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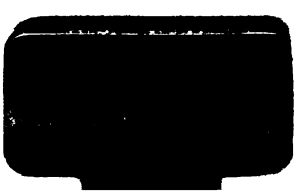
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THE LIFE

OF THE

REV. DAVID BRAINERD,

Missionary to the Indians,

FROM THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE;

Who Died at Northampton in New England, October 9, 1747, in the 30th Year of his Age.

BY

JONATHAN EDWARDS, A. M.

President of the College of New Jersey.

A New Edition,

CAREFULLY REVISED AND CORRECTED.

LONDON:

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The Memoirs of DAVID BRAINERD, originally written by the celebrated PRESIDENT EDWARDS, are so well known and appreciated by Christians of every denomination, as affording a most unusual instance of the power of true religion, that it would seem altogether superfluous to prefix one syllable of commendation to this edition.

In a Missionary age like the present, no work is better adapted to awaken the spirit, correct the motives, or guide the measures necessary to success. The Minister or the Missionary who attentively peruses these Memoirs, will be apprised of the importance of the work he undertakes; will see the difficulties with which it is attended, and be directed to the means by which they may be overcome. He will also perceive that the great success arising from the Missionary labours of *David Brainerd,* was preceded and accompanied by a spirit of prayer equally extraordinary; by patience, watchfulness, perseverance, and self-denial, such as have seldom been exemplified in any human character.

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PREFACE.

THERE are two ways of representing and recommending true religion and virtue to the world, which God hath made use of; the one is by doctrine and precept, the other is by instance and example; both are abundantly used in the holy scriptures. Not only are the grounds, nature, design and importance of religion clearly exhibited in the doctrines of scripture, and its exercise and practice plainly delineated, and abundantly enjoined and enforced, in its commands and counsels; but there we have many excellent examples of religion, in its power and practice, set before us in the histories both of the Old and New Testament.

JESUS CHRIST, the great Prophet of God, who came to be "the light of the world," to teach and enforce true religion in a greater degree than ever had been before, made use of both these methods. In his doctrine he declared the mind and will of God, and the nature and properties of that virtue which becomes creatures in our circumstances, more clearly and fully than ever it had been before, and more powerfully inforced it by what he declared of the obligations and inducements to holiness; and he also in his own practice gave a most perfect example of the virtue he taught. He exhibited to the world such an illustrious pattern of humility, divine love, discreet zeal, self-denial, obedience, patience, resignation, fortitude, meekness, forgiveness, compassion, benevolence, and universal holiness, as neither men nor angels ever saw before. God also in his provi-

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dence has been wont to make use of both these methods to hold forth light to mankind, and inducement to their duty, in all ages. He has from time to time raised up eminent teachers, to exhibit and bear testimony to the truth in their doctrine, and oppose the errors, darkness and wickedness of the world; and also has, from age to age, raised up some eminent persons that have set bright examples of that religion that is taught and prescribed in the word of God; whose examples have in divine providence been set forth to public view. These have a great tendency to engage the attention of men to the doctrines and rules that are taught, and greatly to confirm and enforce them; and especially when these bright examples have been exhibited in the same persons that have been eminent *teachers*, so that the world has had opportunity to see such a confirmation of the truth, efficacy and amiableness of the religion taught, in the practice of the same persons that have most clearly and forceably taught it; and above all, when these bright examples have been set by eminent teachers in a variety of unusual circumstances of remarkable trial; and God has withal remarkably distinguished them with wonderful success in their instructions and labours, consisting in glorious events that have been in many respects new and strange.

Such an instance we have in the excellent person, whose life is published in the following pages. His example is attended with a great variety of circumstances, tending to engage the attention of religious people, especially in these parts of the world. He was one of distinguished natural abilities; as all are sensible, that had acquaintance with him. He was a minister of the gospel, and one who was called to unusual services in that work, whose ministry was attended with very remarkable and unusual events,

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an account of which has already been given to the public; one whose course of religion began before the late times of extraordinary religious commotion, but yet one that lived in those times, and went through them, and was very much in the way of the various extraordinary effects and unusual appearances of that day, and was not an idle spectator, but had a near concern in many things that passed at that time; one that had a very extensive acquaintance with those who have been the subjects of the late religious operations, in many of these British colonies, in places far distant one from another, in people of many different nations, of different educations, manners and customs; one who had peculiar opportunity of acquaintance with the false appearances and counterfeits of religion; one who himself was the instrument of a most remarkable awakening, and an abiding alteration and moral transformation of such subjects as render the change rare and astonishing.

In the following account, the reader will see not only what were the external circumstances and remarkable incidents of the life of this person, and how he spent his time from day to day, as to his external behaviour; but also what passed in his own heart, the wonderful change that he experienced in his mind and disposition, the manner in which that change was brought to pass, how it continued, what were its consequences in his inward frames, thoughts, affections and secret exercises, through many vicissitudes and trials for more than eight years till his death. He will also see how all ended at last, in his sentiments, frame and behaviour, during a long season of the gradual and sensible approach of death, under a lingering illness, and what were the effects of his religion in dying circumstances, or in the last stages of his dying illness. The account being written, the reader may have opportunity at his leisure

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to compare the various parts of the story, and deliberately to view and weigh the whole, and consider how far what is related is agreeable to the dictates of right reason and the holy word of God.

I am far from supposing that Mr. Brainerd's inward exercises and experiences, or his external conduct, were free from all imperfection: the example of Jesus Christ is the only example that ever was set in the human nature that was altogether perfect, which therefore is a rule to try all other examples by; and the dispositions, frames, and practices of others must be commended and followed no further than they were followers of Christ.

There is one thing in Mr. Brainerd, easily discernible by the following account of his life, that may be called an imperfection in him, which though not properly an imperfection of a moral nature, yet may possibly be made an objection against the extraordinary appearances of religion and devotion in him, by such as seek for objections against every thing that can be produced in favour of true vital religion; and that is, that he was one who by his constitution and natural temper was so prone to *melancholy* and dejection of spirit. There are some who think that all serious religion is a melancholy thing, and that what is called Christian experience is little else than melancholy vapours disturbing the brain, and exciting enthusiastic imaginations. But that Mr. Brainerd's temper or constitution inclined him to despondency, is no just ground to suspect his extraordinary devotion, as being only the fruit of a warm imagination. I doubt not but that all who have well observed mankind will readily grant this, that it is not all those who by their natural constitution or temper are most disposed to dejection, that are the persons who are the most susceptive of lively and strong impressions on their imagination, or the most subject to those

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vehement impetuous affections which are the fruits of such impressions; but that many who are of a very gay and sanguine natural temper are vastly more so, and if their affections are turned into a religious channel, are much more exposed to enthusiasm than many of the former.

And as to Mr. Brainerd in particular, notwithstanding his inclination to despondency, he was evidently one of that sort of persons who usually are the furthest from a teeming imagination; being one of a penetrating genius, of clear thought, close reasoning, and a very exact judgment; as all know, that knew him. As he had a great insight into human nature, and was very discerning and judicious in things in general, so he excelled in his judgment and knowledge of things in divinity, but especially in things pertaining to inward experimental religion; most accurately distinguishing between real solid piety and enthusiasm, between those affections that are rational and scriptural, having their foundation in light and judgment, and those that are founded in whimsical conceits, strong impressions on the imagination, and those vehement emotions of the animal spirits that arise from them. He was exceeding sensible of men's exposedness to these things, how much they had prevailed, and what multitudes had been deceived by them; of the pernicious consequences of them, and the fearful mischief they had done in the Christian world. He greatly abhorred such a sort of religion, and was abundant in bearing testimony against it, living and dying; and was quick to discern when any thing of that nature arose, though in its first buddings, and appearing under the most fair and plausible disguises; and had that talent at describing the various workings of this imaginary enthusiastical religion, evincing the falseness and vanity of it, and demonstrating the great

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difference between this and true spiritual devotion, which I scarcely ever knew equalled in any other person.

His judiciousness not only appeared in distinguishing among the experiences of others, but also among the various exercises of his own mind; and particularly in discerning what within himself was to be laid to the score of melancholy; in which he exceeded all melancholy persons that ever I was acquainted with. This was doubtless owing to a peculiar strength in his judgment: it is a rare thing indeed that melancholy people are well sensible of their own disease, and fully convinced that such and such things are to be ascribed to it, as are indeed its genuine operations and fruits. Mr. Brainerd did not obtain that degree of skill which he had in this matter, at once, but gained it gradually; as the reader may discern by the following account of his life. In the former part of his religious course, he imputed much of that kind of gloominess of mind and those dark thoughts to spiritual *desertion*, which in the latter part of his life he was abundantly sensible were owing to the disease of *melancholy;* accordingly he often expressly speaks of them in his diary as arising from this cause; and he was often in conversation speaking of the difference between melancholy and godly sorrow, true humiliation and spiritual desertion, and the great danger of mistaking the one for the other; and the very hurtful nature of melancholy, discoursing with great judgment upon it, and doubtless much more judiciously from what he knew by his own experience.

But besides what may be argued from Mr. Brainerd's strength of judgment, it is apparent in fact, that he was not a person of a warm imagination. His inward experiences, either in his convictions or his conversion, and his religious views and impressions

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through the course of his life to his death, (of which he has left a very particular account,) none of them consisted in, or were excited by, strong and lively images formed in his imagination. Nothing at all appears of it in his Diary, from beginning to end: yea, he told me on his death-bed, that although once when he was very young in years and in experience, he was deceived into a high opinion of such things, looking on them as superior attainments in religion, beyond what he had ever arrived to, and was ambitious of them and earnestly sought them, yet he never could obtain them; and that he never in his life had a strong impression on his imagination of any visage, outward form, external glory, or any other thing of that nature; which kind of impressions abound among the wild enthusiastic people of the late and present day.

As Mr. Brainerd's religious impressions, views and affections were in their nature vastly different from enthusiasm, so were their effects in him as contrary as possible to the ordinary effects of that. Nothing so puffs men up as *enthusiasm*, with a high conceit of their own wisdom, holiness, eminence and sufficiency, and makes them so bold, forward, assuming and arrogant: but the reader will see that Mr. Brainerd's religion constantly disposed him to a most mean thought of himself, an abasing sense of his own exceeding sinfulness, deficiency, unprofitableness and ignorance; looking on himself as worse than others; disposing him to universal benevolence, meekness, and in honour to prefer others, and to treat all with kindness and respect. And when *melancholy* prevailed, though the effects of it were very prejudicial to him, yet it had not those effects of *enthusiasm*; but operated by dark and discouraging thoughts of himself, as ignorant, wicked and

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wholly unfit for the work of the ministry, or even to be seen among mankind, *&c.*

At the time forementioned, when he had not learned well to distinguish between enthusiasm and solid religion, and joining and keeping company with some that were tinged with no small degree of the former, he for a season partook of their disposition and behaviour; though as was observed before, he could not obtain those things wherein their enthusiasm itself consisted, and so could not become like them in that respect, however he erroneously desired and sought it. But certainly it is not at all to be wondered at, that a youth and a young convert, one that had his heart so swallowed up in religion, and so earnestly desired the flourishing of it, but had had so little opportunity for reading, observation and experience, should for a while be dazzled and deceived with the glaring appearances of that mistaken devotion and zeal; especially considering what the extraordinary circumstances of that day were. He told me on his death-bed, that while he was in these circumstances he was out of his element, and did violence to himself, while complying, in his conduct, with persons of a fierce and imprudent zeal, from his great veneration of some that he looked upon much better than himself. So that it would be very unreasonable, that his error at that time should neverthebe esteemed a just ground of prejudice against the whole of his religion, and his character in general; especially considering, how greatly his mind was soon changed, and how exceedingly he afterwards lamented his error, and abhorred himself for his imprudent zeal and misconduct at that time, even to the breaking of his heart, and almost to the overbearing and breaking the strength of his nature; and how much of a Christian spirit he shewed, in his

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condemning himself for that misconduct, as the reader will see.

What has been now mentioned of Mr. Brainerd, is so far from being just ground of prejudice against what is related in the following account of his life, that if duly considered, it will render the history the more serviceable. For by his thus joining for a season with enthusiasts, he had a more full and intimate acquaintance with what belonged to that sort of religion, and so was under better advantages to judge of the difference between that and the other, which he finally approved and strove to his utmost to promote, in opposition to it. Hereby also the reader has the more to demonstrate to him, that Mr. Brainerd, in his testimouy against it, and the spirit and behavionr of those that are influenced by it, speaks from impartial conviction, and not from prejudice; because therein he openly condemns his own former opinion and conduct, on account of which he had greatly suffered from his opposers, and for which some continued to reproach him as long as he lived.

Another imperfection in Mr. Brainerd, which may be observed in the following account of his life, was his being *excessive in his labours;* not taking due care to proportion his fatigues to his strength. Indeed the case was very often so, and such the seeming calls of Providence, that it was extremely difficult for him to avoid doing more than his strength would well admit of; yea, his circumstances, and the business of his mission among the Indians were such, that great fatigues and hardships were altogether inevitable. However, he was finally convinced that he had erred in this matter, and that he ought to have taken more thorough care, and been more resolute to withstand temptations to such degrees of labour as injured his health; and accordingly

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warned his brother, who succeeds him in his mission, to be careful to avoid this error.

Besides the imperfections already mentioned, it is readily allowed that there were some imperfections that ran through his whole life, and were mixed with all his religious affections and exercises, some mixture of what was natural with that which was spiritual; as it evermore is in the best saints in this world. Doubtless there was some influence that natural temper had in the religious exercises and experiences of Mr. Brainerd, as there most apparently was in the exercises of devout David, and the apostles Peter, John, and Paul. There was undoubtedly very often some influence of his natural disposition to dejection in his religious mourning, some mixture of melancholy with truly godly sorrow and real Christian humility, and some mixture of the natural fire of youth with his holy zeal for God, and some influence of natural principles mixed with grace in various other respects, as it ever was and ever will be with the saints while on this side heaven. Perhaps none were more sensible of Mr. Brainerd's imperfections than he himself; or could distinguish more accurately than he, between what was natural and what was spiritual. It is easy for the judicious reader to observe that his graces ripened, and the religious exercises of his heart became more and more pure, and he more and more distinguishing in his judgment the longer he lived; he had much to teach and purify him, and he failed not to make his advantage of it.

But notwithstanding all these imperfections, I am persuaded, every pious and judicious reader will acknowledge, that what is here set before him is indeed a remarkable instance of true and eminent Christian piety in heart and practice, tending greatly to confirm the reality of vital religion, and the power

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of godliness, most worthy of imitation, and many ways tending to the spiritual benefit of the careful observer.

It is fit the reader should be aware, that what Mr. Brainerd wrote in his Diary, out of which the following account of his life is chiefly taken, was written only for his own private use, and not to get honour and applause in the world, nor with any design that the world should ever see it, either while he lived or after his death, excepting some few things that he wrote in a dying state, after he had been persuaded with difficulty, not entirely to suppress all his private writings. He shewed himself almost invincibly averse to the publishing of any part of his Diary after his death; and when he was thought to be dying at Boston, he gave the most peremptory orders to the contrary: but being by some of his friends prevailed upon to withdraw so strict and absolute a prohibition, he was pleased finally to yield so far as that "his papers should be left in my hands, that I might dispose of them as I thought would be most for God's glory and the interest of religion."

JONATHAN EDWARDS.

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The Life

OF

DAVID BRAINERD.

PART I.

From his birth, to the time when he began to devote himself to the study of divinity, in order to his being fitted for the work of the ministry.

MR. DAVID BRAINERD was born April 20, 1718, at Haddam, a town belonging to the county of Hertford, in the colony of Connecticut, New England. His father, who died when this his son was about nine years of age, was the Worshipful Hezekiah Brainerd, Esq. an assistant, or one of his Majesty's council for that colony, and the son of Daniel Brainerd, Esq. a justice of the peace, and a deacon of the church of Christ in Haddam. His mother was Mrs. Dorothy Hobart, daughter to the Reverend Mr. Jeremiah Hobart, who preached a while at Topsfield, and then removed to Hempstead on Long-Island, and afterwards removed from Hempstead, by reason of numbers turning Quakers, and many others being so irreligious, that they would do nothing towards the support of the ministry, and came and settled in the work of the ministry at Haddam; where he died in the 85th year of his age: of whom it is remarkable, that he went to the public worship in the forenoon, and died in his chair between meetings. And this reverend gentleman was son of the Reverend Mr. Peter Hobart, who was, first, minister of the gospel at Hingham, in the county of Norfolk in England; and, by reason of the persecution of the Puritans, removed with his family to New England, and was settled in the ministry at Hingham in the Massachusetts. He had five sons, *viz.* Joshua, Jeremiah, Gershom, Japheth, and Nehemiah. His son Joshua was minister at Southold on

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Long Island; Jeremiah was Mr. David Brainerd's grandfather, minister at Haddam, as was before observed; Gershom was minister of Groton in Connecticut; Japheth was a physician, and went in the quality of a doctor of a ship to England, before the time for the taking his second degree at college, and designed to go from thence to the East Indies, and never was heard of more; Nehemiah was sometime fellow of Harvard college, and afterwards minister at Newton in the Massachusetts. The mother of Mrs. Dorothy Hobart, who was afterwards Brainerd, was daughter to the Reverend Mr. Samuel Whiting, minister of the gospel, first at Boston in Lincolnshire, and afterwards at Lynn in the Massachusetts, New-England: he had three sons that were ministers of the gospel.

Mr. David Brainerd was the third son of his parents. They had five sons and four daughters. Their eldest son is Hezekiah Brainerd, Esq. a justice of the peace, and for several years past a representative of the town of Haddam, in the general assembly of Connecticut colony; the second was the Reverend Mr. Nehemiah Brainerd, a worthy minister at Eastbury in Connecticut, who died of a consumption Nov. 10, 1742; the fourth is Mr. John Brainerd, who succeeds his brother David, as missionary to the Indians, and pastor of the same church of Christian Indians in New-Jersey; and the fifth was Israel, lately student at Yale college in New Haven, who died since his brother David.—Mrs. Dorothy Brainerd, having lived several years a widow, died, when her son, whose life I am about to give an account of, was about fourteen years of age: so that in his youth he was left both fatherless and motherless. What account he has given of himself and his own life, may be seen in what follows.

