



THE HAYSTACK'S SOIL

*Early Missions to the Indians of the
Americas and the United States*

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SEPTEMBER-DECEMBER 2006

William Castell, d. 1645

A Petition of W.C. Exhibited to the High Court of Parliament, now assembled, for the propagating of the Gospel in America, and the West Indies
London: 1641

This petition was the genesis of the whole series of societies which were later to be formed for the purpose of spreading the Gospel in foreign lands. The author makes a point of the advantages to be gained by cultivating the friendship of the American Indians.

This copy belonged to White Kennett (1660–1728), one of the original members of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His name will appear several places elsewhere in this exhibition.

England and Wales. Parliament.

An Act for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England
London: Printed for Edward Husband, 1649

This is the first printing of the first charter of the “forerunner of all missionary societies.” Passed by the Commonwealth Parliament under Cromwell, it was designed to provide funds for those laboring to Christianize the Indians of New England. From 1649 to 1660 the group was known as the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England. With the restoration of Charles II to the throne, the Society was reconstituted as the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the Parts Adjacent in America.

The officers of the Company were Englishmen, so it is not surprising that in 1786, following the American Revolution, their efforts were transferred to New Brunswick and later, as Canada expanded westward, to British Columbia.

Thomas Thorowgood, d. circa 1669

Jews in America
London: Printed by W.H. for Thomas Slater, 1650

Jews in America
London: Printed for Henry Brome, 1660

Almost as soon as America was discovered, learned writers seized upon a very simple explanation for the presence of the Indians: they were the lost tribes of

Israel. Thomas Thorowgood’s version of the theory runs thus:

*Only the Jews have not had the Gospel preached
The Indians have not had the Gospel preached
Therefore, the Indians are Jews*

Though the hypothesis had long since been rejected by continental authorities, this tract raised the issue for the first time in England. After a brisk pamphlet battle, the issue died down again.

The second edition of 1660 is much altered and includes a 28-page discourse by the Indian missionary John Eliot.

The Eliot Indian Tracts
London: 1643–1671

On display are nine of the eleven pamphlets collectively known as the Eliot Indian Tracts. Written by John Eliot and his associates in the course of their work for the Society for Propagating the Gospel in New England, they were designed as a series of reports on the progress of their mission. They preserve much important contemporary information about the achievements of these men and they are an essential source for our early knowledge of the Native populations of New England.

New Englands First Fruits
Eliot Tract no. 1
London: Printed by R.O. & G.D.
for Henry Overton, 1643

The civilization and conversion of “those poore Indians, who have ever sate in hellish darknesse, adoring the Divell himselfe for their God” bore heavily on the good people of New England. In this anonymous first appeal for assistance from England, the petitioners set forth the difficulties to be overcome: “First, their infinite distance from Christianity. . . . Secondly, the difficulty of their Language to us and of ours to them. . . . Thirdly, the diversity of their owne Language. . . .” The second part of the tract is a description of Harvard College, which had commenced in fall 1636.

Thomas Shepard, 1605–1649

The Day-Breaking, if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England

Eliot Tract no. 2

London: Printed by Richard Cotes for Fulk Clifton, 1647

An account of four visits to an Indian camp on the Charles River near Newton, Massachusetts, on October 28, November 11 and 26, and December 4, 1646, by John Eliot, accompanied by the author and two other ministers. On these occasions Eliot delivered some of his first sermons in the Indians' language, which must have been well understood, for they elicited such questions as: "whether . . . God did understand Indian prayers?" "Whether English men were ever at any time so ignorant of God and Jesus Christ as themselves?" and "How all the world is become so full of people, if they were all once drowned in the Flood?"

Thomas Shepard, 1605–1649

The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New-England

Eliot Tract no. 3

London: Printed by Richard Cotes for John Bellamy, 1648

This further account of work with the Indians contains a long letter from John Eliot to the author. Eliot tells how "wee exhorted them to fence their ground with ditches, stone walls, upon the banks, and promised to helpe them with Shovels, Spades, Mattocks, Crows of Iron; and they are very desirous to follow that counsell, and call upon me to help them with tooles faster than I can get them." Thus the task of civilizing the Indians goes hand in hand with that of Christianizing them.

Edward Winslow, 1595–1655

The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England

Eliot Tract no. 4

London: Printed for Hannah Allen, 1649

Until 1649 the work of John Eliot and his associates was financed principally through private gifts. In 1646 Governor Winthrop prevailed upon Edward Winslow, one of the settlers who arrived on the *Mayflower* to

found Plymouth in 1620, to become the agent for the Massachusetts Bay Company in England. Among his other responsibilities were the tasks of finding further support for work with the Indians, and of seeing "how the Parliament of England might be serviceable to the Lord Jesus, to help forward such a work begun."

The publication of this pamphlet, which contains three of Eliot's letters, led to the creation of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England. Among other things, the new corporation was authorized to make collections through the churches across England and to own land. Thus this important work was provided with a firm financial foundation from which to operate.

Henry Whitfield, 1597–1660

The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day. Or, A farther Discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England

Eliot Tract no. 5

London: Printed by T.R. & E.M. for John Bartlet, 1651

With the creation of the new Society in England, Eliot was encouraged to start an undertaking which had long been delayed: the erection of a village of "praying Indians." The site selected was the town of Natick, Massachusetts.

In this account Eliot's associate, who returned to England in 1650, published Eliot's three reports on the progress of affairs. In deciding upon "what kind of Civil Government they shall be instructed in," he writes, "I propound as my general rule through the help of the Lord; they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State, they shall have no other Law-giver."

John Caryl (1602–1673), who wrote the little preamble to this tract, succinctly sets up the theory of the Puritan missionary activity: "The Lord, who is wonderful in Councel, and excellent in working, hath so wrought, that the scorching of some of *his people* with the *Sun of persecution*, hath been the enlightening of those who were *not his people*, with the *Sun of righteousness*."

