to be seen in the whole encampment. The only food discovered, was part of the carcase of a dog, which was hanging from the limb of a tree.

Tools having been procured, and a grave made, they tied the body to a pole with many thongs of park or skins, and, placing a cross pole under the shoulders of the corpse, four men carried it to the grave, and lowered it down, when one of the relations stood at the head of the grave, and, dropping a piece of tobacco, said, "Grandmother, I give you a piece of tobacco to smoke, that you may rest quietly in your grave, and not disturb us who are alive. This is all I have to give you. We will all smoke for you. Grandmother, I now bid you farewell!" After this was done, the grave was filled, and a fire kindled at the head and foot of it; the whole party then returned to the camp, to finish the funeral rites, by drinking and carousing.

Many Indians, who occasionally met with the missionaries, were desirous of instruction, and some advantages were derived from this intercourse. One boy said, with tears in his eyes : " I have, many a time, thought what a good thing it was, that I became acquainted with the mission ! My father never gave me any good advice. If I had not found you, I should now be a wild Indian." Two boys, named Conanda and Soswa, were intended to practise the healing art ; and the latter, when, on one occasion alone with Mr. M'Coy, told him how pleasant the thought was of studying medicine. " We wish," said he, to learn every thing you think we ought to learn ; and we wish to learn to be good too. Soon after you told us you would send us to some place to learn to be doctors, I said to Conanda : ' Well, now our friends (the missionaries) are very kind to us, and we must do as they tell us. They tell us to be good, and now we must try to be good.' Conanda say, ' Well, I am willing.' I say, ' Now we must try to pray ;' and Conanda say, he was agreed. So every night we pray. If we see one another, then we go out in the wood together ; and one time I pray, and the next time Conanda pray, the same as you do in the family. If we do not see one another, then I go and pray by myself, and Conanda pray by himself. I try to pray one time in English, but I could not say many words, because I did not understand English very well. Then I say to Conanda, ' Well, we pray in Indian, because God can hear Indian talk, the same as he hear English ; then we always pray in Indian. The first time I pray, I feel afraid ; I think somebody see me ; and Conanda say he feel so too, the first time he pray.

Now we don't feel so. Conanda and I talk very much about being good. We talk about it to-day, as we come along the road.'"

Such statements prove an ample compensation for much disquietude. Another cheering circumstance occurred, at the great meeting of the Miami and Putawatomy tribes. A day was appointed for a council to meet; and, at an early hour, it was fully attended. Mr. M'Coy stated his plans, wishes, and prospects; and that, as he had now come to live with them, all would be done that he had promised. A chief, named Noon-day, replied: "I remember your promises to us; I have forgot nothing. You told us you would help us to build houses, make fences, plough, and the like; besides giving us a blacksmith, a school, and a preacher. We have seen the beginning of what you promised; we are all now rejoiced, that you are come to live amongst us, in the hope that we shall realize the whole. You have told us to be good; and I now tell you, that, ever since you first talked to me about God, I have been trying to be good; and have often endeavoured to persuade others of my people to be good also." Other chiefs spoke, expressing unlimited confidence in the wisdom and integrity of the missionaries. Reports of the most base and malignant kind, were circulated by the whites; but, notwithstanding this, the mission was, for a time, prosperous.

Latterly, clouds gathered over it, from the encroachment of white settlers, and the debasing influence of the traders in whiskey; but the prospect is becoming more encouraging.

- An Indian academy was established by the

Baptists, at Kentucky, in 1819 : and other efforts for the welfare of the people have been made.

In closing this portion of the records of missionary character, labours, trials, and successes, there is one truth, among many, on which the reader's mind ought assuredly to fasten ; namely, the solemn obligation that lies on him, or her, whatever be the talents entrusted to their care, to engage in the diffusion of the gospel ; and not only so, but to consecrate to it their utmost energies. The remarks on this subject, in a recent and valuable work,* demand the serious and constant regard of every disciple of Christ. The very diversity of qualification, temperaments, and conditions existing in the church, is a striking proof that it is the duty of all to be engaged in the missionary business of the church. We may apply to this matter, in the most direct form of legitimate and literal application, the language of an apostle † : “ There are diversities of operations, but it is the same God that worketh all in all. But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man, to profit withal ; for, as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body being many, are one body, so also is Christ. Now, ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.” On one man, there comes down a baptism of the spirit and of fire, and, amid his deep musings, all nature seems to echo a voice speaking to his heart, “ Whom shall I send ? Who will go ?” The forms of men in a distant region

* Stowell's Missionary Church.

† See the whole of 1 Cor. xii., and Eph. iv. 7—10.

crowd his daily thoughts, haunt his nightly dreams, beckon him away from friends, and family, and country, laying down his life at the bidding of his Lord. To another is committed, as a sacred trust, commanding influence in his own community. Another is invested with office in the church, with wisdom and learning, with genius and reputation; all bestowed on him under the same responsibility, and for the same end. While to millions is given, in larger or smaller proportions, but to all collectively, in measure equal to the occasion, and destined for the same service, the means of equipping and sustaining those who go forth in the spirit of the church, to do the work of the church. If it be right, a matter of plain christian duty, for some to dedicate all their talents (as hundreds of British missionaries, besides men of other countries, have done, and are doing still,) by what plea of exemption can the rest excuse themselves from the dedication of the talent they are called to occupy, to the same christian enterprise? Who shall draw the line of duty? Who will reveal the religious principle on which the sage keeps back his counsel, the orator his eloquence, the rich man his wealth, and the poor the savings of his self-denial, from that catholic system of agencies, by which the church is to evangelise the world? It has been written, as by the finger that "scorched the tablet-stone," in Sinai, on many a christian's conscience; oh, that it were so written on every christian's conscience: "I must go myself, or send another, so far as my means, faithfully applied, admit, to preach the gospel to the heathen." When will the hour arrive, when every man that

calls himself christian, shall open the depths of his soul to the light of the New Testament, and ask the oracle that gives responses there, "What does 'the God of the whole earth' require me to say, to do, to give, as the expression of my sympathy with his church, the fulfilment of my duty to his world?"

Assuredly, however, there is a serious failure, whenever a zealous exertion for missions abroad, is unconnected with corresponding effort for the diffusion of truth at home. To the compassion aroused for the heathen world, we owe much that has been done for our own land; in watering others, we have been watered; and have abundantly proved, that "there is that scattereth, and yet increaseth." To maintain the ground already occupied, and greatly to extend the scene of labour, we are also solemnly pledged. But to suffer this obligation to withdraw or diminish our sympathy for those who are perishing immediately around us, is not only to have their blood required at our hands, but to weaken the cause we are engaged to promote. The principal means now operating in heathen lands, were put forth, and are still sustained, by the part of Britain hitherto evangelised; and in proportion as the moral and spiritual culture of our country is continued and prospered, will these means be increased. Those who are now "a curse," will then prove "a blessing." As men become solicitous for their own salvation, they will feel concerned for the eternal welfare of others; and thus, in every instance of real conversion, (whatever be the instrumentality by which it is effected,) one is added to the christian church,

who is solemnly bound to bestow his substance, exert his influence, and wrestle with Him who answers prayer, for the universal spread of the gospel. Well will it be, when this is more deeply felt and practically observed ; when love to God is purer, and, therefore, love to man is stronger ; and when, to every believer in Christ, the testimony shall be borne, with reference to the heathen in other lands, and to the ignorant, unbelieving, and perishing of our own, " He hath done what he could."

THE END.