I Was, I think, from my youth, something sober, and inclined rather to melancholy, than the contrary extreme; but do not remember any thing of conviction of sin, worthy of remark, till I was, I believe, about seven or eight years of age; when I became something concerned for my soul, and terrified at the thoughts of death, and was driven to the performance of duties: but it appeared a melancholy business, and destroyed my eagerness for play. And, alas! this religious concern was but short-lived. However, I sometimes attended secret prayer; and thus lived at " ease in Zion,

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without God in the world," and without much concern, as I remember, till I was above thirteen years of age. But sometime in the winter 1732, I was something roused out of carnal security, by I scarce know what means at first; but was much excited by the prevailing of a mortal sickness in Haddam. I was frequent, constant, and something fervent in duties, and took delight in reading, especially Mr. Janeway's *Token for Children*; I felt sometimes much melted in duties, and took great delight in the performance of them; and I sometimes hoped, that I was converted, or at least in a good and hopeful way for heaven and happiness, not knowing what conversion was. The Spirit of God at this time proceeded far with me; I was remarkably dead to the world, and my thoughts were almost wholly employed about my soul's concerns; and I may indeed say, "Almost I was persuaded to be a Christian." I was also exceedingly distressed and melancholy at the death of my mother, in March 1732. But afterwards my religious concern began to decline, and I by degrees fell back into a considerable degree of security, though I still attended secret prayer frequently.

About the 15th of April 1733, I removed from my father's house to East Haddam, where I spent four years, but still "without God in the world;" though, for the most part, I went a round of secret duty. I was not exceedingly addicted to young company, or frolicking, as it is called. But this I know, that when I did go into company, I never returned from a frolick in my life, with so good a conscience as I went with; it always added new guilt to me, and made me afraid to come to the throne of grace, and spoiled those good frames I was wont sometimes to please myself with. But, alas! all my good frames were but self righteousness, not bottomed on a desire for the glory of God.

About the latter end of April 1737, being full nineteen years of age, I removed to Durham, and began to work on my farm, and so continued the year out, or nearly, till I was twenty years old; frequently longing, from a natural inclination, after a liberal education. When I was about twenty years of age, I applied myself to study; and sometime before, was more than ordinarily excited to and in duty: but now engaged more than ever in the duties of religion. I became very strict, and watchful over my thoughts, words, and actions; and thought I must be sober indeed, because

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I designed to devote myself to the ministry; and imagined I did dedicate myself to the Lord.

Some time in April 1738, I went to Mr. Fiske's, and lived with him during his life.* And I remember, he advised me wholly to abandon young company, and associate myself with grave, elderly people: which counsel I followed; and my manner of life was now exceeding regular, and full of religion, such as it was; for I read my Bible more than twice through in less than a year, I spent much time every day in secret prayer and other secret duties; I gave great attention to the word preached, and endeavoured to my utmost to retain it. So much concerned was I about religion, that I agreed with some young persons to meet privately on Sabbath evenings for religious exercises, and thought myself sincere in these duties; and after our meeting was ended, I used to repeat the discourses of the day to myself, and recollect what I could, though sometimes it was very late in the night. Again, on Monday mornings I used sometimes to recollect the same sermons. And I had sometimes considerable movings of affections in duties, and much pleasure, and had many thoughts of joining to the church. In short, I had a very good outside, and rested entirely on my duties, though I was not sensible of it.

After Mr. Fiske's death, I proceeded in my learning with my brother; and was still very constant in religious duties, and often wondered at the levity of professors; it was a trouble to me, that they were so careless in religious matters. Thus I proceeded a considerable length on a *self-righteous* foundation; and should have been entirely lost and undone, had not the mere mercy of God prevented.

Some time in the beginning of winter, *anno* 1738, it pleased God, on one Sabbath day morning, as I was walking out for some secret duties, as I remember, to give me on a sudden such a sense of my danger and the wrath of God, that I stood amazed, and my former good frames, that I had pleased myself with, all presently vanished; and from the view that I had of my sin and vileness, I was much distressed all that day, fearing the vengeance of God would soon overtake me; I was much dejected, and kept much alone, and sometimes begrudged the birds and beasts their happiness, because they were not exposed to eternal misery, as I evidently saw I was

* Mr. Fiske was the pastor of the church in Haddam.

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And thus I lived from day to day, being frequently in great distress: sometimes there appeared mountains before me to obstruct my hopes of mercy; and the work of conversion appeared so great, I thought I should never be the subject of it: but used, however, to pray and cry to God, and perform other duties with great earnestness, and hoped by some means to make the case better. And though I hundreds of times renounced all pretences of any *worth* in my duties, as I thought, even in the season of the performance of them, and often confessed to God that I deserved nothing for the very best of them, but eternal condemnation; yet still I had a secret latent hope of *recommending* myself to God by my religious duties; and when I prayed affectionately, and my heart seemed in some measure to melt, I hoped God would be thereby moved to pity me, my prayers then looked with some appearance of *goodness* in them, and I seemed to *mourn* for sin: and then I could in some measure venture on the mercy of God in Christ, as I thought, though the preponderating thought and foundation of my hope was some imagination of *goodness* in my heart-meltings, and flowing of affections in duty, and sometimes extraordinary enlargements therein. Though at some times the gate appeared so very strait, that it looked next to impossible to enter, yet at other times I flattered myself that it was not so very difficult, and hoped I should by diligence and watchfulness soon gain the point. Sometimes after enlargement in duty and considerable affection, I hoped I had made a *good step* towards heaven, and imagined that God was affected as I was, and that he would hear such *sincere cries*, as I called them: and so sometimes when I withdrew for secret duties in great distress, I returned something comfortable; and thus healed myself with my duties.

Some time in February 1738-9, I set apart a day for secret fasting and prayer, and spent the day in almost incessant cries to God for mercy, that he would open my eyes to see the evil of sin, and the way of life by Jesus Christ. And God was pleased that day to make considerable discoveries of my heart to me. But still I *trusted* in all the duties I performed though there was no manner of *goodness* in the duties I then performed, there being no manner of respect to the glory of God in them, nor any such principle in my heart; yet God was pleased to make my endeavours that day, a means to shew me my *helplessness* in some measure.

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Sometimes I was greatly *encouraged*, and imagined that God loved me, and was pleased with me, and thought I should soon be fully reconciled to God; while the whole was founded on mere *presumption*, arising from enlargement in duty, or flowing of affections, or some good resolutions, and the like. And when, at times, great distress began to arise, on a sight of my vileness, and nakedness, and inability to deliver myself from a sovereign God, I used to put off the discovery, as what I could not bear. Once, I remember, a terrible pang of distress seized me, and the thoughts of renouncing myself, and standing naked before God, stripped of all goodness, were so dreadful to me, that I was ready to say to them as Felix to Paul, " Go thy way for this time." Thus, though I daily longed for greater conviction of sin, supposing that I must see more of my dreadful state in order to a remedy; yet when the discoveries of my vile, hellish heart were made to me, the sight was so dreadful, and shewed me so plainly my exposedness to damnation, that I could not endure it. I constantly strove after whatever *qualifications* I imagined others obtained before the reception of Christ, in order to *recommend* me to his favour. Sometimes I felt the power of a *hard heart*, and supposed it must be *softened* before Christ would accept of me; and when I felt any meltings of heart, I hoped now the work was almost done: and hence, when my distress still remained, I was wont to murmur at God's dealings with me; and thought, when others felt their hearts softened, God shewed them mercy; but my distress remained still.

Sometimes I grew *remiss* and *sluggish*, without any great convictions of sin, for a considerable time together; but after such a season, convictions sometimes seized me more violently. One night I remember in particular, when I was walking solitarily abroad, I had opened to me such a view of my sin, that I feared the ground would cleave asunder under my feet, and become my grave, and send my soul quick into hell, before I could get home. And though I was forced to go to bed, lest my distress should be discovered by others, which I much feared; yet I scarce durst sleep at all, for I thought it would be a great wonder if I should be out of hell in the morning. And though my distress was sometimes thus great, yet I greatly dreaded the loss of convictions, and returning back to a state of carnal security, and to my former

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insensibility of impending wrath; which made me exceeding exact in my behaviour, lest I should stifle the motions of God's Spirit. When at any time I took a view of my convictions of my own sinfulness, and thought the degree of them to be considerable, I was wont to trust in my convictions: but this confidence, and the hopes that arose in me from it, of soon making some notable advances towards deliverance, would ease my mind, and I soon became more senseless and remiss: but then again, when I discerned my convictions to grow languid, and I thought them about to leave me, this immediately alarmed and distressed me. Sometimes I expected to take a large step, and get very far towards conversion, by some particular opportunity or means I had in view.

The many disappointments, and great distresses and perplexity I met with, put me into a most *horrible frame* of *contesting* with the Almighty; with an inward vehemence and virulence, finding fault with his ways of dealing with mankind. I found great fault with the imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity: and my wicked heart often wished for some other way of salvation, than by Jesus Christ. And being like the troubled sea, and my thoughts confused, I used to contrive to escape the wrath of God by some other means, and had strange projections, full of Atheism, contriving to disappoint God's designs and decrees concerning me, or to escape God's notice, and hide myself from him. But when, upon reflection, I saw these projections were vain, and would not serve me, and that I could contrive nothing for my own relief, this would throw my mind into the most horrid frame, to wish there was no God, or to wish there were some other God that could controul him. These thoughts and desires were the secret inclinations of my heart, that were frequently acting before I was aware; but, alas! they were *mine*, although I was affrighted with them, when I came to reflect on them: when I considered of it, it distressed me, to think, that my heart was so full of enmity against God; and it made me tremble, lest God's vengeance should suddenly fall upon me. I used before to imagine my heart was not so bad, as the scriptures and some other books represented. Sometimes I used to take much pains to work it up into a good frame, a humble submissive disposition; and hoped there was then some goodness in me: but it may be on a sudden, the thoughts

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of the strictness of the law, or the sovereignty of God, would so irritate the corruption of my heart, that I had so watched over, and hoped I had brought to a good frame, that it would break over all bounds, and burst forth on all sides, like floods of waters when they break down their dam. But being sensible of the necessity of a deep humiliation in order to a saving close with Christ, I used to set myself to work in my own heart those convictions that were requisite in such an humiliation; as, a conviction, that God would be just, if he cast me off for ever; and that if ever God should bestow mercy on me, it would be mere grace, though I should be in distress many years first, and be never so much engaged in duty; that God was not in the least obliged to pity me the more for all past duties, cries, and tears. These things I strove to my utmost to bring myself to a firm belief of, and hearty assent to; and hoped that now I was brought off from myself and truly humbled and bowed to the divine sovereignty; and was wont to tell God in my prayers, that now I had those very dispositions of soul that he required, and on which he shewed mercy to others, and thereupon to beg and plead for mercy to me. But when I found no relief, and was still oppressed with guilt and fears of wrath, my soul was in a tumult, and my heart rose against God, as dealing hardly with me. Yet then my conscience flew in my face, putting me in mind of my late confession to God of his justice in my condemnation. And this giving me a sight of the badness of my heart, threw me again into distress, and I wished I had watched my heart more narrowly, to keep it from breaking out against God's dealings with me, and I even wished I had not pleaded for mercy on account of my humiliation, because thereby I had lost all my seeming goodness.

Thus, scores of times, I vainly imagined myself humbled and prepared for saving mercy.

While I was in this distressed, bewildered, and tumultuous state of mind, the *corruption* of my heart was especially *irritated* with these things following.

1. The *strictness* of the divine *law*. For I found it was impossible for me, after my utmost pains, to answer the demands of it. I often made new resolutions, and as often broke them. I imputed the whole to carelessness, and the want of being more watchful, and used to call myself a fool.

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for my negligence. But when, upon a stronger resolution, and greater endeavours, and close application of myself to fasting and prayer, I found all attempts fail, then I quarrelled with the law of God, as unreasonably rigid. I thought, if it extended only to my outward actions and behaviour, I could bear with it; but I found it condemned me for my evil thoughts, and sins of my heart, which I could not possibly prevent. I was extremely loth to give out, and own my utter helplessness in this matter: but after repeated disappointments, thought that, rather than perish, I could do a little more still, especially if such and such circumstances, might but attend my endeavours and strivings; I hoped, that I should strive more earnestly than ever, if the matter came to extremity, though I never could find the time to do my utmost, in the manner I intended: and this hope of future more favourable circumstances, and of doing something great hereafter, kept me from utter despair in myself, and from seeing myself fallen into the hands of a sovereign God, and dependent on nothing but free and boundless grace.

2. Another thing was, that *faith alone* was the *condition of salvation*; and that God would not come down to lower terms, that he would not promise life and salvation upon my sincere and hearty prayers and endeavours. That word, Mark xvi. 16, "He that believeth not, shall be damned," cut off all hope there: and I found, faith was the sovereign gift of God; that I could not get it as of myself, and could not oblige God to bestow it upon me, by any of my performances, Eph. ii. 1—8. "This," I was ready to say, "is a "hard saying, who can hear it?" I could not bear, that all I had done should stand for mere nothing, who had been very conscientious in duty, and had been exceeding religious a great while, and had, as I thought, done much more than many others that had obtained mercy. I confessed indeed the vileness of my duties; but then, what made them at that time seem vile, was my wandering thoughts in them; not because I was all over defiled like a devil, and the principle corrupt from whence they flowed, so that I could not possibly do any thing that was good. And therefore I called what I did, by the name of honest, faithful endeavours; and could not bear it, that God had made no promises of salvation to them.

3. Another thing was, that I could not find out *what* faith was; or *what* it was to believe, and come to Christ. I read

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the calls of Christ, made to the *weary* and *heavy laden*; but could find no way that he directed them to come in. I thought, I would gladly come, if I knew *how*, though the path of duty directed to were never so difficult. I read Mr. Stoddard's *Guide to Christ*, which I trust was, in the hand of God, the happy means of my conversion, and my heart rose against the author; for though he told me my very heart all along under convictions, and seemed to be very beneficial to me in his directions; yet here he failed, he did not tell me any thing I could do, that would bring me to Christ, but left me as it were with a great gulph between me and Christ, without any direction to get through. For I was not yet effectually and experimentally taught, that there could be no way prescribed, whereby a natural man could, of his own strength, obtain that which is supernatural, and which the highest angel cannot give.

4. Another thing that I found a great inward opposition to, was the *sovereignty* of God. I could not bear, that it should be wholly at God's pleasure, to save or damn me, just as he would. That passage, Rom. ix. 11—23, was a constant vexation to me, especially verse 21. The reading or meditating on this always destroyed my seeming good frames: when I thought I was almost humbled and almost resigned to God's sovereignty, the reading or thinking on this passage would make my enmity against the sovereignty of God appear. And when I came to reflect on my inward enmity and blasphemy, that arose on this occasion, I was the more afraid of God, and driven further from any hopes of reconciliation with him; and it gave me such a dreadful view of myself, that I dreaded more than ever to see myself in God's hands, and at his sovereign disposal, and it made me more opposite than ever to submit to his sovereignty; for I thought God designed my damnation.

All this time the Spirit of God was powerfully at work with me; and I was inwardly pressed to relinquish all *self-confidence*, all hopes of ever helping myself by any means whatsoever: and the conviction of my *lost* estate was sometimes so clear and manifest before my eyes, that it was as if it had been declared to me in so many words, "It is done, it is done, it is for ever impossible to deliver yourself." For about three or four days, my soul was thus distressed, especially at some turns, when for a few moments I seemed to

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myself lost and undone; but then would shrink back immediately from the sight, because I dared not venture myself into the hands of God, as wholly helpless, and at the disposal of his sovereign pleasure. I dared not see that important truth concerning myself, that I was *dead in trespasses and sins.* But when I had as it were thrust away these views of myself at any time, I felt distressed to have the same discoveries of myself again; for I greatly feared being given over of God to final stupidity. When I thought of putting it off to a *more convenient season,* the conviction was so close and powerful with regard to the present time, that it was the best time, and probably the only time, that I dared not put it off. It was the sight of *truth,* concerning myself, *truth* respecting my state, as a creature fallen and alienated from God, and that consequently could make no demands on God for mercy, but must subscribe to the absolute sovereignty of the divine Being; the sight of the *truth,* I say, my soul shrank away from, and trembled to think of beholding. Thus, " He that doeth evil," as all unregenerate men continually do, " hates the light of truth," neither cares to *come to it,* because it will *reprove his deeds,* and shew him his just deserts, John iii. 20. And though some time before, I had taken much pains, as I thought, to submit to the sovereignty of God, yet I mistook the thing; and did not once imagine, that seeing and being made experimentally sensible of this truth, which my soul now so much dreaded and trembled at a sense of, was the frame of soul that I had been so earnest in pursuit of heretofore: for I had ever hoped, that when I had attained to that *humiliation* which I supposed necessary to go before faith, then it would not be fair for God to *cast me off;* but now I saw it was so far from any goodness in me, to own myself spiritually dead and destitute of all goodness, that, on the contrary, *my mouth* would be for ever *stopped* by it; and it looked as dreadful to me, to see myself, and the relation I stood in to God, as a sinner and I criminal, and he a great Judge and Sovereign, as it would be to a poor trembling creature, to venture off some high precipice. And hence I put it off for a minute or two, and tried for better circumstances to do it in; either I must read a passage or two, or pray first, or something of the like nature; or else put off my submission to God's sovereignty, with an objection, that I did not know how to submit. But the truth was, I could see no safety in owning my-

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self in the hands of a sovereign God, and that I could lay no claim to any thing better than damnation.

But after a considerable time spent in such like exercises and distresses, one morning, while I was walking in a solitary place, as usual, I at once saw that all my contrivances and projections to effect or procure deliverance and salvation for myself, were utterly *in vain;* I was brought quite to a stand as finding myself totally *lost.* I had thought many times before, that the difficulties in my way were very great; but now I saw, in another and very different light, that it was for ever impossible for me to do any thing towards helping or delivering myself. I then thought of blaming myself, that I had not done more, and been more engaged, while I had opportunity; for it seemed now as if the season of doing was for ever over and gone: but I instantly saw, that let me have done what I would, it would no more have tended to my helping myself, than what I had done; that I had made all the pleas I ever could have made to all eternity; and that all my pleas were vain. The *tumult* that had been before in my mind, was now *quieted;* and I was something eased of that distress, which I felt, while struggling against a sight of myself, and of the divine sovereignty. I had the greatest certainty, that my state was for ever miserable, for all that I could do; and wondered, and was almost astonished, that I had never been sensible of it before.