John Eliot, 1604–1690

*Strength out of Weakness. Or a Glorious Manifestation
Of the further Progresse of the Gospel Amongst The Indians
In New-England*

Eliot Tract no. 6

London: Printed by M. Simmons for John Blague
and Samuel Howes, 1652

This was the first of the tracts to be published by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England. Here Eliot says of the town of Natick: “We have set out some part of the Town in several streets, measuring out and dividing the lots, which I set them to do, and teach them how to do it: many have planted Apple-trees, and they have begun divers Orchards, its now planting time, and they be full of business.”

John Eliot, 1604–1690

Thomas Mayhew, 1621–1657

*Tears of Repentance: Or, A further Narrative of the
Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New-
England*

Eliot Tract no. 7

London: Peter Cole, 1653

The growth of Natick as a self-governing community encouraged some of the Indians to believe they were ready for “Church-Estate, Baptism, and the rest of the Ordinances of God.” In this pamphlet Eliot printed twenty-six of the confessions that served as part of the test of the Indians’ readiness. However, the Elders of Natick felt that the Indians were not yet ready for so important a step. While Eliot utters no criticism of this decision, one senses a certain disappointment.

Added to this pamphlet is a letter of Thomas Mayhew, who carried on the Society’s work among the Indians of Martha’s Vineyard.

John Eliot, 1604–1690

*A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the
Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England*

Eliot Tract no. 8

London: Printed by M.S., 1655

In spite of their disappointment, the Indians of Natick still wanted to be baptized. Eliot warned them “how necessary it was, that they should first be Civilized, by being brought from their scattered and wild course of

life, unto civill Co-habitation and Government, before they could, according to the will of God revealed in the Scriptures, be fit to be trusted with the sacred Ordinances of Jesus Christ, in Church-Communion.”

In this pamphlet is a full account of the examination of eight Indians on April 13, 1654. Again the Elders were not satisfied, and it was not until 1660 that a church was established at Natick.

John Eliot, 1604–1690, translator

*Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God
[The Whole Holy His-Bible God]*

Cambridge, Massachusetts: Samuel Green
& Marmaduke Johnson, 1661–63

Rendering the Bible into native tongues has always been a vital part of Christian missionary work. New England was particularly fortunate in this respect, for in 1631 John Eliot arrived in Boston. This young man, an expert linguist and a graduate of Jesus College, Cambridge, began to preach to the Indians in 1646. He quickly realized that it would be necessary to communicate with the prospective converts in their own language.

With the aid of an Indian boy, Joe Nesutan, he began the task of reducing to writing the language of the Massachusetts Indians (a member of the Algonquin family of languages). The first fruits of this labor came about in 1654 with the publication of an Indian primer. This was soon followed by a proposal that the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England finance the translation and printing of the whole Bible. The Society welcomed the project and even dispatched a printer, Marmaduke Johnson, to aid the Colony’s printer, Samuel Green, in the task.

This is the first printing of the full Bible anywhere in the Americas. It is interesting to note that it was not until 1743 that the Bible was printed in America in a European language, and then in German. The first appearance of the full Scriptures in English was delayed until after the Revolution, when the Continental Congress authorized Robert Aitkin of Philadelphia to undertake the task, which was completed in 1781–82. The present copy of the Eliot Indian Bible, in contemporary calf binding, has the diamond-shaped mark on the title-page of the New Testament which shows it to be one of the forty copies sent to the Society in England for presentation.

John Eliot, 1604–1690

A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, in the Year 1670

Eliot Tract no. 11

London: Printed for John Allen, 1671

This is the last of the Indian Tracts, containing John Eliot's report of his activities for 1670. At this time he was over sixty years of age, but still traveled back and forth from one Indian prayer meeting to another.

The present copies of Tract no. 11, together with nos. 1, 6, 7, and 8, are particularly interesting. They belonged at one time to Bishop White Kennett, one of the original members of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the Church of England's counterpart of the New England society. Kennett formed an important library of books relating to America, of which these five pamphlets were a part.

White Kennett, 1660–1728

The Lets and Impediments in Planting and Propagating the Gospel of Christ

London: Joseph Downing, 1712

White Kennett, Bishop of Peterborough, was a charter member of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In this sermon, preached on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Society, he sums up the challenge facing the missionaries.

One of the main concerns of the Established Church was the spread of Roman Catholicism in America through French and Spanish missionaries. Particular emphasis was placed in this sermon on the need for rigorous Protestant missionary activity.

Two printings of this work by Joseph Downing are recorded from the year 1712, both of which are in the Chapin Library; in the one not shown, the format and type are larger, and the text is extended to 52 rather than 48 pages.

White Kennett, 1660–1728

Bibliothecæ Americane Primordia: An Attempt Towards laying the Foundation of an American Library

London: J. Churchill, 1713

Bishop Kennett was also an able historian, and thus easily saw the need to assemble for the Venerable Society as much information as possible about America.

In 1713 he presented to the Society a library of over 1,500 "Books, Charts, Maps, Globes, instruments, and other Utensils, that can possibly tend to the more exact survey and Knowledge of the Earth and Seas, and Heavenly Bodies." This catalogue of the library is the first English contribution to American bibliography.

The Chapin Library owns twenty-six of the books from White Kennett's library, the largest group of such volumes outside the British Museum.

Cotton Mather, 1663–1728

Magnalia Christi Americana: or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England

London: Printed for Thomas Parkhurst, 1702

In Book Six, Chapter Six, of Cotton Mather's ecclesiastical history of New England is a reprint of the *A Brief Narrative of the Success which the Gospel hath*

Among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, by Matthew Mayhew (1648–1710), to which our copy is open. This brings the story of the work with the Indians up to its original publication date in 1694. *A Brief Narrative* supplements Cotton Mather's life of Eliot.