In the time while I remained in this state, my *notions* respecting my *duties* were quite different from what I had ever entertained in times past. Before this, the more I did in duty, the more I thought God was obliged to me; or at least the more hard I thought it would be for God to cast me off; though at the same time I confessed, and thought I saw, that there was no goodness or merit in my duties: but now the more I did in prayer or any other duty, the more I saw I was indebted to God for allowing me to ask for mercy; for I saw, it was self-interest had led me to pray, and that I had never once prayed from any respect to the glory of God. Now I saw, there was no necessary connection between my prayers and the bestowment of divine mercy; that they laid not the least obligation upon God to bestow his grace upon me; and that there was no more virtue or goodness in them, than there would be in my paddling with my hand in the water, which was the comparison I had

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then in my mind; and this because they were not performed from any love or regard to God. I saw, that I had been heaping up my devotions before God, fasting, praying, &c. pretending, and indeed really thinking, at some times, that I was aiming at the glory of God; whereas I never once truly intended it, but only my own happiness. I saw, that as I had never done any thing *for* God, I had no claim to lay to any thing *from* him, but perdition, on account of my hypocrisy and mockery. Oh how different did my duties now appear from what they used to do! I used to charge them with sin and imperfection; but this was only on account of the wanderings and vain thoughts attending them, and not because I had no regard to God in them; for this I thought I had: but when I saw evidently that I had regard to nothing but self-interest, then they appeared vile mockery of God, self-worship, and a continual course of lies; so that I saw now, there was something worse had attended my duties, than barely a few wanderings; for the whole was nothing but self-worship, and a horrid abuse of God.

I continued, as I remember, in this state of mind, from Friday morning till the Sabbath evening following, July 12, 1739, when I was walking again in the same solitary place, where I was brought to see myself lost and helpless, as was before mentioned: and here, in a mournful melancholy state, was attempting to pray; but found no heart to engage in that or any other duty; my former concern and exercise, and religious affections were now gone. I thought the Spirit of God had quite left me; but still was not distressed, yet disconsolate, as if there was nothing in heaven or earth could make me happy. And having been thus endeavouring to pray, though being, as I thought, very stupid and senseless, for near half an hour, and by this time the sun was about half an hour high, as I remember, then, as I was walking in a dark thick grove, *unspeakable glory* seemed to open to the view and apprehension of my soul: I do not mean any external brightness, for I saw no such thing; nor do I intend any imagination of a body of light, some where away in the third heavens, or any thing of that nature; but it was a new inward apprehension or view that I had of God, such as I never had before, nor any thing which had the least resemblance of it. I stood still, and wondered and admired! I knew that I never had seen before any thing

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comparable to it for excellency and beauty; it was widely different from all the conceptions that ever I had had of God or things divine. I had no particular apprehension of any one person in the Trinity, either the Father, the Son, or the Holy Ghost; but it appeared to be *divine glory*, that I then beheld: and my soul *rejoiced with joy unspeakable*, to see such a God, such a glorious divine Being; and I was inwardly pleased and satisfied, that he should be *God over all* for ever and ever. My soul was so captivated and delighted with the excellency, loveliness, greatness, and other perfections of God, that I was even swallowed up in him; at least to that degree, that I had no thought, as I remember at first, about my own salvation, and scarce reflected there was such a creature as myself.

Thus God, I trust, brought me to a hearty disposition to *exalt him*, and set him on the throne, and principally and ultimately to aim at his honour and glory, as King of the universe.

I continued in this state of inward joy and peace, yet astonishment, till near dark, without any sensible abatement; and then began to think and examine what I had seen; and felt sweetly *composed* in my mind all the evening following. I felt myself in a new world, and every thing about me appeared with a different aspect from what it was wont to do.

At this time, the *way of salvation* opened to me with such infinite wisdom, suitableness, and excellency, that I wondered I should ever think of any other way of salvation; was amazed, that I had not dropped my own contrivances, and complied with this lovely, blessed, and excellent way before. If I could have been saved by my own duties, or any other way that I had formerly contrived, my whole soul would now have refused. I wondered, that all the world did not see and comply with this way of salvation, entirely by the *righteousness of Christ*.

The sweet relish of what I then felt, continued with me for several days, almost constantly, in a greater or less degree; I could not but sweetly rejoice in God, lying down and rising up. The next Lord's day I felt something of the same kind, though not so powerful as before. But, not long after, was again involved in *thick darkness*, and under great distress; yet not of the same kind with my distress

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under convictions. I was guilty, afraid, and ashamed to come before God; was exceedingly pressed with a sense of guilt: but it was not long before I felt, I trust, true repentance and joy in God.

About the latter end of August, I again fell under great darkness; it seemed as if the presence of God was *clean gone for ever;* though I was not so much distressed about my spiritual state, as I was at my being shut out from God's presence, as I then sensibly was. But it pleased the Lord to return graciously to me, not long after.

In the beginning of September I went to college,* and entered there; but with some degree of reluctancy, fearing lest I should not be able to lead a life of strict religion, in the midst of so many temptations. After this, in the vacancy, before I went to tarry at college, it pleased God to visit my soul with clearer manifestations of himself and his grace. I was spending some time in prayer, and self-examination; and the Lord by his grace so shined into my heart, that I enjoyed full assurance of his favour, for that time; and my soul was unspeakably refreshed with divine and heavenly enjoyments. At this time especially, as well as some others, sundry passages of God's word opened to my soul with divine clearness, power, and sweetness, so as to appear exceeding precious, and with clear and certain evidence of its being *the word of God.* I enjoyed considerable sweetness in religion all the winter following.

In Jan. 1739-40, the measles spread much in college; and I having taken the distemper, went home to Haddam. But some days before I was taken sick, I seemed to be greatly deserted, and my soul mourned the absence of the Comforter exceedingly: it seemed to me, all comfort was for ever gone; I prayed and cried to God for help, yet found no present comfort or relief. But through divine goodness, a night or two before I was taken ill, while I was walking alone in a very retired place, and engaged in meditation and prayer, I enjoyed a sweet refreshing visit, as I trust, from above, so that my soul was raised far above the fears of death; indeed I rather longed for death, than feared it. O how much more refreshing this one season was, than all the pleasures and delights that earth can afford! After a day or two I was taken with the measles, and was very ill

* Yale college in New Haven.

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indeed, so that I almost despaired of life; but had no distressing fears of death at all. However, through divine goodness I soon recovered: yet, by reason of hard and close studies, and being much exposed on account of my freshman-ship, I had but little time for spiritual duties; my soul often mourned for want of more time and opportunity to be alone with God. In the spring and summer following, I had better advantages for retirement, and enjoyed more comfort in religion: though indeed my ambition in my studies greatly wronged the activity and vigour of my spiritual life: yet this was usually the case with me, that "in the multitude of my thoughts within me, God's comforts *principally* delighted my soul;" these were my greatest consolations day by day.

One day I remember in particular, (I think it was in June 1740,) I walked to a considerable distance from the college, in the fields alone at noon, and in prayer found such unspeakable sweetness and delight in God, that I thought, if I must continue still in this evil world, I wanted always to be there, to behold God's glory: my soul dearly loved all mankind, and longed exceedingly that they should enjoy what I enjoyed. It seemed to be a little resemblance of heaven.

On Lord's day, July 6, being sacrament day, I found some divine life and spiritual refreshment in that holy ordinance. When I came from the Lord's table, I wondered how my fellow-students could live as I was sensible most did. Next Lord's day, July 13, I had some special sweetness in religion. Again, Lord's day, July 20, my soul was in a sweet and precious frame.

Some time in August following, I became so weakly and disordered, by too close application to my studies, that I was advised by my tutor to go home, and disengage my mind from study, as much as I could; for I was grown so weak, that I began to spit blood. I took his advice, and endeavoured to lay aside my studies. But being brought very low, I looked death in the face more stedfastly; and the Lord was pleased to give me renewedly a sweet sense and relish of divine things; and particularly in October 13, I found divine help and consolation in the precious duties of secret prayer and self-examination, and my soul took delight in the blessed God: so likewise on the 17th of October.

Saturday, October 18, in my morning devotions, my soul

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was exceedingly melted, and I bitterly mourned over my exceeding sinfulness and vileness. I never before had felt so pungent and deep a sense of the odious nature of sin, as at this time. My soul was then unusually carried forth in love to God, and had a lively sense of God's love to me; and this love and hope, at that time, cast out fear. Both morning and evening I spent some time in self-examination, to find the truth of grace, as also my fitness to approach to God at his table the next day; and through infinite mercy, found the holy Spirit influencing my soul with love to God, as a witness within myself.

Lord's day, October 19, in the morning I felt my soul, hungering and thirsting after righteousness. In the forenoon, while I was looking on the sacramental elements, and thinking that Jesus Christ would soon be "set forth crucified before me," my soul was filled with light and love, so that I was almost in an ecstasy; my body was so weak, I could scarcely stand. I felt at the same time an exceeding tenderness, and a most fervent love towards all mankind; so that my soul and all its powers seemed, as it were, to melt into softness and sweetness. But in the season of the communion, there was some abatement of this life and fervour; nevertheless my soul longed for perfect grace and glory. This heavenly frame continued till the evening, when my soul was sweetly spiritual in secret duties.

Monday, October 20. I again experienced the assistance of the holy Spirit in secret duties, both morning and evening, and life and comfort in religion throughout the day.

Tuesday, October 21. I had likewise experience of the goodness of God in "shedding abroad his love in my heart," and giving me delight and consolation in religious duties; and all the remaining part of the week, my soul seemed to be taken up with divine things. I now so longed after God, and to be freed from sin, that when I felt myself recovering, and thought I must return to college again, which had proved so hurtful to my spiritual interest the year past, I could not but be grieved, and thought I had much rather have died; for it distressed me to think of any departure from God. But before I went, I enjoyed several other sweet and precious seasons of communion with God, particularly October 30, and Nov. 4, wherein my soul enjoyed unspeakable comfort.

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I returned to college about November 6, and through the goodness of God, felt the power of religion almost daily, for the space of six weeks.

November 28. In my evening devotion, I enjoyed precious discoveries of God, and was unspeakably refreshed with that passage, Heb. xii. 22, 23, 24. My soul longed to to wing its way to the paradise of God; I longed to be conformed to God in all things. A day or two after, I enjoyed much of the light of God's countenance, most of the day; and my soul rested in him.

Tuesday, December 9. I was in a comfortable frame of soul most of the day, especially in the evening devotions, when God was pleased wonderfully to assist and strengthen me; so that I thought nothing should ever move me from the love of God in Christ Jesus my Lord. Oh one hour with God infinitely exceeds all the pleasures and delights of this lower world.

Some time towards the latter end of January 1740-41, I grew more cold and dull in matters of religion, by means of my old temptation, viz. ambition in my studies. But through divine goodness, a great and general *awakening* spread itself over the college, about the latter end of February, by which I was much quickened, and more abundantly engaged in religion.

[The awakening here spoken of, was at the beginning of that extraordinary religious commotion through the land, which is fresh in every one's memory. This awakening was for a time very great and general at New Haven; and the college had no small share in it; that society was greatly reformed, the students in general became serious, and many of them remarkably so, and much engaged in the concerns of their eternal salvation. And however undesirable the issue of the awakenings of that day have appeared in many others, there have been manifestly happy and abiding effects of the impressions then made on the minds of many of the members of that college. And by all that I can learn concerning Mr. Brainerd, there can be no reason to doubt but that he had much of God's gracious presence, and of the lively actings of true grace, at that time: but yet he was afterwards abundantly sensible, that his religious experiences and affections at that time were not free from a corrupt mixture, nor was

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his conduct to be acquitted from many things that were imprudent and blameable; which he greatly lamented himself, and was willing that others should forget, that none might make an ill improvement of such an example. And therefore although in the time of it, he kept a constant diary, containing a very particular account of what had passed from day to day, for the next thirteen months, from the latter end of January 1740-41, forementioned, in two small books, which he called the two first volumes of his diary, next following the account before given of his convictions, conversion, and consequent comforts; yet, when he lay on his deathbed, he gave orders unknown to me till after his death, that these two volumes should be destroyed; and in the beginning of the third book of his diary, he wrote thus, by the hand of another, he not being able to write himself: "The "two preceding volumes, immediately following the account "of the author's conversion, are lost. If any are desirous to "know how the author lived, in general, during that space "of time, let them read the first thirty pages of this volume; "where they will find something of a specimen of his ordi-"nary manner of living, through that whole space of time, "which was about thirteen months; excepting that here he "was more refined from some *imprudencies* and *indecent heats*, "than there; but the spirit of devotion running through "the whole, was the same."

It could not be otherwise than that one whose heart had been so prepared and drawn to God, as Mr. Brainerd's had been, should be mightily enlarged, animated, and engaged at the sight of such an alteration made in the college, the town and country; and so great an appearance of men's reforming their lives, and turning from their profaneness and immorality, to seriousness and concern for their salvation, and of religion's reviving and flourishing almost every where. But as an intemperate imprudent zeal, and a degree of enthusiasm soon crept in, and mingled itself with that revival of religion; and so great and general an awakening being quite a new thing in the land, at least as to all the living inhabitants of it; neither people nor ministers had learned thoroughly to distinguish between solid religion and its delusive counterfeits; even many ministers of the gospel, of long standing and the best reputation, were for a time overpowered with the glaring appearances of the latter: and

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therefore, surely it was not to be wondered at, that young Brainerd, who had not been long at college, should be so. He was not only young in years, but very young in religion and experience, and had but little opportunity for the study of divinity, and still less for observation of the circumstances and events of such an extraordinary state of things; a man must divest himself of all reason, to make a wonder of it. In these disadvantageous circumstances, Brainerd had the unhappiness to have a tincture of that intemperate, indiscreet zeal, which was at that time too prevalent; and was led, from his high opinion of others that he looked upon better than himself, into such errors as were really contrary to the habitual temper of his mind. One instance of his misconduct at that time, gave great offence to the rulers of the college, even to that degree that they expelled him the society; which it is necessary should here be particularly related, with its circumstances.

In the time of the awakening at college, there were several religious students that associated themselves one with another for mutual conversation and assistance in spiritual things, who were wont freely to open themselves one to another, as special and intimate friends: Brainerd was one of this company. And it once happened, that he and two or three more of these his intimate friends were in the hall together, after Mr. Whittelsey, one of the tutors, had been to prayer there with the scholars; no other person now remaining in the hall, but Brainerd and these his companions. Mr. Whittelsey having been unusually pathetical in his prayer, one of Brainerd's friends on this occasion asked him what he thought of Mr. Whittelsey; he made answer, "He has no more grace than this chair." One of the freshmen happening at that time to be near the hall, though not in the room, over-heard those words of his; though he heard no name mentioned, and knew not who the person was, which was thus censured. he informed a certain woman that belonged to the town, withal telling her his own suspicion, viz. that he believed Brainerd said this of some one or other of the rulers of the college. Whereupon she went and informed the rector, who sent for this freshman and examined him; and he told the rector the words that he heard Brainerd utter, and informed him who were in the room with him at that time. Upon

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which the rector sent for them: they were very backward to inform against their friend, of that which they looked upon as private conversation, and especially as none but they had heard or knew of whom he had uttered those words: yet the rector compelled them to declare what he said, and of whom he said it. Brainerd looked on himself greatly abused in the management of this affair; and thought, that what he said in private, was injuriously extorted from his friends, and that then it was injuriously required of him, as it was wont to be of such as had been guilty of some open notorious crime, to make a public confession, and to humble himself before the whole college in the hall, for what he had said only in private conversation. He not complying with this demand, and having gone once to the separate meeting at New Haven, when forbidden by the rector, and also having been accused by one person of saying concerning the rector, that he wondered he did not expect to drop down dead for fining the scholars who followed Mr. Tennent to Milford, though there was no proof of it, and Mr. Brainerd ever professed that he did not remember his saying any thing to that purpose; for these things he was expelled the college.

Now, how far the circumstances and exigences of that day might justify such great severity in the governors of the college, I will not undertake to determine; it being my aim, not to bring reproach on the authority of the college, but only to do justice to the memory of a person, who I think to be eminently one of those whose *memory is blessed.* The reader will see, in the sequel of the story of Mr. Brainerd's life,* what his own thoughts afterwards were of his behaviour in these things, and in how Christian a manner he conducted himself, with respect to this affair: though he ever as long as he lived, supposed himself much abused, in the mangement of it, and in what he suffered from it.

His expulsion was in the winter, *anno* 1741-2, while he was in his third year in college.]

* Particularly under the date, Wednesday, Sept. 14, 1743.

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PART II.

From about the time that he first began to devote himself more especially to the study of divinity, till he was examined and licensed to preach, by the Association of ministers belonging to the Eastern district of the county of Fairfield in Connecticut.

MR. BRAINERD, the Spring after his expulsion, went to live with the Reverend Mr. Mills of Ripton, to follow his studies with him, in order to his being fitted for the work of the ministry; where he spent the greater part of the time till the Association licensed him to preach; but frequently rode to visit the neighbouring ministers, particularly Mr. Cooke of Stratfield, Mr. Graham of Southbury, and Mr. Bellamy of Bethlehem.

Here (at Mr. Mills's) he began the third book of his diary, in which the account he wrote of himself, is as follows.

Thursday, April 1, 1742, I seem to be declining with respect to my life and warmth in divine things; had not so free access to God in prayer of late as usual. Oh that God would humble me deeply in the dust before him! I deserve hell every day, for not loving my Lord more, who has I trust "loved me, and given himself for me;" and every time I am enabled to exercise any grace renewedly, I am renewedly indebted to the God of all grace for special assistance. "Where then is boasting?" Surely "it is excluded," when we think how we are dependent on God for the being and every act of grace. Oh, if ever I get to heaven, it will be because God will, and nothing else; for I never did any thing of myself, but depart from God! My soul will be astonished at the unsearchable riches of divine grace, when I arrive at the mansions, which the blessed Saviour is gone before to prepare.

Friday, April 2. In the afternoon I felt somewhat happy in secret prayer, much resigned, calm, and serene. What are all the storms of this lower world, if Jesus by his Spirit does but come *walking on the seas!* Some time past, I had much pleasure in the prospect of the Heathen's being brought home to Christ, and desired that the Lord would employ *me*

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in that work:—but now my soul more frequently desires to die, *to be with Christ*. Oh that my soul were wrapt up in divine love, and my longing desires after God increased. In the evening, was refreshed in prayer, with the hopes of the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world.

Saturday, April 3. Was very much amiss this morning, and had an ill night last night. I thought, if God would take me to himself now, my soul would exceedingly rejoice. Oh that I may be always humble and resigned to God, and that he would cause my soul to be more fixed on himself, that I may be more fitted both for doing and suffering!

Lord's day, April 4. My heart was wandering and lifeless. In the evening God gave me faith in prayer, and made my soul melt in some measure, and gave me to taste a divine sweetness. Blessed Lord! Let me climb up near to thee, and love, and long, and plead, and wrestle with thee, and pant for deliverance from the body of sin and death.—Alas! my soul mourned to think I should ever lose sight of its beloved again. "Oh come, Lord Jesus, Amen."

[On the evening of the next day, he complains that he seemed to be void of all relish of divine things; felt much of the prevalence of corruption, and saw in himself a disposition to all manner of sin; which brought a very great gloom on his mind, and cast him down into the depths of melancholy; so that he speaks of himself as astonished, amazed, having no comfort, being filled with horror, seeing no comfort in heaven or earth.]

Tuesday, April 6. I walked out this morning to the same place where I was last night, and felt somewhat as I did then; but was in measure relieved by reading some passages in my diary, and seemed to feel as if I might pray to the great God again with freedom; but was suddenly struck with a damp, from the sense I had of my own vileness. Then I cried to God to wash my soul, and cleanse me from my exceeding filthiness, to give me repentance and pardon; and prayer began to be truly delightful. I could then think of undergoing the greatest sufferings in the cause of Christ, with pleasure; and found myself willing, if God should so order it, to suffer banishment from my native land, among the Heathen, that I might do something for their souls' sal-

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vation, in distresses and deaths of any kind. Then God gave me to wrestle earnestly for others, for the kingdom of Christ in the world, and for dear Christian friends. I felt weaned from the world, and from my own reputation amongst men, willing to be despised, and to be a gazing-stock for the world to behold. It is impossible for me to express how I then felt: I had not much joy, but some sense of the majesty of God, which made me as it were tremble: I saw myself mean and vile, which made me more willing that God should do what he would with me; it was all infinitely reasonable.

Wednesday, April 7. I had not so much fervency in prayer, but felt in a degree as I did yesterday-morning. At noon I spent some time in secret, with some fervency, but scarcely any sweetness; and felt very dull in the evening.

Thursday, April 8. Had raised hopes to day respecting the Heathen. Oh that God would bring in great numbers of them to Jesus Christ! I cannot but hope I shall see that glorious day. Every thing in this world seems exceeding vile and little to me: I look so to myself. I had some little dawn of comfort to day in prayer: but especially to-night I think I had some faith and power of intercession with God; was enabled to plead with him for the growth of grace in myself; and many of the dear children of God then lay with weight upon my soul. Blessed be the Lord! It is good to wrestle for divine blessings.

Friday, April 9. Most of my time in morning devotion was spent without sensible comfort, yet I had one delightful prospect of arriving at the heavenly world. I am more amazed than ever at such thoughts; for I see myself infinitely vile and unworthy. I feel very heartless and dull; and though I long for the presence of God, and seem constantly to reach towards God in desires, yet I cannot feel that divine and heavenly sweetness that I used to enjoy.—No poor creature stands in need of divine grace more than I do, and yet none abuse it more than I have done.

Saturday, April 10. Spent much time in secret prayer this morning, and not without some comfort in divine things, and hope I had some faith in exercise: but am so low, and feel so little of the sensible presence of God, that I hardly know what to call faith. I am made to "possess the sins of my youth," and the dreadful sin of my nature, and am

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all sin. I cannot think, nor act, but every motion is sin. I feel some faint hopes that God will, of his infinite mercy, return again with showers of converting grace to poor gospel-abusing sinners; and my hopes of being employed in the cause of God, which of late have been almost extinct, seem now a little revived. Oh that all my late distresses and awful apprehensions might prove but Christ's school, to make me fit for greater service, by learning me the great lesson of humility!

Lord's day, April 11. In the morning, felt but little life, excepting that my heart was something drawn out in thankfulness to God for his amazing grace and condescension to me in past influences and assistances of his Spirit. Afterwards had some pleasure in the thoughts of arriving at the heavenly world. Oh for the happy day! After public worship, God gave me special assistance in prayer. I wrestled with my dear Lord, with much earnestness, and intercession was made a sweet and delighful employment to me. In the evening, as I was viewing the lights in the north, was delighted in contemplation on the glorious morning of the resurrection.

Monday, April 12. This morning the Lord was pleased to lift up the light of his countenance upon me in secret prayer, and made the season very precious to my soul. And though I have been so depressed of late, respecting my hopes of future serviceableness in the cause of God; yet now I had much encouragement respecting that matter. I was specially assisted to intercede and plead for poor souls, and for the enlargement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and for special grace for myself, to fit me for special services. I felt exceeding calm, and quite resigned to God, respecting my future improvement, *when* and *where* he pleased: my faith lifted me above the world, and removed all those mountains that I could not look over of late. I thought I wanted not the favour of man to lean upon; for I knew Christ's favour was infinitely better, and that it was no matter *when*, nor *where*, nor *how* Christ should send me, nor what trials he should still exercise me with, if I might but be prepared for his work and will. I now found sweetly revived in my mind the wonderful discovery of infinite wisdom in all the dispensations of God towards me, which I had a little before I met with my great trial at college; every thing appeared full of the wisdom of God.

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Tuesday, April 13. Saw myself to be very mean and vile; wondered at those that shewed me respect. Afterwards was something comforted in secret retirement, and was assisted to wrestle with God, with some power, spirituality, and freedom. Blessed be the Lord, he is never unmindful of me, but always sends me needed supplies; and from time to time, when I am like one dead, raises me to life. Oh that I may never distrust infinite goodness!

Wednesday, April 14. My soul longed for communion with Christ, and for the mortification of indwelling corruption, especially spiritual pride. There is a welcome day coming, when "the weary will be at rest!" My soul has enjoyed much comfort this day in the hopes of its speedy arrival.

Thursday, April 15. My desires apparently centered in God, and I found a sensible attraction of soul after him sundry times to-day. I know I long for God, and a conformity to his will, in inward purity and holiness, ten thousand times more than for any thing here below.

Friday and *Saturday*, April 16, 17. Seldom prayed without some sensible enlargement and joy in the Lord. Sometimes I longed much "to be dissolved, and to be with Christ." Oh that God would enable me to grow in grace every day! Alas, my barrenness is such, that God might well say, "Cut it down."—I am afraid of a dead heart on the sabbath now begun: oh that God would quicken me by his grace!

Lord's day, April 18. Retired early this morning into the woods for prayer; had the assistance of God's Spirit, and faith in exercise, and was enabled to plead with fervency for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and to intercede for dear absent friends. At noon, God enabled me to wrestle with him, and to feel, as I trust, the power of divine love in prayer. At night, saw myself infinitely indebted to God, and had a view of my shortcomings: it seemed to me, that I had done as it were nothing for God, and that I never had lived to him but a few hours of my life.

Monday, April 19. I set apart this day for fasting and prayer to God for his grace, especially to prepare me for the work of the ministry, to give me divine aid and direction in my preparations for that great work, and in his own time to "send me into his harvest." Accordingly, in the

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morning, endeavoured to plead for the divine presence for the day, and not without some life. In the forenoon, I felt a power of intercession for precious immortal souls, for the advancement of the kingdom of my dear Lord and Saviour in the world; and withal, a most sweet resignation, and even consolation and joy in the thoughts of suffering hardships, distresses, and even death itself, in the promotion of it; and had special enlargement in pleading for the enlightening and conversion of the poor Heathen. In the afternoon, "God was with me of a truth." Oh it was blessed company indeed! God enabled me so to agonize in prayer that I was quite wet with sweat, though in the shade, and the wind cool. My soul was drawn out very much for the world: I grasped for multitudes of souls. I think I had more enlargement for sinners, than for the children of God; though I felt as if I could spend my life in cries for both. I enjoyed great sweetness in communion with my dear Saviour. I think I never in my life felt such an entire weanedness from this world, and so much resigned to God in every thing. Oh that I may always live *to* and *upon* my blessed God! Amen, Amen.

Tuesday, April 20. This day I am twenty-four years of age. Oh how much mercy have I received the year past! How often has God "caused his goodness to pass before me." And how poorly have I answered the vows I made this time twelvemonth, to be wholly the Lord's, to be for ever devoted to his service! The Lord help me to live more to his glory for time to come. This has been a sweet, a happy day to me: blessed be God. I think my soul was never so drawn out in intercession for *others*, as it has been this night. Was enabled to plead fervently with the Lord to-night for my *enemies*. I longed to live to God, and to be altogether devoted to him. I wanted to wear out my life in his service, and for his glory.

Wednesday, April 21. Felt much calmness and resignation, and God again enabled me to wrestle for numbers of souls. I had much fervency in the duty of intercession, and enjoy of late more satisfaction in pleading for others, than in any other part of prayer. My blessed Lord really let me "come near to him, and plead with him."

[The frame of mind, and exercises of soul, that he ex-

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presses the three days next following, Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, are much of the same kind with those expressed the two days past.]

Lord's day, April 25. This morning spent about two hours in secret duties, and was enabled more than ordinarily to agonize for immortal souls; though it was early in the morning, and the sun scarcely shined at all, yet my body was quite wet with sweat. Felt much pressed now, as frequently of late, to plead for the meekness and calmness of the Lamb of God in my soul; through divine goodness felt much of it this morning. It is a sweet disposition, heartily to forgive all injuries done us; to wish our greatest enemies as well as we do our own souls. Blessed Jesus, may I daily be more and more conformed to thee. At night was exceedingly melted with divine love, and had some feeling sense of the blessedness of the upper world. Those words dwelt upon my mind with much sweetness, Psal. lxxxiv. 7. "They go from strength to strength, every one of them in Zion appeareth before God." Oh the *near access* that God sometimes gives us in our addresses to him! This may well be termed *appearing before God:* it is so indeed, in the true spiritual sense, and in the sweetest sense.—I think I have not had such power of intercession these many months, both for God's children, and for dead sinners, as I have had this evening. I wished and longed for the coming of my dear Lord: I longed to join the angelic hosts in praises, wholly free from imperfection. Oh the blessed moment hastens! All I want is to be more holy, more like my dear Lord. Oh for sanctification! My very soul pants for the complete restoration of the blessed image of my adored Saviour; that I may be fit for the blessed enjoyments and employments of the heavenly world.

Farewell, vain world; my soul can bid Adieu:
My *Saviour's* taught me to abandon you.
Your charms may gratify a sensual mind;
Not please a soul wholly for *God* design'd.
Forbear t' entice, cease then my soul to call:
'Tis fix'd through grace; my *God* shall be my all.
While he thus lets me heavenly glories view,
Your beauties fade, my heart's no room for you.

The Lord refreshed my soul with many sweet passages of

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his word. Oh the new Jerusalem! my soul longed for it. Oh the song of Moses and the Lamb! That blessed song, which no man can learn, but they that are "redeemed from the earth;"—and the glorious *white robes*, that were given to the souls under the altar!

Lord, I'm a stranger here alone;
Earth no true comforts can afford:
Yet, absent from my dearest one,
My soul delights to cry, My Lord!
Jesus, my Lord, my only love,
Possess my soul, nor thence depart:
Grant me kind visits, heavenly dove;
My God shall then have all my heart.

Monday, April 26. Continued in a sweet frame of mind; but in the afternoon felt something of spiritual pride stirring. God was pleased to make it a humbling season at first; though afterwards he gave me comfort. Oh my soul exceedingly longs for that blessed state of perfection of deliverance from all sin! At night, God enabled me to give my soul up to him, to cast myself upon him, to be ordered and disposed of according to his sovereign pleasure; and I enjoyed great peace and consolation in so doing. My soul took great delight in God to-night: my thoughts freely and sweetly centered in him. Oh that I could spend every moment of my life to his glory!

Tuesday, April 27. Retired pretty early for secret devotion; and in prayer God was pleased to pour such ineffable comforts into my soul, that I could do nothing for some time but say over and over, "Oh my dear Saviour! Oh my blessed Saviour, whom have I in heaven but thee; and there is none upon earth, that I desire beside thee." If I had had a thousand lives, my soul would gladly have laid them all down at once to have been with CHRIST. My soul never enjoyed so much of heaven before; it was the most refined and most spiritual season of communion with God I ever knew. I never felt so great a degree of resignation in my life: I was very happy all the forenoon. In the afternoon I withdrew to meet with my God, but found myself much declined, and it was made a humbling season to my soul. I mourned over *the body of death* that is in me: it grieved me exceedingly, that I could not pray to and praise God with my heart full of divine heavenly *love*. Oh

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that my soul might never offer any dead cold services to me God! In the evening had not so much enlargement as in the morning; but had a good season of fervent *intercession*.

Wednesday, April 28. Withdrew to my usual place of retirement in great peace and tranquillity, and spent about two hours in secret duties. I felt much as I did yesterday morning, only weaker and more overcome. I seemed to depend wholly on my dear Lord, and to be entirely weaned from all other dependances. I knew not what to say to my God, could only *lean on his bosom*, as it were, and breath out my desires after a perfect conformity to him in all things. Thirsting desires, and insatiable longings, possessed my soul after perfect holiness. God was so precious to my soul, that the world with all its enjoyments was infinitely vile. I had no more value for the favour of men, than for pebbles: The LORD was my ALL; and *he* over-ruled all; which greatly delighted me. I think, my faith and dependance on God scarcely ever rose so high. I saw him such a fountain of goodness, that it seemed impossible I should distrust him again, or be any way anxious about any thing that should happen to me. I now enjoyed great satisfaction in praying for absent friends, and for the enlargement of Christ's kingdom in the world. Much of the power of these divine enjoyments remained with me through the day. In the evening my heart seemed tenderly to melt, and I trust was really humbled for indwelling corruption: I "mourned like a dove." I felt that all my unhappiness arose from my being a sinner; for with resignation I could bid welcome all other trials; but sin hung heavy upon me; for God discovered to me the corruption of my heart. I went to bed with heaviness, because I was a great sinner; though I did not in the least doubt of God's love. Oh that God would "purge away my dross, and take away my tin," and make me seven times refined!

Thursday, April 29. Was kept off at a distance from God; but had some enlargement in intercession for precious souls.

Friday, April 30. Was rather dejected in spirit: nothing grieves me so much, as that I cannot live constantly to God's glory. I could bear any desertion or spiritual conflicts, if I could but have *my heart* all the while *burning*

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withing me with love to God and desires for his glory: but this is impossible; for when I *feel* these, I cannot be dejected in my soul, but only rejoice in my Saviour, who has delivered me from the reigning power, and will shortly deliver me from the indwelling of sin.

Saturday, May 1. Was enabled to cry to God with fervency for ministerial qualifications, and that he would appear for the advancement of his own kingdom, and bring in the Heathen world. Was favoured with much assistance in my studies. This has been a profitable week to me; I have enjoyed many communications of the blessed Spirit in my soul.

Monday, May 3. Had a sense of vile ingratitude. In me such a sight of myself, as made me appear very vile in my own eyes. I felt corruption stirring in my heart, which I could by no means suppress: felt more and more deserted: was exceeding weak, and almost sick with my inward trials.

Lord's day, May 2. God was pleased this morning to give the morning I withdrew to my usual place of retirement, and mourned after my blessed Lord: spent the day in fasting and prayer. God gave me much power of wrestling for his cause and kingdom: and it was a happy day to my soul. God was with me all the day, and I was more above the world, than ever in my life.

[Through the remaining part of this week, he complains almost every day of desertion, and inward trials and conflicts, attended with dejection of spirit; but yet speaks of times of relief and sweetness, and daily refreshing visits of the divine Spirit, affording special assistance and comfort, and enabling, at some times, to much fervency and enlargement in religious duties.]

Lord's day, May 9. I think I never felt so much of the sinful pride of my heart, as well as the stubbornness of my will before. Oh dreadful! what a vile wretch I am! I could not submit to be nothing, and to lie down in the dust. Oh that God would humble me in the dust. I felt myself such a sinner, all day, that I had scarce any comfort. Oh when shall I be "delivered from the body of this death!" I greatly feared, lest through stupidity and carelessness I

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should lose the benefit of these trials. Oh that they might be sanctified to my soul. Nothing seemed to touch me except this, that I was a sinner. Had fervency and refreshment in social prayer in the evening.

Monday, May 10. Rode to New Haven; saw some Christian friends there; had comfort in joining in prayer with them, and hearing of the goodness of God to them since a last saw them.

Tuesday, May 11. Rode from New Haven to Weathersfield; was very dull most of the day; had little spirituality in this journey, though I often longed to be alone with God; was much perplexed with vile thoughts; was sometimes afraid of every thing: but God was *my helper*.—Catched a little time for retirement in the evening, to my comfort and rejoicing. Alas, I cannot live in the midst of a tumult. I long to enjoy God alone.

Wednesday, May 12. Had a distressing view of the pride, and enmity, and vileness of my heart. Afterwards had sweet refreshment in conversing, and worshipping God, with Christian friends.

Thursday, May 13. Saw so much of the wickedness of my heart, that I longed to get away from myself. I never before thought there was so much spiritual pride in my soul: I felt almost pressed to death with my own vileness. Oh what *a body of death* is there in me! *Lord, deliver my soul.* I could not find any convenient place for retirement, and was greatly exercised. Rode to Hertford in the afternoon: had some refreshment and comfort in religious exercises with Christian friends; but longed for more retirement. The closest walk with God is the sweetest heaven that can be enjoyed on earth.

Friday, May 14. Waited on a council of ministers convened at Hertford, and spread before them the treatment I had met with from the rector and tutors of Yale College; who thought it adviseable to intercede for me with the rector and trustees, and to intreat them to restore me to my former privileges in college.* After this, spent some time in religious exercises with Christian friends.