Cotton Mather, 1663–1728

Just Commemorations. The Death of Good Men, Considered

Boston: B. Green, 1715

The appendix to this sermon, given by Cotton Mather in memory of his Harvard classmates, continues the story of work with the Indians from where the *Magnalia Christi Americana* (exhibition no. 17) left off to 1715. He points out that the wars have reduced the number of Indians. The missionaries' best work was carried out on Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.

In the best spirit of evangelical Christianity, Mather relates that

at present, we can do nothing for those Bloody Salvages in the *Eastern Parts*, who have been taught by the *French Priests*, That the Virgin Mary was a *French Lady*, and that our Great Saviour was a *French-man*, and that the *English* Murdered Him, and that He Rose from the Dead, and is taken up to the Heavens, but that all that would recommend themselves

to His Favour, must Revenge His Quarrel on the English People; which issuing out from their Indiscoverable Swamps, they have often done with cruel Depredations. . . .

Cotton Mather, 1663–1728

India Christiana. A Discourse, Delivered unto the Commissioners, for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians

Boston: B. Green, 1721

Here is Mather's further report on the work started by John Eliot. The Commissioners to whom he delivered this address were the New Englanders to whom the missionaries reported. The approximately forty Commissioners in turn reported to the Society in London.

Solomon Stoddard, 1643–1729

Question: Whether God is not Angry with the Country for doing so little towards the Conversion of the Indians?

Boston: B. Green, 1723

The spread of settled New England communities westward and the destruction of many Indian tribes substantially lessened the ardor for conversion begun by Eliot. In this sermon the Reverend Solomon Stoddard of Northampton calls attention to this lapse. His position among the clergy in western New England made him particularly sensitive to the continued need for work with the Indians.

Experience Mayhew, 1673–1758

Indian Converts: Or, Some Account of the Lives and Dying Speeches of a considerable Number of the Christianized Indians of Martha's Vineyard, in New-England
London: Printed for Samuel Gerrish, 1727

Next to John Eliot, Experience Mayhew was the most important agent of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England. As a boy he mastered the tongue of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard, and his translation of the Massachuset Psalter in 1709 ranks with Eliot's Bible as one of the linguistic achievements of the New England missionaries. This account of his activities, written at the age of 54, was designed to show that work with the Indians was not in vain. It was on

Martha's Vineyard that some of the most important work of the Society was carried on during the early eighteenth century.

The book is divided into five chapters which relate the accounts of ministers and elders drawn from the Indian population (75 p.); men (59 p.); women (82 p.); children (56 p.); and English ministers who worked on Martha's Vineyard (31 p.). The account of James Nashcompait of the Gayhead has been opened at random as typical of the entries.

Rev. Freeman and Lawrence Claesse, translators

The Morning and Evening Prayer . . . Ne Orhoengene noeni Yogaraskbagh Yondereanayendaghkwa

New York: William Bradford, 1715

This is the first book printed in Mohawk. Besides portions of the Book of Common Prayer, it includes passages from the Bible arranged under headings: "Of Aged Persons," "Of submission to those that are in Authority," "Of Afflictions," "Of Patience," "Of Contentment," "Of Drunkenness," etc.

The history of this translation is confused and complex, but, digested, it seems that a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in Schenectady by the name of Freeman prepared substantial translations of prayers and Scriptures *circa* 1705–09, and from this manuscript Claesse prepared his revision and added new material for the rare first printing here displayed.

The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer, And Administration of the Sacraments

New York: Hugh Gaine, 1769

Sir William Johnson (1715–1774), the noted upstate New York settler and friend of the Indians, ordered an expanded edition of the 1715 Prayer Book to be published in 1763. But due to the death of the first editor and, in 1768, the death of the proposed printer, work was not finished till 1769, as issued from the press of Hugh Gaine, the State's official printer.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was a quite different organization from the New England Society. The SPG, or the Venerable Society as it was known, was the missionary agency of the Church of England. It was founded in 1701 and modeled on its earlier Congregational counterpart.

However, the Society was confronted with quite a different problem than its predecessor. As late as 1685 there were only about thirty properly ordained clergymen throughout all of North America, and no Established Church north of Maryland. Thus the Venerable Society had the souls of both Englishmen and Indians to serve.

The missionaries sent out by the Society were required to submit regular written reports. These documents are rich sources of information about colonial America.

David Humphreys, 1689–1740

An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts . . . to the Year 1728

London: Joseph Downing, 1730

This account tells of the successful operation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel during the first twenty-seven years of its existence. The author, who served as Secretary from 1716 to his death in 1740, wrote a book which is still an important source for the early history of the Society. Here it is open to a map of the northern colonies, with labels in the areas to which missionaries were sent.

Though largely devoted to missionary work with Indians, substantial portions deal with work with the Negroes in both northern and southern colonies.

The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge

The Presbyterian missionary society began in 1701 when “a few private gentlemen” in Edinburgh, “reflecting upon the ignorance, atheism, popery and impiety, that did so much abound in the Highlands and isles of Scotland,” banded together to provide a “suitable means of instruction” for their brethren.

In 1709 they received their charter as the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge. In 1729 the Society enlarged the scope of its activities to minister to the Indians of America. Their work in New England was closely allied to that of the New England Society, for both organizations worked through the commission of clergymen in Boston. The work of John Sergeant with the Stockbridge Indians was one of the missions supported by the Scottish Society.

David Brainerd, 1718–1747

Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos, or the Rise and Progress Of a Remarkable Work of Grace Amongst a Number of the Indians In the Provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania, justly represented in A Journal Kept by Order of the Honourable Society (in Scotland) for propagating Christian Knowledge

Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1746

Brainerd occupies a commanding place in the history of Protestant missionary work. In his brief life (he died at the age of 29) this missionary for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge played an important role in western Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. His journal, published by the Society the year before he died, served as a manual of religious guidance for many future missionaries.