Saturday, May 15. Rode from Hertford to Hebron; was something dejected on the road; appeared exceeding vile in my own eyes, saw much pride and stubbornness in my heart.

* The application then made on his behalf had not the desired success.

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Indeed I never knew such a week before, as this; for I have been almost ready to die under a view of the wickedness of my heart. I could not have thought I had such "a body of death" in me. Oh that God would deliver my soul.

[The three next days which he spent at Hebron, Lebanon, and Norwich, he complains still of dulness and desertion, and expresses a sense of his vileness, and longing to hide himself in some cave or den of the earth: yet he speaks of some intervals of comfort and soul-refreshment each day.]

Wednesday, May 19. At Millington. I was so amazingly deserted this morning, that I seemed to feel a sort of horror in my soul. Alas, when God withdraws, what is there that can afford any comfort to the soul.

[Through the eight days following, he expresses more calmness and comfort, and considerable life, fervency, and sweetness in religion.]

Friday, May 28. At New-Haven. I think I scarcely ever felt so calm in my life; I rejoiced in resignation, and giving myself up to God, to be wholly and entirely devoted to him for ever.

[On the three following days, there was, by the account he gives, a continuance of the same excellent frame of mind, last expressed: but it seems not to be altogether to so great a degree.]

Tuesday, June 1. Had much of the presence of God in family prayer, and some comfort in secret. I was greatly refreshed from the word of God this morning, which appeared exceeding sweet to me: some things that appeared mysterious were opened to me. Oh that the kingdom of the dear Saviour might come with power, and the waters of the sanctuary spread far and wide for the healing of the nations!——Came to Ripton; but was very weak. However, being visited by a number of young people in the evening, I prayed with them.

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[The remaining part of this week, he speaks of being much diverted and hindered in the business of religion, by great weakness of body, and necessary affairs, that he had to attend, and complains of having but little power in religion; but signifies, that God hereby shewed him, he was like a helpless infant cast out in the open field.]

Lord's day, June 6. I feel much deserted: but all this teaches me my nothingness and vileness more than ever.

Monday, June 7. Felt still powerless in secret prayer. Afterwards I prayed and conversed with some little life. God feeds me with crumbs: blessed be his name for any thing. I felt a great desire, that all God's people might know how mean and little and vile I am; that they might see I am nothing, that so they may pray for me aright, and not have the least dependance upon me.

Tuesday, June 8. I enjoyed one precious season this day: I never felt it so sweet to be nothing, and less than nothing, and to be accounted nothing.

[The three next days he complains of desertion, and want of fervency in religion; but yet his diary shews that every day his heart was engaged in religion, as his great, and, as it were, only business.]

Saturday, June 12. Spent much time in prayer this morning, and enjoyed much nearness.—Felt insatiable longings after God most of the day: I wondered how poor souls do to live that have *no God*. The world, with all its enjoyments, quite vanished. I see myself very helpless; but I have a blessed God to go to. I longed exceedingly "to be "dissolved, and to be with Christ, to behold his glory." Oh my weary soul longs to arrive at my Father's house.

Lord's day, June 13. Felt calm and resigned in public worship: at the sacrament saw myself very vile and worthless. Oh that I may always lie low in the dust. My soul seemed steadily to go forth after God, in longing desires to live upon him.

Monday, June 14. Felt something of the sweetness of communion with God, and the constraining force of his love: how admirably it captivates the soul, and makes all the desires and affections to center in God!—I set apart this day

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for secret fasting and prayer, to intreat God to direct and bless me with regard to the great work of preaching the gospel: and that the Lord would return to me, and shew me the light of his countenance. Had little life and power in the forenoon: near the middle of the afternoon, God enabled me to wrestle ardently in intercession for absent friends; but just at night, the Lord visited me marvellously in prayer. I think my soul never was in such an agony before: I felt no restraint, for the treasures of divine grace were opened to me. I wrestled for absent friends, for the ingathering of multitudes of poor souls, and for many that I thought were the children of God, personally, in many distant places. I was in such an agony, from about sun set till near dark, that I was all over wet with sweat; yet it seemed to me that I had wasted away the day, and done nothing. Oh, my dear Jesus did *sweat blood* for poor souls! I longed for more compassion towards them.——Felt still in a sweet frame, under a sense of divine love and grace; and went to bed with my heart set on God.

Tuesday, June 15. Had the most ardent longings after God that ever I felt in my life: at noon, in my secret retirement, I could do nothing but tell my dear Lord, in a sweet calm, that he knew I longed for nothing but *himself*, nothing but *holiness*; that *he* had given me these desires, and he *only* could give me the thing desired. I never seemed to be so unhinged from myself, and to be so wholly devoted to God. My heart was swallowed up in God most of the day. In the evening I had such a view of the soul's being as it were enlarged, to contain more holiness, that my soul seemed ready to separate from my body, in order to obtain it. I then wrestled in an agony for divine blessings; had my heart drawn out in prayer for some Christian friends, beyond what I ever had before.——I feel differently now from what ever I did under any former enjoyments; more engaged to live to God for ever, and less pleased with my own frames. I am not at all more easy after such sweet conflicts than before; for it seems far too little, if I could always be so. Oh how short do I fall of my duty in my best moments!

[In his diary for the two next days, he expresses something of the same frame, but in a far less degree.*]

* Here end the 30 first pages of the third volume of his diary, which he speaks of in the beginning of this volume, (as was observed before,) as containing a

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Friday, June 18. Considering my great unfitness for the work of the ministry, my present deadness, and total inability to do any thing for the glory of God; feeling myself very helpless, and at a great loss what the Lord would have me to do; I set apart this day for prayer, but was amazingly deserted most of the day: yet I found God graciously near; once in particular, while I was pleading for more compassion for immortal souls, my heart seemed to be opened at once, and I was enabled to cry with great ardency for a few minutes.

Oh, I was distressed, to think, that I should offer such dead cold services to the living God! My soul seemed to breathe after holiness, a life of constant devotedness to God. But I am almost lost sometimes in the pursuit of this blessedness, and ready to sink, because I continually fall short and miss of my desire. Oh that the Lord would help me to hold out yet a little while, till the happy hour of deliverance comes!

Saturday, June 19. Felt much disordered; my spirits were very low: but yet enjoyed some freedom and sweetness in the duties of religion. Blessed be God.

Lord's day, June 20. Spent much time alone. My soul longed to be holy, and reached after God; but I seemed not to obtain my desire. I hungered and thirsted; but was not sweetly refreshed and satisfied. My soul cleaved to God, as my only portion. Oh that I could grow in grace more abundantly every day.

[The next day he speaks of his having assistance in his studies, and power, fervency, and comfort in prayer.]

Tuesday, June 22. In the morning, spent about two hours in prayer and meditation, with considerable delight. Towards night, felt my soul go out in longing desires after God, in secret retirement. In the evening, was sweetly composed and resigned to God's will; was enabled to leave myself and all my concerns with him, and to have my whole dependance upon him. My secret retirement was very refreshing to my soul; it appeared such a happiness to have God for my portion, that I had rather be any other creature in this lower creation, than not come to the enjoyment of

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specimen of his ordinary manner of living, through the whole space of time, from the beginning of those two volumes that were destroyed.

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God. I had rather be a beast, than a man, without God, if I were to live here to eternity. Lord, endear thyself more to me!

[In his diary for the next seven days, he expresses a variety of exercises of mind. He speaks of great longings after God and holiness, and earnest desires for the conversion of others, of fervency in prayer, and power to wrestle with God, and of composure, comfort, and sweetness, from time to time; but expresses a sense of the vile abomination of his heart, and bitterly complains of his barrenness, and the pressing body of death; and says, he "saw clearly, that whatever he enjoyed, better than hell, was free grace." Complains of his being exceeding low, much below the character of a child of God; and is sometimes very disconsolate and dejected.]

Wednesday, June 30. Spent this day alone in the woods, in fasting and prayer, and underwent the most dreadful conflicts. I saw myself so vile, that I was ready to say, "I shall now perish by the hand of Saul." I thought, and almost concluded, I had no power to stand for the cause of God, but was almost afraid of the shaking of a leaf. Spent almost the whole day in prayer, incessantly. I could not bear to think of Christians shewing me any respect. I almost despaired of doing any service in the world. I could not feel any hope or comfort respecting the Heathen, which used to afford me some refreshment in the darkest hours of this nature. I spent away the day in the bitterness of my soul. Near night, I felt a little better; and afterwards enjoyed some sweetness in secret prayer.

Thursday, July 1. Had some sweetness in prayer this morning.—Felt exceeding happy in secret prayer to-night, and desired nothing so ardently as that God should do with me just as he pleased.

Friday, July 2. Felt composed in secret prayer in the morning. My desires sweetly ascended to God this day, as I was travelling: and I was comfortable in the evening. Blessed be God for all my consolations.

Saturday, July 3. My heart seemed again to sink. The disgrace I was laid under at college seemed to damp me, as it opens the mouths of opposers. I had no refuge but in

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God only. Blessed be his name, that I may go to him at all times, and find him a *present help.*

Lord's day, July 4. Had considerable assistance. In the evening I withdrew, and enjoyed a happy season in secret prayer. God was pleased to give me the exercise of faith, and thereby brought the invisible and eternal world near to my soul. I hoped that my weary pilgrimage in the world would be short; and that it would not be long before I was brought to my heavenly home, my Father's house. I felt resigned to his will, to tarry his time, to do his work, and suffer his pleasure. I felt thankfulness to God for all my pressing desertions of late; for I am persuaded they have been the means of making me more humble, and much more resigned. I felt pleased, to be little, to be nothing, and to lie in the dust. I enjoyed life and sweet consolation in pleading for the children of God, and the kingdom of Christ in the world: and my soul earnestly breathed after holiness, and the enjoyment of God. "O come, Lord Jesus! come quickly. Amen."

[By his diary for the remaining days of this week, it appears that he enjoyed considerable composure and tranquillity, and had sweetness and fervency of spirit in prayer, from day to day.]

Lord's day, July 11. In the morning I was deserted and exceeding dejected. In the afternoon, had some life and assistance, and felt resigned; I saw myself exceeding vile.

[On the two next days he expresses inward comfort, resignation, and strength in God.]

Wednesday, July 14. Felt a kind of humble resigned state of mind: spent a considerable time in secret, giving myself up wholly to the Lord.—Heard Mr. Bellamy preach towards night: felt very sweetly part of the time: longed for nearer access to God.

[The four next days, he expresses considerable comfort and fervency of spirit in Christian conversation and religious exercises.]

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Monday, July 19. My desires seem especially to be carried out after weanedness from the world, perfect deadness to it, and to be even crucified to all its allurements. My soul longs to feel itself more of a pilgrim and stranger here below; that nothing may divert me from pressing through the lonely desart, till I arrive at my Father's house.

Tuesday, July 20. It was delightful to give myself away to God, to be disposed of at his pleasure. I had some feeling sense of the sweetness of being a pilgrim on earth.

[The next day, he expresses himself as determined to be wholly devoted to God; and it appears by his diary, that he spent the whole day in a most diligent exercise of religion, and exceeding comfortably.]

Thursday, July 22. Journeying from Southbury to Ripton, I called at a house by the way, where being very kindly entertained and refreshed, I was filled with amazement and shame, that God should stir up the hearts of any to shew so much kindness to one so unworthy. I was made sensible in some measure, how exceeding vile it is, not to be wholly devoted to God. I wondered, that God would suffer any of his creatures to feed and sustain me from time to time.

[In his diary for the next six days, are expressed various exercises and experiences, such as sweet composure and fervency of spirit in meditation and prayer, weanedness from the world, being sensibly a pilgrim and stranger on the earth, engagedness of mind to spend every inch of time for God, *&c.*]

Thursday, July 29. Was examined by the Association met at Danbury, as to my learning, and also my experience in religion, and received a licence from them to preach the gospel of Christ. Afterwards felt much devoted to God; joined in prayer with one of the ministers, my peculiar friend, in a convenient place; went to bed resolving to live devoted to God all my days.

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PART III.

From the time of his being licensed to preach, by the Association, till he was examined in New-York, by the Correspondents or Commissioners of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge, and approved and appointed as their Missionary to the Indians. A. D. 1742.

FRIDAY, July 30, 1742. Rode from Danbury to Southbury; preached there from 1 Pet. iv. 8. Had much of the comfortable presence of God in the exercise. I seemed to have power with God in prayer, and power to get hold of the hearts of the people in preaching.

Saturday, July 31. Exceeding calm and composed, and was greatly refreshed and encouraged.

[It appears by his diary, that he continued in this happy frame, almost through the whole of the next week.]

Lord's day, August 8. In the morning felt comfortably in secret prayer; my soul was refreshed with the hopes of the Heathen's coming home to Christ; was much resigned to God, and thought it was no matter what became of *me.*—— Preached both parts of the day at Bethlehem, from Job xiv. 14. It was pleasant to me to meditate on *death.* In the evening, felt very comfortably, and cried to God fervently in secret prayer.

[It appears by his diary, that he continued through the three next days, engaged with all his might in the business of religion, and in almost a constant enjoyment of the comforts of it.]

Thursday, August 12. This morning and last night was exercised with sore inward trials: I had no power to pray; but seemed shut out from God. I had in a great measure lost my hopes of God's sending me among the Heathen afar off, and of seeing them flock home to Christ. I saw so much of my own vileness, that I appeared worse to myself than any devil. I wondered that God would let me live, and wondered that people did not stone, much more that they would ever hear me preach. It seemed as though I never

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could nor should preach any more; yet about nine or ten o'clock, the people came over, and I was forced to preach. And blessed be God, he gave me his presence and Spirit in prayer and preaching: so that I was much assisted, and spake with power from Job xiv. 14. Some Indians cried out in great distress,* and all appeared greatly concerned. After we had prayed and exhorted them to seek the Lord with constancy, and hired an English woman to keep a kind of school among them, we came away about one o'clock, and came to Judea, about fifteen or sixteen miles. There God was pleased to visit my soul with much comfort. Blessed be the Lord for all I meet with.

[It appears, that the two next days he had much comfort, and had his heart much engaged in religion.]

Lord's day, August 13. Felt much comfort and devotedness to God this day. At night, it was refreshing to get alone with God, and pour out my soul before him. Oh who can conceive the sweetness of communion with the blessed God, but those that have experience of it! Glory to God for ever, that I may taste of heaven below.

Monday, August 16. Had some comfort in secret prayer, in the morning.—Felt happy at various times in prayer this day; but was much perplexed in the evening with vain conversation.

Tuesday, August 17. Exceedingly depressed in spirit; it cuts and wounds my heart to think how much self-exaltation, spiritual pride, and warmth of temper, I have formerly had intermingled with my endeavours to promote God's work: and sometimes I long to lie down at the feet of opposers, and confess what a poor imperfect creature I have been, and still am. Oh, the Lord forgive me, and make me for the future "wise as a serpent, and harmless as a dove!"—Afterwards enjoyed considerable comfort and delight of soul.

Wednesday, August 18. Spent most of this day in prayer and reading. I see so much of my own extreme vileness, that I feel ashamed and guilty before God and man. I appear to myself like the greatest sinner in the land. I wonder that God stirs up his people to be so kind to me.

* It was in a place near Kent, in the western borders of Connecticut, where there is a number of Indians.

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Thursday, August 19. This day, being about to go from Mr. Bellamy's at Bethlehem, where I had resided some time, I prayed with him, and two or three other Christian friends, and gave ourselves to God with all our hearts, to be his for ever: eternity looked very near to me, while I was praying. If I never should see these Christians again in this world, it seemed but a few moments before I should meet them in another world. Parted with them sweetly.

Friday, August 20. I appeared so vile to myself that I hardly dared to think of being seen, especially on account of spiritual pride. However, to-night I enjoyed a solemn hour alone with God, (at Ripton:) I was lifted above the frowns and flatteries of this lower world, had a sweet relish of heavenly joys, and my soul entered as it were into the eternal world, and really tasted of heaven. I was happy in making intercession for dear friends in Christ; and God helped me to cry fervently for Zion. Blessed be God for this season.

Saturday, August 21. Was much perplexed in the morning. Towards noon enjoyed more of God in secret, was enabled to see that it was best to throw myself into his hands, to be disposed of according to his pleasure, and rejoiced in such thoughts. In the afternoon, rode to New-Haven; was much confused all the way. Just at night, underwent such a dreadful conflict, such as I have scarcely ever felt. I saw myself exceeding vile and unworthy; so that I was guilty and ashamed, that any body should bestow favours on me, or shew me any respect.

Lord's day, August 22. In the morning, continued still in perplexity.—In the evening, enjoyed that comfort which seemed sufficient to overbalance all my late distresses. I saw that God is the only soul-satisfying portion, and I really found satisfaction in him. My soul was much enlarged in making intercession for my fellow-men everywhere, and for many Christian friends in particular, in distant places.

Monday, August 23. Had a good season in secret prayer: the Lord drew near to my soul, and filled me with peace and divine consolation. I tasted the sweetness of the upper world, and was sweetly drawn out in prayer, that all the world might come home to Christ! Had much comfort in anticipating the ingathering of the Heathen; was greatly assisted in intercession for Christian friends.

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[He continued still in the same frame of mind the next day, but in a lesser degree.]

Wednesday, August 25. In family prayer, God helped me to draw near to him, so that I scarcely ever got nearer.

[The four next days, he appears to have been the subject of desertion, and of comfort and fervency in religion, interchangeably, together with a sense of vileness and unprofitableness.]

Monday, August 30. Felt somewhat comfortably in the morning; conversed sweetly with some friends; was in a serious composed frame; prayed at a certain house with some degree of fervour. Afterwards, at another house, prayed privately with a dear Christian friend or two; and, I think, I scarcely ever launched so far into the eternal world as then. I got so far out on the broad ocean, that my soul with joy triumphed over all the evils on the shores of mortality. Time, and all its gay amusements and cruel disappointments, never appeared so inconsiderable to me before. I was in a sweet frame; I saw myself nothing, and my soul went out after God with intense desire. Oh I saw what I owed to him, in such a manner as I scarcely ever did: I knew, I had never lived a moment to him as I should do. Indeed it appeared to me, I had never done any thing in Christianity: my soul longed with a vehement desire to live to God. In the evening, sung and prayed with a number of Christians; and felt "the powers of the world to come." Afterwards prayed again privately, with a dear Christian or two, and found the divine presence; was somewhat humbled in secret retirement; felt my ingratitude, because I was not wholly swallowed up in God.

[He was in a happy frame great part of the next day.]

Wednesday, September 1. Went to Judea, to the ordination of Mr. Judd. Dear Mr. Bellamy preached from Matt. xxiv. 46. "Blessed is that servant," *&c.* I felt very solemn most of the time; my thoughts dwelt much on that time when *our Lord will come;* only I was afraid, I should not be found *faithful,* because I have so depraved a heart. My

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thoughts were much in eternity, where I love to dwell. Blessed be God for this solemn season.—Rode home to-night with Mr. Bellamy, felt happy on the road; conversed with some friends till it was very late, and then retired to rest in a comfortable frame.

Thursday, September 2. About two in the afternoon, I preached from John vi. 67. and God assisted me in some comfortable degree; but more especially in my first prayer. My soul seemed then to launch quite into the eternal world and to be as it were separated from this lower state. Afterwards preached again from Is. v. 4. God gave me some assistance; but I saw myself a poor worm.

[On *Friday*, September 3. He complains of having but little life in the things of God, the former part of the day, but afterwards speaks of much enlargement.]

Saturday, September 4. Much out of health, exceedingly depressed in spirit, and at an awful distance from God. Towards night, spent some time in profitable thoughts on Rom. viii. 2. Had a refreshing season in prayer; God enabled me to wrestle ardently for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom; pleaded earnestly for my own dear brother John, that God would make him more of a pilgrim and stranger on the earth, and fit him for singular usefulness in the world; and my heart exulted in the thoughts of any distresses that might alight on him or me, in the advancement of Christ's kingdom.—It was truly a comfortable season, to be indulged with freedom to plead, not only for myself, but for many others.

Lord's day, September 5. Preached all day: was somewhat strengthened and assisted in the afternoon; more especially in the evening: had a sense of my unspeakable shortcomings in all my duties. I found, alas! that I had never lived to God in my life.

Monday, September 6. Was informed that they only waited for an opportunity to apprehend me for preaching at New-Haven lately, that so they might imprison me. This made me more solemn and serious, and to quit all hopes of the world's friendship: it brought me to a further sense of my sinfulness, and just desert of this and much more, from the hand of God, though not from the hand of man. Retired

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into a convenient place in the woods, and spread the matter before God.

Tuesday, September 7. Had some relish of divine things in the morning. Afterwards felt more barren and melancholy. Rode to New-Haven, to a friend's house at a distance from the town; there I remain undiscovered, and yet have opportunity to do business privately with friends who come to Commencement.

Wednesday, September 8. Felt very comfortable, when I first rose in the morning. In family prayer, had some enlargement, but not much spirituality, till eternity came up before me, and looked near; I found some satisfaction in the thoughts of bidding a dying farewell to this tiresome world. Though some time ago I reckoned upon seeing my dear friends at Commencement; yet being now denied the opportunity, for fear of imprisonment, I felt totally resigned, and as contented to spend this day alone in the woods as I could have done, if I had been allowed to go to town. Felt exceedingly weaned from the world to-day. In the afternoon discoursed on divine things with a dear Christian friend, and we were both refreshed. Then I prayed, with a deep sense of the blessedness of communion with God: I think I scarce ever enjoyed more of God in any one prayer. It was a blessed season indeed to my soul. I knew not that I ever saw so much of my own nothingness in my life; never wondered so, that God allowed me to preach his word; never was so astonished before. This has been a good day to my soul. Blessed be God. Prayed again with my dear friend, and enjoyed the divine presence. I long to be wholly conformed to God, and transformed into his image.

Thursday, September 9. Spent much of the day alone: had the presence of God in some comfortable degree: was visited by some dear friends, and prayed with them. Wrote sundry letters to friends; felt religion in my soul while writing: enjoyed some sweet meditations on the scriptures. In the evening, went very privately into town, from the place of my residence at the farms, and conversed with some dear friends; felt happy in singing hymns with them: and made my escape to the farms again, without being discovered by any of my enemies. Thus the Lord preserves me continually.

Friday, September 10. Longed with intense desire after

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God; my whole soul seemed impatient to be conformed to him, and to become "holy, as he is holy." In the afternoon, prayed with a dear friend privately, and had the presence of God with us; our souls united together to reach after a blessed immortality, to be unclothed of the body of sin and death, and to enter the blessed world where no unclean thing enters. With what intense desire did our souls long for that blessed day, that we might be freed from sin, and for ever live *to* and *in* our God! In the evening, took leave of that house; but first kneeled down and prayed; the Lord was of a truth in the midst of us; it was a tender parting season; felt in myself much sweetness and affection in the things of God. Blessed be God for every such divine gale of his Spirit, to speed me on in my way to the new Jerusalem! Afterwards, spent the evening in conversation with friends; prayed with some life, and retired to rest very late.

[The five next days, he appears to have been in a very comfortable frame of mind, for the most part, and to have been the subject of the like heavenly exercises as are often expressed in preceding passages of his diary; such as, having his heart much engaged for God, wrestling with God in prayer with power and ardency, enjoying at times sweet calmness and composure of mind, giving himself up to God to be his for ever, being wholly resigned to the will of God, that he might do with him what he pleased, longing well to improve time, having the eternal world as it were brought nigh, longing after God and holiness, earnestly desiring a complete conformity to him, and wondering how poor souls do to exist without God.]

Thursday, September 16. At night, enjoyed much of God in secret prayer: felt an uncommon resignation, to *be* and *do* what God pleased. Some days past, I felt great perplexity on account of my past conduct: my bitterness, and want of Christian kindness and love, has been very distressing to my soul: the Lord forgive me my unchristian warmth, and want of a spirit of meekness!

[The next day, he speaks of much resignation, calmness, and peace of mind, and near views of the eternal world.]

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Saturday, September 18. Felt some compassion for souls, and mourned I had no more. I feel much more kindness, meekness, gentleness and love towards all mankind, than ever. I long to be at the feet of my enemies and persecutors. Enjoyed some satisfaction in feeling my soul conformed to Christ Jesus, and given away to him for ever.

[The next day, he speaks of much dejection and discouragement, from an apprehension of his own unfitness ever to do any good in preaching; but blesses God for all dispensations of providence and grace; finding that by all, God weaned him more from the world, and made him more resigned.

The next ten days, he appears to have been for the most part under great degrees of melancholy, exceedingly dejected and discouraged: speaks of his being ready to give up all for lost, respecting the cause of Christ, and exceedingly longing to die: yet had some intervals of comfort, with special assistance and enlargement in the duties of religion, and in performing public services, and considerable success in them.]

Thursday, September 30. Still very low in spirits, and did not know how to engage in any work or business, especially to correct some disorders among Christians; felt as though I had no power to be faithful. However, towards noon, preached from Deut. viii. 2, and was enabled with freedom to reprove some things in Christian conduct, that I thought very unsuitable and irregular; insisted nearly two hours on this subject.

[During this and the two following weeks, he passed through a variety of exercises: he was frequently dejected, and felt inward distresses, and sometimes sunk into the depths of melancholy. At these times he was not exercised about the state of his soul, with regard to the favour of God, and his interest in Christ, but about his own sinful infirmities, and unfitness for God's service. His mind appears sometimes extremely depressed and sunk with a sense of inexpressible unworthiness. But in the mean time, he speaks of many seasons of comfort and spiritual refreshment, wherein his heart was encouraged and strengthened in God, and happily resigned to his will; also of some seasons of very high

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degrees of spiritual consolation, and of his great longings after holiness and conformity to God; of his great fear of offending God, of his heart's being sweetly melted in religious duties, of his longing for the advancement of Christ's kingdom, and of his having at some times much assistance in preaching, and of remarkable effects on the auditory.]

Lord's day, October 17. Had a considerable sense of my helplessness and inability; saw that I must be dependent on God for all I want, and especially when I went to public worship. I found I could not speak a word for God without his special help and assistance: I went into the assembly trembling, as I frequently do, under a sense of my insufficiency to do any thing in the cause of God as I ought to do. But it pleased God to afford me much assistance, and there seemed to be a considerable effect on the hearers. In the evening, I felt a disposition to praise God for his goodness to me, especially that he had enabled me in some measure to be faithful. My soul rejoiced to think that I had thus performed the work of one day more, and was one day nearer my eternal, and (I trust) my heavenly home. Oh that I might be "faithful to the death, fulfilling as a hireling my day," till the shades of the evening of life shall free my soul from the toils of the day. This evening, in secret prayer, I felt exceeding solemn, and such longing desires after deliverance from sin, and after conformity to God, as melted my heart. I longed to be "delivered from this body of death." I felt inward pleasing pain, that I could not be conformed to God entirely, fully and for ever. I scarcely ever preach without being first visited with inward conflicts and sore trials. Blessed be the Lord for these trials and distresses, as they are sent for my humbling.

Monday, October 18. In the morning, felt some sweetness, but still pressed by inward trials. My life is a constant mixture of consolations and conflicts, and will be so till I arrive at the world of spirits.

Tuesday, October 19. This morning and last night, felt a longing after holiness: my soul seemed so to reach towards the mark of perfect sanctity, that it was ready to break with longings.

Wednesday, October 20. Exceedingly infirm in body, exercised with much pain, and very lifeless in divine things.—Felt a little revived in the evening.

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Thursday, October 21. Had a very deep sense of the vanity of the world, most of the day; felt little more regard to it, than if I had been to go into eternity the next hour. Through divine goodness, I felt very serious and solemn. Oh I love to live on the brink of eternity, in my views and meditations! This gives me a sweet and awful sense and apprehension of God and divine things, when I see myself as it were *standing before the judgment seat of Christ.*

Friday, October 22. Uncommonly weaned from the world to-day: my soul delighted to be a stranger and pilgrim on the earth; I felt a disposition in me never to have any thing to do with this world. The character given of some of the ancient people of God, in Heb. xi. 13, was very pleasing to me: "They confessed that they were pilgrims and strangers on the earth," by their daily practice; and oh that I could always do so!——Spent considerable time in a pleasant grove, in prayer and meditation. It is sweet to be thus weaned from friends, and from myself, and dead to the present world, that so I may live wholly *to* and *upon* the blessed God. Saw myself little, low, and sinful. In the afternoon, preached at Bethlehem, from Deut. viii. 2, and felt comfortable both in prayer and preaching. God helped me to speak to the hearts of dear Christians. Blessed be the Lord for this season: I trust, they and I shall rejoice on this account to all eternity.——Dear Mr. Bellamy came in while I was offering the first prayer, (being returned home from a journey;) and after meeting we walked away together, and spent the evening in sweetly conversing on divine things and praying together. We felt much tender love to each other, and retired to rest with our hearts in a serious frame.

Saturday, October 23. Something perplexed and confused. Rode this day from Bethlehem to Simsbury.

Lord's day, October 24. Felt so vile and unworthy, that I scarcely knew how to converse with human creatures.

Monday, October 25. At Turkey-Hills. In the evening enjoyed the divine presence in secret prayer. My soul "longed for God, for the living God:" enjoyed a sweet solemnity of spirit, and longing desire after the recovery of the divine image in my soul. "Then shall I be satisfied, when I awake in God's likeness," and never before.

Tuesday, October 26. At West-Suffield. Underwent the most dreadful distresses, under a sense of my own unworthi-

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ness: it seemed to me, I deserved rather to be driven out of the place, than to have any body treat me with any kindness, or come to hear me preach. And verily my spirits were so depressed at this time, as well as at many others, that it was impossible I should treat immortal souls with faithfulness. I could not deal closely and faithfully with them, I felt so infinitely vile in myself. Oh, what dust and ashes I am, to think of preaching the gospel to others! Indeed I never can be faithful for one moment, but shall certainly "daub with untempered mortar," if God do not grant me special help.—In the evening I went to the meeting-house, and it seemed to me nearly as easy for one to rise out of the grave and preach, as for me. However, God afforded me some life and power, both in prayer and sermon: God was pleased to lift me up, and shew me that he could enable me to preach. Oh the wonderful goodness of God to so great a sinner! Returned to my quarters; enjoyed some fervency in prayer, and mourned that I could not live more to God.

Wednesday, October 27. Spent the forenoon in prayer and meditation: was not a little concerned about preaching in the afternoon: felt exceedingly "without strength," and very helpless indeed. Went into the meeting-house, ashamed to see any come to hear such an unspeakably worthless creature. However, God enabled me to speak with clearness, power and pungency. But there was some noise and tumult in the assembly, that I did not well like. I endeavoured to bear public testimony against it with moderation and mildness through the current of my discourse. In the evening, was enabled to be in some measure thankful and devoted to God.

[The exercises of his mind, during the four next days, were very similar to those of the two days past, excepting intervals of considerable peace and consolation.

The things expressed within the space of the three following days are such as these; some seasons of dejection, mourning for being so destitute of the exercises of grace, longing to be delivered from sin, pressing more after God; seasons of sweet consolation, precious and intimate converse with God in secret prayer, sweetness of Christian conversation, *&c.* ——Within this time he rode from Suffield to Eastbury, Hebron, and Lebanon.]

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Thursday, November 4. At Lebanon. Saw much of my nothingness most of this day: but felt concerned that I had no more sense of my insufficiency and unworthiness. Oh it is sweet lying in the dust! But it is distressing to feel in my soul that depth of corruption, which still remains in me. In the afternoon, had a sense of the sweetness of a strict, close, and constant devotedness to God, and my soul was comforted with divine consolations. I felt a pleasing, yet painful concern, lest I should spend some moments *without God:* oh may I always *live to him.* In the evening, was visited by some friends; spent the time in prayer, and such conversation as tended to our edification. It was a comfortable season to my soul: I felt an intense desire to spend every moment for God.——God is unspeakably gracious to me continually: in times past, he has given me inexpressible delight in the performance of duty: but too frequently my soul has been ready to say, "Lord, it is good to be here;" and so to indulge sloth, while I have lived on my frames and feelings. But of late, God has been pleased to keep my soul *hungry* almost continually; so that I have been filled with a kind of pleasing pain. When I really enjoy God, I feel my desires of him the more insatiable, and my thirstings after holiness the more unquenchable; and the Lord will not allow me to feel as though I were fully supplied and satisfied, but keeps me still reaching forward; and I feel barren and empty, as though I could not live, without more of God in me; I feel ashamed and guilty before God. Oh I see, "the law is spiritual, but I am carnal." I do not, I cannot live to God. Oh for holiness; oh for more of God in my soul! Oh this pleasing pain! It makes my soul press after God; the language of it is; "Then shall I be satisfied, when I awake in thy likeness;" but never, never before: and consequently I am engaged to "press towards the mark," day by day. Oh that I may feel this continual hunger, and not be retarded, but rather animated by every cluster from Canaan, to reach forward in the narrow way, for the full enjoyment and possession of the heavenly inheritance. May I never loiter in my heavenly journey!

[These insatiable desires after God and holiness continued the two next days, with a great sense of his own ex-

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ceeding unworthiness, and the nothingness of the things of this world.]

Lord's day, November 7. At Millington. It seemed as if one so unholy could never arrive at that blessedness, to be "holy, as God is holy." At noon, I longed for sanctification, and conformity to God; oh that is THE ALL, THE ALL! The Lord help me to press forward.

Monday, November 8. Towards night, enjoyed much in secret prayer, so that my soul longed for an arrival in the heavenly country, the blessed paradise of God. Through divine goodness, I have scarcely seen the day for these two months, but *death* has appeared so pleasant to me at one time or other of the day, that I could have rejoiced the *present* should be my *last*, notwithstanding my pressing inward trials and conflicts: and I trust the Lord will finally make me more than a conqueror, so that I shall be able to use that triumphant language, "Oh death, where is thy sting!" And, "Oh grave, where is thy victory!"

[Within the next ten days, the following things are expressed: longing and striving to be holy, and to live to God; a desire that every single thought might be for him; feeling guilty, that his thoughts were no more swallowed up in God; great solemnity and calmness of mind, submission and resignation; great weanedness from the world, abasement in the dust, grief at some vain conversation that was observed; sweetness from time to time in secret prayer, and in conversing and praying with Christian friends. And every day he appears to have been much engaged in the great business of religion and living to God, without interruption.]

Friday, November 19. At New-Haven. Received a letter from the Rev. Mr. Pemberton of New-York, desiring me speedily to go down thither, and consult about the Indian affairs in those parts, and to meet certain gentlemen there that were intrusted with those affairs. My mind was instantly seized with concern; so I retired with two or three Christian friends, and prayed. It was a sweet time; I was enabled to leave myself and all my concerns with God; and taking leave of friends, I rode to Ripton, and was comforted in an opportunity to see and converse with dear Mr. Mills.

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[In the four following days, he was sometimes oppressed with the weight of that great affair, about which Mr. Pemberton had written to him; but was enabled from time to time to "cast his burden on the Lord," and commit himself and all his concerns to him. He continued still in a sense of the excellency of holiness, and longings after it, and earnest desires of the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world; and had from time to time much comfort in meditation and prayer.]

Wednesday, November 24. Came to New-York; felt still much concerned about the importance of my business; put up many earnest requests to God for help and direction; was confused with the noise and tumult of the city; enjoyed but little time alone with God, but my soul longed after him.

Thursday, November 25. Spent much time in prayer and supplication: was examined by some gentlemen relative to my Christian experience; my acquaintance with divinity, and some other studies; in order to my improvement in that important affair of evangelising the Heathen.* I was made sensible of my great ignorance and unfitness for public service: I had the most abasing thoughts of myself, and appeared to myself the most wretched creature that ever lived: it hurt me and pained my very heart, that any body should shew me any respect. Alas! I thought, how sadly they are deceived in me; how miserably would they be disappointed, if they knew my inside! Oh my heart! And in this depressed condition I was forced to go and preach to a considerable assembly, before some grave and learned ministers; and felt such a pressure from a sense of my vileness, ignorance, and unfitness to appear in public, that I was almost overcome with it. My soul was grieved for the congregation, that they should sit to hear such a one as I preach; I thought myself infinitely indebted to the people, and longed that God would reward them with the blessings of his grace. I spent much of the evening alone.