Jonathan Edwards, 1703–1758

An Account of the Life Of the late Reverend Mr. David Brainerd

Boston: D. Henchman, 1749

Soon after Brainerd's death his close friend, Jonathan Edwards, wrote this account of his activities. Included in it were portions of the *Journal* which had been omitted from the 1746 printing.

The *Life of Brainerd* had an immense influence on the whole missionary movement, and this book eventually went through thirty-five editions. It played a particularly important role in the life of Henry Martyn, one of the early English missionaries to India.

Philodemus (pseudonym)

Serious Reflection on the Times. A Poem.
By a Minister of the Gospel.
Philadelphia: James Chattin, 1757

This is the only known copy of a curious but pertinent early American verse production. In the first forty-eight stanzas the unknown author sees the French and Indian War as a scourge brought on by the ungodly lives of the Pennsylvanian settlers, including their perfidy towards the Indians. In the supplementary twenty verses shown here, the poet extols the Reverend David Brainerd's work with the New Jersey Indians on behalf of the Scottish Society, lamenting in conclusion Pennsylvania's failure to pacify its Indians, whose "poor souls we did not mind, / Whilst they to us were well inclin'd. / But now alas what shall we do? / 'Tis God not we can fight that crew."

The ten stanzas visible on pp. 14–15 deal specifically with Brainerd's time in New Jersey, along with the preceding stanza on p. 13:

*Also good Brainnard once was sent,
Who took great pains, and money spent,
To teach the Jerseys heathen blind,
The Way they might salvation find.*

and the subsequent stanza on p. 16:

*'Twas godly Brainnard was the man,
That took the pains and laid the plan,
To school their youth at Cranb'ry-brook,
Where they were taught to read God's book.*

Samuel Hopkins, 1693–1755

Historical Memoirs, Relating to the Housatunnuk Indians
Boston: S. Kneeland, 1753

The story of the Indian settlement of Stockbridge perhaps came closer to realizing the ideals of the New England missionaries than any other. Several clergymen, including Samuel Hopkins, united in 1734 to provide Christian instruction for the Housatonic Indians of Berkshire County. John Sergeant, recently graduated from Yale, was chosen to undertake the task with the liberal backing of influential men of the country.

During the fifteen years he led the mission at Stockbridge, Sergeant was notably successful in his endeavor, in spite of the fact that both his personal situation and the covert activities of some of the resident whites greatly handicapped him. In this account Hopkins tells of the mission's achievements up to Sergeant's death in 1749.

Jonathan Edwards, who took over Sergeant's duties in 1751, continued the work of the mission against even greater odds, including the French and Indian War.

Charles Chauncy, 1705–1787

All Nations of the Earth blessed in Christ, the Seed of Abraham. A Sermon Preached at Boston, at the Ordination of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Bowman
Boston: John Draper, 1762

Here Boston's leading clergyman delivers a sermon on the ordination of a young man about to go among the Mohawk Indians of western Massachusetts and New York as a missionary of the Scottish Society. Chauncy's warning against changing the Indians' "mode of civil life" represents a liberal view not always practiced.

Thomas Thompson, 1708?–1773

An Account of Two Missionary Voyages
London: Printed for Benjamin Dod, 1758

This missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, following in the footsteps of George Keith, took up his work in New Jersey where he found "that part of the Country abounding in Quakers and Anabaptists." For three years he worked to build parishes and increase the Church membership. He became deeply interested in the condition of the Negroes and ultimately prevailed upon the Society to send him to Africa, where he spent four years converting the natives.

The dual responsibility of the Society for converting both dissenters and "heathens" necessarily limited the extent of its effectiveness. However, Thompson's frequent and lengthy observations on the Negroes make his *Account* a record of lasting value in African-American history.

Martin Luther, 1483–1546

Catechismus, Öfwersatt på American-Virginiske Språket
Stockholm: Burchard, 1696

This paraphrase of Luther's Catechism, translated into the Delaware Indian language, was the work of John Campanius Holm (1601–1683), a clergyman, who came to the Swedish settlements on the Delaware in 1643. Upon his return to Sweden he prevailed upon King Charles XI to finance the publication of this work, of which 500 copies were sent to the New World.

At the end is the "Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgin-eorum," making this the first book about, as well as in, the Delaware language.

Charles Thomson, 1729–1824

An Enquiry into the Causes of the Alienation of the Delaware and Shawanese Indians from the British Interest . . . Together with the remarkable Journal of Christian Frederic Post
London: Printed for J. Wilkie, 1759

After years of having lived in peace with the settlers of Pennsylvania, the revolt of the Delaware tribe was an unhappy blot on that colony's fine record of fair dealing with the Indians. The envoy dispatched by the governor to help reestablish peace was a Moravian missionary, Christian Frederic Post. To his account of the origins of the troubles Charles Thomson, later Secretary of the Continental Congress, has added Post's *Journal*.

Post's success with the Indians illustrates the unusual role played by the pietistic sects in Indian relations. Indeed, in 1744 Post had become so intimate with the Iroquois that he was arrested and ordered out of the state by the suspicious settlers of New York and Connecticut.

John Hume, 1703–1782

A Sermon Preached before the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts; At their Anniversary Meeting
London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1762

Appended to this short sermon by the Bishop of Oxford is "An Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society" for 1761, including reports from the missionaries in the field. By this time there were men at work from Newfoundland to Georgia. Although

there were individual successes, the Society was handicapped by the fact that their ministers had to be ordained in England.

This record shows that by the mid-eighteenth century, as much effort was spent in missionary activities among the Negroes as among the Indians.