* The gentlemen that examined Mr. Brainerd, were the Correspondents in New-York, New-Jersey, and Pensylvania, of the honourable Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge; to whom was committed the management of their affairs in those parts, and who were now met at New-York.

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PART IV.

From the time of his examination by the Correspondents of the society for propagating Christian knowledge, and being appointed their Missionary, to his first entrance on the business of his mission among the Indians at Kaunaumeek. A.D. 1742.

FRIDAY, November 26. Had still a sense of my great unworthiness, and endeavoured as much as I could to keep alone. Oh, what a nothing, what dust and ashes am I!—Enjoyed some peace and comfort in spreading my complaints before the God of all grace.

Saturday, November 27. Committed my soul to God with some degree of comfort; left New-York about nine in the morning; came away with a distressing sense still of my unspeakable depravity. Surely I may well love all my brethren; for none of them all is so vile as I; whatever they do outwardly, yet it seems to me none is conscious of so much guilt before God. Oh my leanness, my barrenness, my carnality, and past bitterness, and want of a gospel-temper! These things oppress my soul.——Rode from New-York, thirty miles, to White Plains, and most of the way continued lifting up my heart to God for mercy and purifying grace; and spent the evening much dejected in spirit.

[The three next days he continued in this frame, entertaining a great sense of his own vileness, attended with an evident mixture of melancholy, in no small degree; but had some intervals of comfort, and God's sensible presence with him.]

Wednesday, December 1. My soul breathed after God, in spiritual and longing desires of conformity to him; was brought to rest itself and all on his rich grace, and felt strength and encouragement to do or suffer any thing that divine providence should allot me.——Rode about twenty miles from Stratfield to Newton.

[Within the space of the next nine days, he went a journey from Newton to Haddam, his native town; and after staying there some days, returned again into the western part

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of Connecticut, and came to Southbury. In his account of the frames and exercises of his mind, during this space of time, are such things as these; frequent turns of dejection, a sense of his vileness, emptiness, and an unfathomable abyss of desperate wickedness in his heart, attended with a conviction that he had never seen but little of it; bitterly mourning over his barrenness, being greatly grieved that he could not live to God, to whom he owed his all *ten thousand times*, crying out, "My leanness, my leanness!" a sense of the meetness and suitableness of his lying in the dust beneath God's feet; fervency and ardour in prayer; longing to live to God; a being afflicted with some impertinent trifling conversation that he heard; but enjoying much in Christian conversation.]

Saturday, December 11. Conversed with a dear friend, to whom I had thought of giving a liberal education, and being at the whole charge of it, that he might be fitted for the gospel-ministry.* I acquainted him with my thoughts in that matter, and so left him to consider of it, till I should see him again. Then I rode to Bethlehem, and so came to Mr. Bellamy's lodgings; spent the evening with him in sweet conversation and prayer: we recommended the important concern before mentioned (of sending my friend to college) unto the God of all grace. Blessed be the Lord for this evening's opportunity together.

Lord's day, December 12. In the morning, I felt as if I had little or no power either to pray or preach, and had a distressing need of divine help. I went to meeting trembling; but it pleased God to assist me in prayer and sermon: I

* Mr. Brainerd having now undertaken the business of a Missionary to the Indians, and expecting in a little time to leave his native country, to go among the savages, into the wilderness, far distant, and spend the remainder of his life among them, and having some estate left him by his father, and thinking he should have no occasion for it among them, (though afterwards as he told me, he found himself mistaken,) he set himself to think which way he might spend it most to the glory of God; and no way presenting to his thoughts, wherein he could do more good with it, than by being at the charge of educating some young person for the ministry, who appeared to be of good abilities and well disposed, he pitched upon this person here spoken of, to this end: who accordingly was soon put to learning; and Mr. Brainerd continued to be at the charge of his education from year to year, so long as he (Mr. Brainerd) lived, which was till this young man was carried through his third year in college.

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think, my soul scarcely ever penetrated so far into the immaterial world, in any one prayer that ever I made, nor were my devotions ever so much refined, and free from gross conceptions and imaginations, framed from beholding material objects. I preached with some pleasure, from Matt. vi. 33. "But seek ye first the kingdom of God," *&c.*; and in the afternoon from Rom. xv. 30. "And now I beseech you, brethren," *&c.* There was much affection in the assembly. This has been a good sabbath to me; and blessed be God I have reason to think that my religion is become more refined and spiritual, by means of my late inward conflicts. Amen. May I always be willing that God should use his own methods with me.

Monday, December 13. Joined in prayer with Mr. Bellamy; felt composed in parting with him. Enjoyed peace throughout the day; and just at night rode down to Woodbury.

Tuesday, December 14. Some perplexity hung on my mind: was distressed last night and this morning for the interest of Zion, especially on account of the *false appearances of religion*, which breed confusion in some places. I cried to God for help, to enable me to bear testimony against those things, which instead of promoting, do but hinder the progress of vital piety. In the afternoon, rode down to Southbury, and conversed again with my friend on the importance of his following the work of the ministry; and he appeared much inclined to devote himself to it, if God should succeed his attempts to qualify himself for so great a work. In the evening I preached from 1 Thess. iv. 8.; and endeavoured, though with tenderness, to undermine false religion. The Lord gave me some assistance; but I seemed to myself so vile, that I was ashamed to be seen when I came out of the meeting-house.

Wednesday, December 15. Enjoyed something of God today, both in secret and social prayer; but was sensible of much barrenness and defect in duty, as well as my inability to help myself for the time to come, or to perform the work and business I have to do. Afterwards, felt much of the sweetness of religion, and the tenderness of the gospel-temper; was far from bitterness, and found a dear love to all mankind; and was afraid of scarcely any thing so much as lest some motion of anger or resentment should, some time

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or other, creep into my heart. Had some comforting soul-refreshing discourse with some dear friends, just as we took our leave of each other, and supposed it might be likely we should not meet again till we came to the eternal world.* Yet I doubt not, through grace, but that some of us shall have a happy meeting there, and bless God for this season, as well as many others. Amen.

Thursday, December 16. Rode down to Derby; had some pleasant meditation on the road. My thoughts were very clear, especially on the essence of our salvation by Christ, from those words; "Thou shalt call his name Jesus," *&c.*

Friday, December 17. Spent much time in conversation on spiritual things with dear Mr. Humphreys Rode to Ripton; spent some time in prayer with Christian friends.

Saturday, December 18. Spent much time in prayer in the woods: seemed raised above the things of the world. My soul was strong in the Lord of hosts, but was sensible of great barrenness.

Lord's day, December 19. At the sacrament of the Lord's supper, seemed strong in the Lord; and the world, with all its frowns and flatteries, in a great measure disappeared, so that my soul had nothing to do with them: and I felt a disposition to be wholly and for ever the Lord's.—In the evening, enjoyed something of the divine presence; had a humbling sense of my barrenness and sinfulness. Oh, it wounded me, to think of the misimprovement of time! "God be merciful to me a sinner."

Monday, December 20. Spent this day in prayer, reading, and writing. Enjoyed some assistance, especially in correcting some thoughts on a certain subject; but had a mournful sense of my barrenness.

Tuesday, December 21. Had a sense of my insufficiency for any public work and business, as well as to live to God. I rode over to Derby, and preached there: it pleased God to afford me assistance and enlargement, and to enable me to speak with a soft and tender power and energy. We had

* It had been determined by the commissioners, who employed Mr. Brainerd as a missionary, that he should go as soon as convenient to the Indians living near the Forks of Delaware river in Pennsylvania, and the Indians on Susquehannah river; which being far off, where he would be exposed to many hardships and dangers; this was the occasion of his taking leave of his friends in this manner.

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afterwards a comfortable evening in singing and prayer. God enabled me to pray with as much spirituality and sweetness as I have done for some time: my mind seemed to be unclothed of sense and imagination, and was in a measure let into the immaterial world of spirits. This day and evening was, I trust, through infinite goodness, made very profitable to a number of us, to advance our souls in holiness and conformity to God: the glory be to him for ever. Amen.

Wednesday, December 22. Enjoyed some assistance in preaching at Ripton; but my soul mourned within me for my barrenness.

Thursday, December 23. Enjoyed, I trust, something of God this morning in secret. Oh how divinely sweet is it to come into the secret of his presence, and abide in his pavilion!——Took an affectionate leave of friends, not expecting to see them again for a very considerable time, if ever in this world. Rode with Mr. Humphreys to his house at Derby; spent the time in conversation; my soul was refreshed and melted with divine things. Oh that I was always consecrated to God! Near night, I rode to New-Haven, and there enjoyed prayer and conversation with some Christian friends: my mind was serious and composed; but alas, I too much lost the sense of divine things.

[He continued much in the same frame of mind. And in like exercises, the two following days.]

Lord's day, December 26. Felt much tenderness in prayer; my whole soul seemed to love my worst enemies, and was enabled to pray for those that are strangers and enemies to God with a great degree of softness and pathetic fervour. In the evening, rode from New-Haven to Brandford, after I had kneeled down and prayed with a number of Christian friends in a very retired place in the woods, and so parted.

Monday, December 27. Enjoyed a precious season indeed; had a melting sense of divine things, of the pure spirituality of the religion of Christ Jesus. In the evening, I preached from Matt. vi. 33, with much freedom, power and pungency: the presence of God attended our meeting. Oh the tenderness I felt in my soul! If ever I felt the temper of Christ, I had some sense of it now. Blessed be my God, I have seldom enjoyed a more comfortable and profi-

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table day than this: oh that I could spend all my time for God!

Tuesday, December 28. Rode from Brandford to Haddam. In the morning, indulged with clear and interesting views of divine things; but afterwards my spiritual life sensibly declined.

[The next twelve days, he was for the most part extremely dejected, discouraged, and distressed, and was evidently very much under the power of melancholy; and there are from day to day most bitter complaints of exceeding vileness, ignorance, corruption, an amazing load of guilt, unworthiness to move on God's earth, everlasting uselessness, fitness for nothing, *&c.*; and sometimes expressions even of horror at the thoughts of ever preaching again. Still in this time of great dejection, he speaks of several intervals of divine support and comfort.]

Friday, Jan. 14. 1742-3. My spiritual conflicts to-day were unspeakably dreadful, heavier than the mountains and overflowing floods: I seemed inclosed, as it were, in hell itself. I was deprived of all sense of God, even of the being of a God; and that was my misery. I had no awful apprehensions of God as angry. This was distress, the nearest a-kin to the misery of the lost, that I ever endured: their torment, I am sure, will consist much in a privation of God, and consequently of all good. This taught me the absolute dependance of a creature upon God the Creator, for the least degree of happiness it enjoys. Oh I feel that if there is no God, though I might live for ever here, and enjoy not only this, but all other worlds, I should be ten thousand times more miserable than the meanest reptile. My soul was in such anguish I could not eat, but felt as I supposed a poor wretch would that is just going to the place of execution. I was almost swallowed up with anguish, when I saw people gathering together to hear me preach. However, I went in that distress to the house of God, and found not much relief in the first prayer: it seemed as if God would let loose the people upon me to destroy me. The thoughts of death were not so distressing to me as my own vileness. But afterwards in my discourse from Deut. viii. 2, God was pleased to give me some freedom and enlargement, some

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power and spirituality; and I spent the evening rather comfortably.

Wednesday, Jan. 19. At Canterbury. In the afternoon preached the lecture at the meeting-house, and felt some tenderness. Exhorted the people to love one another, and not to set up their own frames as a standard to try all their brethren by. I was much pressed, most of the day, with a sense of my own badness, inward impurity, and unspeakable corruption. Spent the evening in loving Christian conversation.

Thursday, Jan. 20. Rode to my brother's house between Norwich and Lebanon, and preached in the evening to a number of people: enjoyed neither freedom nor spirituality, but saw myself exceeding unworthy.

Friday, Jan. 21. Had great inward conflicts, and but little comfort. Went to see Mr. Williams of Lebanon, and spent several hours with him. I was greatly delighted with his serious, deliberate, and impartial way of discourse about religion.

Lord's day, Jan. 23. Scarce ever felt myself so unfit to exist, as now. I saw I was not worthy of a place among the Indians, where I am going, if God permit. Thought I should be ashamed to look them in the face, and much more to have any respect shewn me there. Indeed I felt myself banished from the earth, as if all places were too good for me. I thought I should be ashamed to go among the very savages of Africa; I appeared to myself a creature fit for nothing, neither heaven nor earth. None knows, but those that feel it, what the soul endures when shut out from the sensible presence of God: it is more bitter than death.

Wednesday, Jan. 26. Preached to a pretty large assembly at Mr. Fish's meeting-house: insisted on stedfastness in keeping God's commands; and that through humility we should prefer one another in love, and not make our own frames the rule by which we judge others. I felt sweetly calm, and full of brotherly love; and never more free from party spirit. I hope some good will follow, that Christians will be freed from false joy, and party zeal, and censuring one another.

Friday, Jan. 28. Rode to New London. Here I found some fallen into extravagances, too much carried away with false zeal and bitterness: oh, the want of a gospel temper is

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greatly to be lamented. Spent the evening in conversing about some points of conduct in both ministers and private Christians; but we did not agree. God had not *taught them with briars and thorns* to be of a kind disposition toward mankind.

[On Saturday he rode to East-Haddam, and spent the three following days there. He speaks of his weanedness from the world, a sense of the nearness of eternity, special assistance in praying for the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and times of spiritual comfort.]

Wednesday, February 2. Preached my farewel-sermon last night at the house of an aged man, who had been unable to attend public worship for some time; and this morning spent the time in prayer, almost whereever I went. Having taken leave of friends, I set out on my journey towards the Indians; though by the way I was to spend some time at East-Hampton on Long-Island, by the leave of the commissioners who employed me in the Indian affair;* and being accompanied by a messenger from East-Hampton, we travelled to Lyme. On the road I felt an uncommon pressure of mind. I seemed to struggle hard for some pleasure in something here below, and loth to give up all for gone. I saw that I was evidently throwing myself into hardships and distresses in my present undertaking, and thought it would be less difficult to lie down in the grave: still I chose to go, rather than stay.—Came to Lyme that night.

[He waited the two next days for a passage over the Sound, and spent much of the time in inward conflicts and dejection, but had some comfort. On *Saturday* he crossed the Sound, landed at Oyster-Ponds on Long-Island, and travelled from thence to East-Hampton. He spent the seven following days, under extreme dejection, with great complaints of darkness and ignorance; yet his heart appears to have been constantly engaged in the great business of religion, praying and labouring much to promote it.]

Saturday, Feb. 12. Enjoyed a little more comfort, was

* The reason why the commissioners or correspondents did not order Mr. Brainerd to go immediately to the Indians, and enter on his business as a mis-

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enabled to meditate with some composure of mind; and especially in the evening, found my soul more refreshed in prayer than at any time of late. I seemed to "take hold of God's strength," and was comforted with his consolations. How sweet are the glimpses of divine glory; how strengthening and quickening!

Lord's day, Feb. 13. At noon, laboured under great discouragement; knew not how it was possible for me to preach in the afternoon, was ready to give up all for gone; but God was pleased to assist me in some measure. In the evening, my heart was sweetly drawn out after God, and devoted to him.

Tuesday, Feb. 15. Early in the day I felt some comfort; afterwards walked into a neighbouring grove, and felt as a stranger on earth; as dead to the enjoyments of the world, as if I had been literally dead. In the evening, had divine sweetness in secret duty: God was then my portion, and my soul rose above those *deep waters*, into which I have sunk so low of late. My soul then cried for Zion, and had great pleasure in so doing.

Thursday, Feb. 17. In the morning, found myself comfortable, and rested on God in some measure. Preached this day at a little village belonging to East-Hampton; and God was pleased to give me his gracious presence and assistance, so that I spake with freedom and boldness. In the evening, spent some time with a dear Christian friend; felt sweetly serious, as on the brink of eternity; my soul enjoyed some lively apprehensions of standing before the glorious God: prayed with my dear friend and discoursed with the utmost solemnity. Truly it was a little emblem of heaven itself. I find my soul is more refined and weaned from a dependance on my frames and spiritual feelings.

Friday, Feb. 18. Felt calm and happy most of the day, and found access to the throne of grace. Blessed be the Lord for any intervals of heavenly delight and composure, while I am engaged in the field of battle. Oh that I might be serious, solemn, and always vigilant, while in an evil world! Had an opportunity alone to-day, and found some freedom in study. Oh I long to live to God.

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sionary to them, was, that the *Winter* was not judged to be a convenient season for him first to go out into the wilderness, and enter on the difficulties and hardships he must there endure.

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Saturday, Feb. 19. Was exceeding infirm to-day, greatly troubled with pain in my head and dizziness, scarcely able to sit up. However, enjoyed something of God in prayer, and performed some necessary studies. I exceedingly long to die; and yet, through divine goodness, have felt very willing to live, for two or three days past.

Lord's day, Feb. 20. Perplexed on account of my carelessness; thought I could not be suitably concerned about the important work of the day, and so was restless with my easiness. Was exceeding infirm again to-day; but the Lord strengthened me, both in the outward and inward man, so that I preached with some life and spirituality, especially in the afternoon. I was enabled to speak closely against selfish religion that loves Christ for his benefits, but not for himself.

[During the next fortnight, it appears that he enjoyed much spiritual peace and comfort. In his diary for this space of time, are expressed such things as these; mourning over indwelling sin and unprofitableness; deadness to the world; longing after God, and to live to his glory; heart-melting desires after his eternal home; fixed reliance on God for his help; experience of much divine assistance both in the private and public exercises of religion; inward strength and courage in the service of God; very frequent refreshment, consolation, and divine sweetness in meditation, prayer, preaching and Christian conversation. And it appears by his account, that this space of time was filled up with great diligence and earnestness in serving God, in study, prayer, meditation, preaching, and private instructing and counselling.]

Monday, March 7. This morning when I arose, I found my heart go forth after God in longing desires of conformity to him, and in secret prayer found myself quickened and drawn out in praises to God for all he had done for me, and for all my inward trials and distresses. My heart ascribed glory, glory, glory to the blessed God; and bid welcome all inward distress again, if God saw meet to exercise me with them. Time appeared but an inch long, and eternity at hand; and I thought I could with patience and cheerfulness bear any thing for the cause of God; for I saw that a moment would bring me to a world of peace and blessedness.