Eleazar Wheelock and Dartmouth College

Of all the efforts to erect schools for Indians, that of Eleazar Wheelock proved to be the longest-lasting. In eight different pamphlets (all in the Chapin Library's collection) Wheelock tells of the founding and growth of the school that was to become Dartmouth College. We show only the first two works and their supplement, which tell of the school's early struggles in Lebanon, Connecticut.

Wheelock's original plan was to teach the Indians so that they could return to their tribes as missionaries. He began his work in 1754, but by 1769 the arrangements in Connecticut had begun to prove unsatisfactory, and in that year he transferred the school to Hanover, New Hampshire. The later pamphlets tell of the work done there. Wheelock depended heavily on outside donations, so these publications served both as a report of his activities and pleas for aid.

The Chapin Library's collection of Indian Charity School pamphlets is unusually complete, lacking but one item, the 1772 Portsmouth printing of the second item in this case (ours is the 1773 Portsmouth printing). Including variant issues and 18th-century reprints not shown, some fourteen items make up the Library's suite.

Samson Occom, 1723–1792

A Sermon Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, An Indian
New Haven: T. & S. Green, 1772

Samson Occom, 1723–1792 Jonathan Edwards, 1745–1801

A Sermon at the Execution of Moses Paul . . . to which is added A Short Account of the Late Spread of the Gospel, among the Indians
London: 1789

Samson Occom was the best-known Indian trained by Eleazar Wheelock. This sermon, which went through nineteen editions, is a moving plea for temperance:

“. . . I think they can't help understanding my talk; it is common, plain, every day talk: little children may understand me. And poor Negroes may plainly and fully understand my meaning; and it may be of service to them. Again, it may in a particular manner be serviceable to my poor kindred, the Indians.”

The Reverend Mr. Samson Occom
Mezzotint by Jonathan Spilsbury,
after Mason Chamberlin
London: 1768

This is the earliest portrait of Samson Occom (1723–1792), the renowned Indian minister. From 1766 to 1768 Occom and the Reverend Nathaniel Whitaker (1732–1795) visited England on a successful trip to raise money in support of Eleazar Wheelock's Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut.

George Fox, 1624–1691

A Journal or Historical Account of the Life . . . of that Ancient, Eminent and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox
London: Printed for Thomas Northcott, 1694
Exchange for a gift of Donald S. Klopfer, Class of 1922

The Quakers took a very early interest in the religious education of Native Americans. Their approach towards missionary work differed from that of other groups, however, because Quakerism was fundamentally a pluralist sect. Missionaries encouraged the adoption of their own beliefs or pieces thereof, but did not actively seek to convert the natives, focusing their efforts on “civilizing” their flocks.

In 1671 George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, embarked upon his initial voyage to the American colonies in order to determine if there was support for a Quaker presence in the Americas. During his travels he met frequently with the Indian tribes he encountered to make them aware of the “inner light” within every man. His teachings were well-received by the natives, but met with occasional opposition from whites:

The Governour, with his Wife, received us lovingly: but there was at his House a Doctor, who would needs Dispute with us . . . concerning the Light and Spirit of God, which he denied to be in Every one; and affirmed, that it was not in the Indians. Whereupon I called an Indian to

us, and asked him, Whether or no, when he did lie, or do wrong to any one, there was not something in him, that did reprove him for it? And he said, There was such a thing in him, that did so reprove him; and he was ashamed, when he had done wrong, or spoken wrong. . . .

Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. Meeting for Sufferings.

Some Transactions Between the Indians and Friends in Pennsylvania, In 1791 & 1792
London: James Phillips, 1792
Acquired June 2006 on the Class of 1940
Chapin Library Americana Fund

On February 10, 1791 the Seneca chief Cornplanter (1732?–1836), as part of his plan to more thoroughly assimilate his tribe into White society, asked to send two boys from his tribe to be educated by the Quakers in Philadelphia. In future years he would request the presence of Quaker missionaries among the Seneca; he was largely indifferent to the religious messages being preached, but hoped they would teach his tribe the arts of civilization and serve as a liaison between the Seneca and the Whites.

This tract includes Cornplanter's initial appeal and the Friends' response of June 2, 1791, as well as a statement issued by the Quakers to a Cherokee delegation on February 19, 1792. This event is included in *A Friend among the Senecas: the Quaker Mission to Cornplanter's People* by David Swatzler (Mechanicsburg, Pa.: 2000).

A Primer, for the Use of the Mohawk Children . . .
Waerighwaghsarwe Iksaongoenwa
London: C. Buckton, 1786

Primers such as this were among the first translations made by Indian missionaries. The lasting effect of their work depended greatly upon the number of children who grew up in the Christian faith.

The compiler of this rare little primer is uncertain, but it is usually attributed to Daniel Claus (1727–1787). Like most primers of the time, its reading passages are all religious in nature. The copy on the left is open to an unusually fine aquatint frontispiece of an Indian school in progress, created by James Peachey (*d.* 1797); the copy on the right is open to two catechism entries concerning Adam & Eve and Cain & Abel.

Daniel Claus, 1727–1787, editor

*The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer,
And Administration of the Sacraments*
Québec: W. Brown, printer, 1780

This is a presentation copy given by Colonel Claus to the missionary Louis Vincent, dated Montréal, 3 May 1784. The handwritten directions, or rubrics, throughout are in Vincent's hand.

The Mohawks who lived in or fled to Canada during the Revolutionary War needed copies of the Prayer Book. Accordingly, Governor Frederick Haldimand authorized Claus to supervise the printing of 1,000 copies (of which hardly a dozen survive). As the resident Mohawk-speaking Indian agent, Claus was able to correct innumerable orthographic faults in the 1769 New York edition shown in an earlier case.

Daniel Claus, 1727–1787, editor

*The Book of Common Prayer . . . Ne Yakawea
Yondereanayendaghk Oghseragwegouh*
London: C. Buckton, 1787

This is the final and most complete 18th-century edition of the Mohawk Prayer Book, again revised and added to by Colonel Claus. It was enhanced by the inclusion of the Gospel of St. Mark as translated by Joseph Brant (*Thayendanega* in Mohawk, 1742–1807), the famed Indian chief who allied the Mohawk tribe with the British during the American Revolution. From 1761 to 1763 Brant had been a student in Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School in Lebanon, Connecticut.

The nineteen aquatint plates in this edition are again by James Peachey, but were drawn after European models, without reference to Indian life. The frontispiece shows a contingent of Indians who had been brought to London, as they were presented in a royal audience (a phenomenon that had begun already with Pocahontas in April 1616).

Bartolomé de las Casas, 1474–1566

Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias
Seville: Sebastian Trugillo, 1552

The first major figure in New World history to concern himself deeply with the well-being of the Indians was Bartolomé de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas, known

as the "Apostle to the Indians." In 1502 he arrived in the New World prepared to make his fortune as a gentleman-adventurer, but became aware of Spanish cruelty towards the Indians and spent the rest of his life attempting to right the wrongs of his countrymen. For thirty-eight years, from 1514 through 1552, this work took the form of memoranda to the king and direct work among the Indians themselves; he crossed the Atlantic fourteen times to seek redress from Spanish officialdom for the horrors and abuses he saw in the New World.

Then in 1552 Las Casas published the nine tracts which are best known by the title of the first: *Very Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies*. This is a province-by-province account of the treatment of the Indians during the conquest, during which fifteen to twenty million natives are believed to have perished. Las Casas not only denounced the Spanish for their treatment of the Indians, but also asserted that Spain had no right to lay claim to land that did not belong to them.

Las Casas's ideas were very unpopular among settlers and administrators in the Spanish colonies; however, none of the vigorous contemporary replies to his charges were printed until the 19th century.

Bartolomé de las Casas, 1474–1566

*The Spanish Colonie, or Briefe Chronicle of the Acts
and gestes of the Spaniards in the West Indies,
called the newe World*
London: Printed for William Brome, 1583

Las Casas's unflinching account of Spanish behavior was primarily a piece of propaganda designed to rouse the Spanish court to action; however, his work served to stamp on his fellow countrymen a reputation for cruelty and violence which over 450 years of history has not erased. The 1583 edition is the first English translation of Las Casas's *Brevissima relacion*, but the rivalry between England and Spain provided fertile ground for embellishing the Las Casas narrative. Drake, Raleigh, and William Bradford each took the opportunity to expand liberally upon Las Casas's descriptions of Spanish villainy, thus cementing Spain's traditionally emphasized role in American history. Even as late as 1898, an "improved" version of this work was published in New York as part of an anti-Spanish propaganda campaign during the Spanish-American War.

Bartolomé de las Casas, 1474–1566

Narratio Regionum Indicarum per Hispanos
Frankfurt: Theodore de Bry, 1598

The atrocities described by Las Casas provided artists and illustrators with a field day. They, along with most of their viewers, knew very little about America, which permitted them to freely interpret Las Casas's descriptions of blood and gore. These images of Spanish depravity left a deep mark on the European social conscience; both Montesquieu and Voltaire cited his book in the 18th century, while during the Latin American revolutions of 1810–30 a rash of new editions appeared in the Spanish colonies. More than any other book in history, Las Casas's *Brevissima relacion* served to shape the classic picture of the European mistreatment of indigenous peoples.

José de Acosta, 1540–1600

*The Naturall and Morall Historie
of the East and West Indies*
London: Printed by Val: Sims for Edward Blount
& William Aspley, 1604

The Spanish Jesuit de Costa, often called “The Pliny of the New World”, is undoubtedly the most important scientist to observe and speculate on causes of Western Hemisphere phenomena, from cocoa to earthquakes to trade winds. But it is books 5–7 of his work that addresses the indigenous people of Latin America, with missionary activities of Spanish clerics detailed more fully in Book 7.

Francisco Antonio de Montalvo, fl. 4th quarter of 17th century

*Breve Teatro de las acciones mas notables de la vida
del Bienaventura de Toribio, Arçobispo de Lima*
Rome: Printed for Nicolas Angel, 1683
Acquired November 2004 with the
Mary Richmond Chapin Library Fund

Saint Toribio Alfonso de Mogrovejo (1538–1606) was both an active missionary and Archbishop of Lima, from 1581. Among his native converts were other notably holy persons, including the future St. Rose of Lima (the plate shown), St. Francis Solano, Blessed Martin of Porres, and Blessed Masias. It is estimated

that in his twenty-five years of missionary activity St. Toribio baptized a half million souls. This volume was prepared to advance the declaration of Bishop Toribio's sainthood, and he was beatified in 1697 and canonized in 1726 by Benedict XIII.

Miguel Venegas, 1680–1764

*Noticia de la California, y de su conquista temporal,
y spiritual hasta el tiempo presente*
Madrid: Printed by the widow of
Manuel Fernandez, 1757
3 vols.; vol. 2 shown

This cornerstone work by the native-born (in Puebla, on October 4, 1680) Venegas provides perhaps the fullest 18th-century account of Baja California and invaluable data on Alta California. Especially notable are his descriptions of the Indians and the Jesuit missionaries work among them (Venegas had joined the Jesuits in 1700 and served in the Order both as a missionary and an administrator).

An important piece of documentation is the listing of the missions established, as of 1745, at regular intervals in California, along with their satellite settlements and chapels from longitude 23° to 33°.

Miguel Venegas, 1680–1764

A Natural and Civil History of California
London: Printed for James Rivington and
James Fletcher, 1759
2 vols.; vol. 1 shown

The account of Italian-born Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J. (1645–1711), the first edition in English, is unparalleled for the information it presents on Arizona. Further, by studying the sources of the Colorado, Gila, and Rio Grande and other calculations, Fr. Kino was able to prove that California was not an island (Kino's 1705 map of the Southwest and California is a landmark American map). The staunchest advocate for the Indians of the Sonora among whom he established several missions, Kino was honored by the State of Arizona by placement in the National Statuary Hall in the United States Capitol.

Cotton Mather, 1663–1728

The Life and Death of the Reverend Mr. John Eliot
Third edition
London: Printed for John Dunton, 1694

This life of Eliot, written by the best-known of the New England divines, was first printed in Boston in 1691. Published just a year after Eliot's death, it demonstrates the importance of his role in the New England church, a role which is discussed elsewhere in this exhibition.

Mather's biography is peppered with pejorative anti-Catholic comments that reach their zenith in his Appendix i (pp. 134–47), "**A Comparison between what the New Englanders have done for the Conversion of the Indians, and what has been done elsewhere by the Roman Catholics.**"

François du Creux, 1596?–1666

Historiæ Canadensis, Seu Novæ-Franciæ libri decem
Paris: Sebastian Cramoisy, 1664

This is the first edition of one of the earliest and most important histories of Canada, based on the yearly reports submitted by the Jesuits from 1625, the date the first Canadian mission was founded at Québec, until 1656. As the website of the National Archives of Canada notes: "Beginning where Champlain's writings leave off, these missionary texts are one of the major sources of information about the early years of French colonization in North America. In fact, without the *Relations*, large chapters of France's colonial history in North America would remain in obscurity." Indeed it was du Creux who first mined these *Relations* in this 858-page Canadian history.

The large and rare fold-out plate by the French engraver Grégoire Huret (1606–1670) depicts in a composite fashion the massacre of the Jesuits Isaac Jogues, Jean de Brébeuf, Gabriel Lalemant, and four others that were butchered or burnt between 1646 and 1649 in Canada by the Iroquois and among the Hurons of upstate New York. Collectively they were canonized by Pope Pius XI in 1930.

Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, fl. 1614–1636

Le grand voyage du pays des Hurons, situé en l'Amérique vers la Mer douce
Paris: Denys Moreau, 1632

Histoire du Canada et voyages que les Frères
Paris: Claude Sonnius, 1636

Missionaries sent to the New World by France could expect to undergo continuous hardship, privations, and in some cases, even martyrdom during the course of their time there. Father Sagard, one of the Recollects of Paris, suffered the first two on his mission to the Huron tribe west of Québec, but after only thirteen months in Canada, his Provincial called him back to Paris. Once there, he began to compile the extensive dictionary of the Huron language shown and to write of his journey and experiences.

The Chapin copy of Sagard's *Histoire du Canada* contains several rare leaves of Indian music with words in the Souriquois (Micmac) language. The "Souriquois Hymn to the Devil" shown here might well be the first aboriginal American music to be found in print. An attempt has been made to "harmonize" this music and bring it closer to European musical traditions, but nonetheless, Father Sagard's observations are accurate and detailed. The notes are diamond-shaped and the printing has been done in one impression.

Jean Baptiste la Brosse, 1724–1782, translator

Nehiro-Iriniui Aiamihe Massinahigan
Uabistiguiatsh: Massinahitsheu, Broun gaie Girmor, 1767 [Québec: William Brown & Thomas Gilmore, 1767]

This is a prayer book and catechism translated into the Montagnais language of the Innu tribe of Canada. English merchants in Québec helped to finance this "popish book" (La Brosse was a Jesuit), much to the distress of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It was the first book published in Montagnais and was printed by Brown and Gilmore, who in mid-1764 had established the first press in Québec.

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The Haystack Prayer Meeting

*Come let us make it a subject of prayer under the Haystack,
while the dark clouds are going, and the clear sky is coming.*

– Samuel J. Mills

As the 18th century concluded, Williams College was in a “period of religious depression and spiritual darkness,” with students most often indifferent to religious issues. Within a few years of the new century, however, student-led religious gatherings began to flourish in dormitory rooms, outdoor groves, and private homes.

During the last term of the 1805/6 academic year, as a storm approached on a hot summer afternoon, five Williams students – Samuel J. Mills, Byram Green, James Richards, Harvey Loomis, and Francis LeBaron Robbins – sought shelter in the lee of a haystack to continue their discussion of religion. There they fell to speaking of missions to convert peoples in foreign lands. This gathering, later called the Haystack Prayer Meeting, was one of several revivals that rocked the town and college as part of the Second Great Awakening.

Laws of Williams College

Chap. II, “Of Devotional Exercises,
and the Observation of the Lord’s Day”
Stockbridge: Printed by H. Willard, 1805;
reprinted 1913

Although Williams is a non-denominational institution, its Trustees and President Fitch were adamant in “recommending to [the students] a virtuous and blameless life, and a diligent attention to the public and private duties of religion.” Decreed by the College laws, chapel prayer services for all students were held daily, morning and evening. Sunday services absorbed most of that day. Penalties for absence, tardiness, or “indecent or irreverent behaviour” were harsh. Against this backdrop of administrative concern and student apathy there flared periodic revivals, most often emanating from the students themselves.

Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Williams College
Lansingburgh: Tracy & Bliss, Printers, November 1806

Printed in the fall following the Prayer Meeting, the 1806 catalogue of Williams faculty and students includes those who were present at the fateful summer gathering: sophomores Samuel J. Mills, Harvey Loomis, and James Richards, and Francis Robbins and Byram Green, juniors. Also listed here is Gordon Hall, Class of 1808 (a junior), the first Williams graduate to serve as a foreign missionary, an inspiring preacher and educator who died in India.

The Men of the Haystack

A champion of foreign missions, SAMUEL J. MILLS (Class of 1809) would spend most of his service in America. He died in 1818 returning home from Gambia where, as an agent of the Colonization Society, he was selecting a site for the country which would become Liberia.

JAMES RICHARDS (Class of 1809) sailed for Ceylon on the second mission of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. His service as missionary and doctor was cut short by pulmonary disease in his 39th year.

FRANCIS ROBBINS (Class of 1808) served as a missionary in New Hampshire and Vermont, settling finally as the pastor of the church in Enfield, Connecticut.

HARVEY LOOMIS (Class of 1809) established the first Congregational church in Bangor, Maine, a location then known for its “irreligion and wickedness”. Like Mills and Richards, he died young.

Out of the five, BYRAM GREEN (Class of 1808) was the only one who did not enter missionary work. He became a New York State Senator, served as Judge of the County Courts, and in 1843 was elected to the U.S. Congress.

Founded in 1805, the student Theological Society fostered discussion of theology, readings from The Bible, or sermons. The Society maintained strict rules for admission due to the members' dedication to high standards for morality and behavior. Elected Society officers in 1809 were Luther Rice and John Seward, both members of the Class of 1810. A year earlier, the men had joined with Samuel J. Mills, James Richards, and Ezra Fisk (all of the Class of 1809) in the northwest lower room of the old East College to establish the Brethren, the first foreign missionary society organized in America.

Much of what we know about the Haystack Prayer Meeting was recounted by Byram Green (Class of 1808) in the years approaching the Meeting's 50th anniversary.

The first time that I ever heard a foreign mission named was under the haystack in Sloans [sic] meadow by Samuel J. Mills. The great majority of the students considered the idea of missions in Asia & Africa as wild & visionary. Others thought it premature while a few thought it could & would be done. . . .

Mr. Mills in the symmetry of his form was finely proportioned, a little more than medium in height, with a dark skin with black eyes & hair. He was courteous and easy in his manners – he did not possess commanding talents, but was highly esteemed by some & respected by all excepting the scoffers who were mute at that day. . . .

- Copy of a letter received from Byram Green [Class of 1808] one who met under the Haystack

The rooms occupied by Mills and Loomis, Barrett and myself; the heat of the day on which the meeting was held; the shower that drove us from the grove to the hay-stack; the small number that attended the meeting; there being no one present from the East College; walking together from the stack to the West College are all circumstances, which appear fresh[?] and plain to my mind, and I believe without hesitation or doubt that they all occurred in the year 1806.

- Byram Green to Rev. Samuel M. Worcester, Sodus, Feb. the 15th 1857.

The Creation of Mission Park

Spurred by the approaching anniversary, David Dudley Field (Class of 1825) at the August 1854 meeting of the Society of Alumni advocated purchase of the land we now call Mission Park. Gathering funds by subscription, the Society acquired the ten acres the next year. All was ready by 1856 when the Missionary Jubilee was held at Williams. Due to a thunderous rain storm, however, festivities were held in the nearby church, rather than the park itself.

In Feb. 1857, the Mission Park Association was incorporated with its members – Williams President Mark Hopkins, Prof. Albert Hopkins, and Charles Stoddard (Class of 1854) – holding the property “for the purpose of . . . erecting and placing memorials to commemorate the origin and progress of American Missions.” The Park Monument, whose cost was borne by the Hon. Harvey Rice (Class of 1824), was dedicated amid much fanfare in July 1867. Mission Park was donated to the College in 1885.

Hon. D.D. Field made overtures for the purchase of the Mills Grove and grounds adjacent in the following resolutions.

Resolved, that the grounds to the northwards of the West College where Mills and his associates used to meet for prayer and where the first American Missions were projected be purchased by the Alumni of the College and be called the Mission Walk & Grounds.

- Society of Alumni minutes, Aug. 15th, 1854

*Horticultural and Landscape Gardening Association
minutes, June 1st 1855*

Soon after purchase of the land, at a special meeting, the College's Horticultural and Landscape Gardening Association began to discuss "laying out and making some of the walks in the 'Missionary Park'."

We dedicate this Park to the memory of the Founders of American Missions, and to the missionary cause and spirit. We hope that in all future time, the students of this college will come here for exercise and meditation; that the officers of the College will seek here refreshment from their anxieties and toils; we hope that the young missionary, about to depart with a brave heart upon his glorious errand, will walk upon this ground to strengthen himself with the spirit of the place; and that the returned missionary, wearied with labor, exposure and privation, will find here rest and consolation for the body and the spirit. May this grove be more sacred, if less famous, than the Academia of Plato; may its trees flourish like the Cedars of Lebanon, and its turf ever be green as the pastures "beside the still waters".

- Introductory address by the Hon.
David Dudley Field (Class of 1825) at the
Missionary Jubilee held at Williams College,
August 5, 1856

*An act to incorporate the Mission Park Association,
February 16, 1857, from the Mission Park Association
Records, 1857-1887.*

Remembering the Haystack Prayer Meeting

Since the Missionary Jubilee of 1856, thousands have visited Williamstown to attend anniversaries of the Haystack Prayer Meeting. Other reminders, from plates to scholarships, celebrate the impact of the prayers and conversation of the five Haystack students that continues to be felt around the world.

On display: items from the Haystack centennial, 1906; postcards of Mission Park, ca. 1925; the sesquicentennial, 1956; Kyung-Won Kim (Class of 1959), the first foreign student to win the Haystack Fellowship at Williams; the 175th anniversary, 1981; a re-issue of one of the College's Wedgwood plates depicting noteworthy sites at Williams, 1991.

Also shown is a *View of Williams College*, ca. 1847, lent by the Williams College Museum of Art (Accn. PA.15).