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By the strength of the Lord I rose far above this lower world, and all the vain amusements and frightful disappointments of it. Afterwards, was visited by some friends, but lost some sweetness by it. After that, had some delightful meditation on Gen. v. 24: "And Enoch walked with God."

Wednesday, March 9. Endeavoured to commit myself and all my concerns to God. Rode sixteen miles to Mantauk,* and had some inward sweetness on the road; but something of flatness and deadness after I came there and had seen the Indians. I withdrew, and endeavoured to pray, but found myself awfully deserted and left, and had an afflicting sense of my vileness and meanness. However, I went and preached from Isai. liii. 10. Had some assistance; and I trust something of the divine presence was among us. In the evening also I prayed and exhorted among them, after having had a season alone, when I was so pressed with the blackness of my nature, that I thought it was not fit for me to speak so much as to Indians.

Lord's day, March 13. At noon I thought it impossible for me to preach, by reason of bodily weakness and inward deadness; and in the first prayer, was so weak I could hardly stand; but in sermon, God strengthened me, so that I spake near an hour and half with freedom, clearness, and energy, from Gen. v. 24. "And Enoch walked with God." I was sweetly assisted to insist on a close walk with God, and to leave this as my parting advice to God's people here, that they should walk with God. May the God of all grace succeed my poor labours in this place.

Monday, March 14. In the morning, was very busy in preparing for my journey, and was almost continually engaged in ejaculatory prayer. About ten, took leave of the dear people of East-Hampton; my heart grieved and mourned, and rejoiced at the same time; rode near fifty miles to a part of Brook-Haven, and lodged there, and had refreshing conversation with a Christian friend.

[In two days more he reached New-York; but complains of much desertion and deadness on the road. He stayed one day in New-York, and on Friday went to Mr. Dickinson's at

* Mantauk is the eastern cape or end of Long-Island, inhabited chiefly by Indians.

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Elisabeth-Town. His complaints are the same as on the two preceding days.]

Saturday, March 19. Was bitterly distressed under a sense of my ignorance, darkness and unworthiness; got alone, and poured out my complaint to God in the bitterness of my soul. In the afternoon, rode to Newark, and had some comfort in conversation with Mr. Burr, and in praying together. Blessed be God for ever and ever, for any enlivening and quickening.

Lord's day, March 20. Preached in the forenoon: God gave me some assistance, and enabled me to speak with real tenderness, love, and impartiality. In the evening preached again; and of a truth, God was pleased to assist a poor worm. Blessed be God, I was enabled to speak with life, power, and passionate desire for the edification of God's people, and with some power to sinners. In the evening, I felt in a measure spiritual and watchful, lest my heart should by any means be drawn away from God. Oh, when shall I come to that blessed world, where every power of my soul will be incessantly and eternally wound up, in heavenly employments and enjoyments, to the highest degree.

[On Monday he went to Woodbridge, where he speaks of his being with a number of ministers;* and the day following, of his travelling part of the way towards New-York, and lodging at a tavern. On Wednesday, he came to New-York. On Thursday, he rode near fifty miles, from New-York to North-Castle. On Friday, went to Danbury. On Saturday to New-Milford. On the Sabbath, he rode five or six miles to a place near Kent in Connecticut, called Scaticoke, and

* These ministers were the *Correspondents*, who now met at Woodbridge, and gave Mr. Brainerd new directions; and instead of sending him to the Indians at the Forks of Delaware, as before intended, they ordered him to go to a number of Indians at Kaunaumeek, a place in the province of New-York, in the woods between Stockbridge and Albany. This alteration was occasioned by two things, *viz.* 1. Information that the correspondents had received of some contention now subsisting between the white people and the Indians at Delaware, concerning their lands, which they supposed would be a hinderance at present to their entertainment of a missionary, and to his success among them. And, 2. Some intimations they had received from Mr. Sergeant, missionary to the Indians at Stockbridge, concerning the Indians at Kaunaumeek, and the hopeful prospect of success that a missionary might have among them.

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preached to a number of Indians.* On Monday, being detained by the rain, he tarried at Kent. On Tuesday, he rode from Kent to Salsbury. Wednesday, he went to Sheffield. Thursday, March 31, he went to Mr. Sergeant's at Stockbridge. He was dejected and very disconsolate, through the main of his journey from New-Jersey to Stockbridge; and especially on the last day his mind was overwhelmed with gloom and melancholy.

* These were the same Indians that Mr. Brainerd mentions in his diary, on August 12, the preceding year.

PART V.

From his first beginning to instruct the Indians at Kaunaumeek, to his Ordination.

FRIDAY, April 1, 1743. I rode to Kaunaumeek, near twenty miles from Stockbridge, where the Indians live, with whom I am concerned, and there lodged on a little heap of straw: was greatly exercised with inward trials and distresses all day; and in the evening, my heart was sunk, and I seemed to have no God to go to. Oh that God would help me!

[The next five days, he was for the most part in a dejected depressed state of mind, and sometimes extremely so. He speaks of God's "waves and billows rolling over his soul;" and of his being ready sometimes to say, "Surely his mercy is clean gone for ever, and he will be favourable no more;" and says, the anguish he endured was nameless and inconceivable. But at the same time speaks thus concerning his distresses: "What God designs by all my distresses I know not; but this I know, I deserve them all, and thousands more." He gives an account of the Indians kindly receiving him, and being seriously attentive to his instructions.]

Thursday, Apr. 7. Appeared to myself exceeding ignorant, helpless and unworthy, and altogether unequal to my work. It seemed to me, I should never do any service, or have any success among the Indians. My soul was weary of my life: I longed for death beyond measure. When I thought of any godly soul departed, I was ready to envy him his

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privilege, thinking, "Oh, when will my turn come; must it be years first!" But I know, those ardent desires, at this and other times, rose partly for want of resignation to God under all miseries; and so were but expressions of impatience. Towards night, I had I think the exercise of faith in prayer, and some assistance in writing. Oh that God would keep me near him.

Friday, Apr. 8. Was exceedingly pressed under a sense of my pride, selfishness, bitterness, and party spirit, in times past, while I attempted to promote the cause of God: its vile nature and dreadful consequences appeared in such odious colours to me, that my very heart was pained. I saw how poor souls stumbled over it into everlasting destruction, so that I was constrained to make that prayer in the bitterness of my soul: "Oh Lord, deliver me from blood-guiltiness." I saw my desert of hell on this account. My soul was full of inward anguish and shame before God, that I had spent so much time in conversation tending only to promote a party-spirit. I saw I had not suitably prized mortification, self-denial, resignation under all adversities, meekness, love, candour, and holiness of heart and life: and this day was almost wholly spent in such bitter and soul-afflicting reflections on my past frames and conduct. Of late, I have thought much of having the kingdom of Christ advanced in the world; but now I saw I had enough to do within myself. The Lord be merciful to me a sinner, and wash my soul.

Saturday, Apr. 9. Remained much in the same state as yesterday, excepting that the sense of my vileness was not so quick and acute.

Lord's day, Apr. 10. Rose early in the morning and walked out; spent considerable time in the woods, in prayer and meditation. Preached to the Indians, both forenoon and afternoon. They behaved soberly in general: two or three in particular appeared under some religious concern, with whom I discoursed privately; and one told me, "her heart had cried ever since she heard me preach first."

Tuesday, Apr. 12. Was greatly oppressed with grief and shame, reflecting on my past conduct, my bitterness and party-zeal. I was ashamed to think that such a wretch as I had ever preached. Longed to be excused from that work. And when my soul was not in anguish and keen distress, I

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was senseless "as a beast before God," and felt a kind of guilty amusement with the least trifles. This filled me with a kind of stifled horror, so that I could not rest, any more than a condemned malefactor.

Wednesday, Apr. 13. My heart was overwhelmed within me: I verily thought I was the meanest, vilest, most helpless, guilty, ignorant, benighted creature living. And yet I knew at the same time what God had done for my soul, though sometimes I was assaulted with doubts and fears, whether it was possible for such a wretch as I to be in a state of grace.

Thursday, Apr. 14. Remained much in the same state as yesterday.

Friday, Apr. 15. In the forenoon, very disconsolate. In the afternoon, preached to my people, and was a little encouraged to hope that God might bestow mercy on their souls. Felt something resigned to God under all dispensations of his providence.

Saturday, Apr. 16. Still in the depths of distress. In the afternoon, preached to my people, but was more discouraged with them than before; feared that nothing would ever be done for them to any good effect. I retired and poured out my soul to God for mercy; but without any sensible relief. Soon after came an Irishman and a Dutchman with a design, as they said, to hear me preach the next day; but none can tell how I felt, to hear their profane talk. I longed that some dear Christian knew my distress. I got into a kind of hovel, and there groaned out my complaint to God. I felt some gratitude and thankfulness, that he had made me to differ from these men, as I knew through grace he had.

Lord's day, Apr. 17. In the morning was again distressed as soon as I waked, hearing much talk about the world and the things of it. Though I perceived the men were in some measure afraid of me, and I discoursed about sanctifying the Sabbath, if possible, to solemnize their minds: yet when they were at a little distance, they again talked freely about secular affairs. Oh, I thought, what a *hell* it would be to live with such men to eternity! The Lord gave me some assistance in preaching, all day, and some resignation, and a small degree of comfort in prayer at night.

Tuesday, Apr. 19. In the morning, enjoyed some sweet repose and rest in God; felt some strength and confidence

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in God; and my soul was in measure refreshed and comforted. Spent most of the day in writing, and had some exercise of grace: my soul seemed lifted above the *deep waters*, wherein it has been so long almost drowned. Felt some spiritual longings and breathings after God; found myself engaged for the advancement of Christ's kingdom in my own soul, more than in others, more than in the Heathen world.

Wednesday, Apr. 20. Set apart this day for fasting and prayer, to bow my soul before God for the bestowment of divine grace; especially that all my spiritual afflictions and inward distresses might be sanctified. Endeavoured also to remember the goodness of God to me in the year past, this day being my birth-day. Having obtained help of God, I have hitherto lived, and am now arrived at the age of twenty-five years. My soul was pained to think of my barrenness and deadness; that I have lived so little to the glory of the eternal God. I spent the day in the woods alone, and there poured out my complaint to God. Oh that he would enable me to live to his glory for the future.

Thursday, Apr. 21. Spent the forenoon in reading and prayer, and found myself something engaged; but still much depressed in spirit under a sense of my vileness and unfitness for any public service. In the afternoon I visited my people, and prayed and conversed with some about their souls: I afterwards found some ardour in secret prayer. Oh that I might grow up into the likeness of God.

Friday, Apr. 22. Spent the day in study, reading and prayer; and felt a little relieved of my burden that has been so heavy of late. But still in some measure oppressed; had a sense of barrenness; my leanness testifies against me. My very soul abhors itself for its unlikeness to God, its inactivity and sluggishness. When I have done all, alas, what an unprofitable servant am I! My soul groans to see the hours of the day roll away, because I do not fill them with spirituality and heavenly-mindedness. Yet I long they should speed their pace, to hasten me to my eternal home, where I may fill up all my moments, through eternity, for God and his glory.

[On Saturday and Lord's day, his melancholy again prevailed; he complains of his ignorance, stupidity and senselessness; while yet he seems to have spent his time with the

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utmost diligence, in study, in prayer, and in instructing and counselling the Indians. On Monday, he sunk into the deepest melancholy; so that he supposed he never spent a day in such distress in his life; not in fears of hell, (which, he says, he had no pressing fear of,) but a distressing sense of his own vileness, *&c.* On Tuesday, he expresses some relief. Wednesday he kept as a day of fasting and prayer, but in great distress. The three days next following, his melancholy continued, but in a less degree, and with intervals of comfort.*]

Lord's day, May 1. Was at Stockbridge to day. In the forenoon had some relief and assistance, though not so much as usual. In the afternoon, felt poorly in body and soul; while preaching, I seemed to be rehearsing idle tales, without the least life, fervour, sense, or comfort: and especially afterwards, at the sacrament, my soul was filled with confusion, and the utmost anguish that ever I endured, under the feeling of my inexpressible vileness and meanness. It was a most bitter and distressing season to me, from the view I had of my own heart, and the secret abominations that lurk there. I thought the eyes of all in the house were upon me, and I dared not look any one in the face; for it verily seemed as if they saw the vileness of my heart, and all the sins I had ever been guilty of. And if I had been banished from the presence of all mankind, never to be seen any more, or so much as thought of, still I should have been distressed with shame; and should have been ashamed to see the most barbarous people on earth, because I was viler, and seemingly more brutishly ignorant than they. "I am made to "possess the sins of my youth."

Tuesday, May 10. Was in the same state of mind, that I have been in for some time, extremely pressed with a sense of guilt, pollution, blindness: "The iniquity of my heels have compassed me about; the sins of my youth have been set in order before me; they have gone over my head as a heavy burden, too heavy for me to bear." Almost all the actions of my past life seem to be covered over with sin and guilt; and those of them that I performed in the most conscientious manner, now fill me with shame and confusion, so

* On the last of these day he wrote the *first letter* added at the end of this history.

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that I cannot hold up my face. Oh the pride, selfishness, hypocrisy, ignorance, bitterness, party zeal, and the want of love, candour, meekness and gentleness, that have attended my attempts to promote religion and virtue; and this when I have reason to hope I had real assistance from above, and some sweet intercourse with Heaven. But, alas, what corrupt mixtures attended my best duties!

[The next seven days, his gloom and distress continued, for the most part: but he had some seasons of relief and spiritual comfort. He gives an account of his spending part of this time in hard labour, to build himself a little *cottage* to live in amongst the Indians, in which he might be by himself; having it seems hitherto lived with a poor Scotchman, as he observes in the letter just now referred to in the margin; and afterwards, before his own house was habitable, he lived in a wigwam among the Indians.]

Wednesday, May 18. My circumstances are such that I have no comfort of any kind, but what I have in God. I live in the most lonesome wilderness; have but one single person to converse with, that can speak English.* Most of the talk I hear, is either Highland-Scotch or Indian. I have no fellow Christian to whom I might unbosom myself, and lay open my spiritual sorrows; or with whom I might take sweet counsel in conversation about heavenly things, and join in social prayer. I live poorly with regard to the comforts of life: most of my diet consists of boiled corn, hasty-pudding, &c. I lodge on a bundle of straw, and my labour is hard and extremely difficult; and I have little appearance of success, to comfort me. The Indians' affairs are very difficult; having no land to live on but what the Dutch people lay claim to, and threaten to drive them off from; they have no regard to the souls of the poor Indians; and, by what I can learn, they hate me, because I come to preach to them. But that which makes all my difficulties grievous to be borne, is, that God hides his face from me.

* This person was Mr. Brainerd's interpreter; who was an ingenious young Indian belonging to Stockbridge, whose name was John Wauwaumpequunnaunt, who had been instructed in the Christian religion by Mr. Sergeant; and had lived with the Rev. Mr. Williams of Long-Meadow, and had been further instructed by him, at the charge of Mr. Hollis of London; and understood both English and Indian very well, and wrote a good hand.

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Thursday, May 19. Spent most of this day in close studies: but was sometimes so distressed that I could think of nothing but my spiritual blindness, ignorance, pride, and misery. Oh, I have reason to make that prayer, "Lord, forgive my sins of youth, and former trespasses!"

Friday, May 20. Was much perplexed, some part of the day; but towards night, had some comfortable meditations on Is. xl. 1, and enjoyed some sweetness in prayer. Afterwards my soul rose so far above the deep waters, that I dared to rejoice in God: I saw there was sufficient matter of consolation in the blessed God.

[Monday, May 30, he set out on a journey to New-Jersey, to consult the commissioners that employed him about the affairs of his mission;* performed his journey thither in four days, and arrived at Mr. Burr's in Newark on Thursday. In great part of his journey he was in the depths of melancholy, under like distresses with those already mentioned. On Friday, he rode to Elisabeth-Town; and on Saturday to New-York; and from thence on his way homewards as far as White-Plains, where he spent the sabbath, and had considerable degrees of divine consolation and assistance in public services. On Monday, he rode about sixty miles to New-Haven. There he attempted a reconciliation with the authority of the *college*, and spent this week in visiting his friends in those parts. In his journey homewards, till Saturday, he enjoyed a comfortable frame of mind. On Saturday, in his way from Stockbridge to Kaunaumeek, he was lost in the woods, and lay all night in the open air: but happily found his way in the morning, and came to his Indians on Lord's day, June 12, and had greater assistance in preaching among them than ever before.

From this time forward he was the subject of various frames and exercises of mind: but it seems, in the general, to have been with him much after the same manner as it had been hitherto from his first coming to Kaunaumeek, till he got into his own house, a little hut which he made chiefly with his own hands, and which cost him near seven weeks

* His business with the commissioners now was, to obtain orders from them to set up a school among the Indians at Kaunaumeek, and that his interpreter might be appointed the schoolmaster; which was accordingly done.

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hard labour. Great part of this time he was dejected and depressed with melancholy, and sometimes extremely so. How it was with him in those dark seasons, he himself further describes in his diary.]

July 2. My soul is, and has for a long time been in a piteous condition, wading through a series of sorrows of various kinds. I have been so crushed down sometimes with a sense of my meanness and infinite unworthiness, that I have been ashamed that any, even the meanest of my fellow-creatures, should so much as spend a thought about me, and have wished while travelling among the thick brakes, like one of them to drop into everlasting oblivion. In this case, sometimes, I have almost resolved never again to see any of my acquaintance; and really thought I could not do it and hold up my face; and have longed for the remotest region, for a retreat from all my friends, that I might not be seen or heard of any more. Sometimes the consideration of my ignorance has been a means of my great distress and anxiety; and especially my soul has been in anguish with fear, shame and guilt, that ever I had preached, or had any thought that way. Sometimes my soul has been in distress on feeling some particular corruptions rise and swell like a mighty torrent, with present violence; having at the same time ten thousand former sins and follies presented to view, in all their blackness and aggravations. And these attended with such external circumstances as mine at present are; destitute of most of the conveniencies of life, and I may say, of all the pleasures of it; without a friend to communicate any of my sorrows to, and sometimes without any place of retirement, where I may may unburden my soul before God, have greatly contributed to my distress. Of late more especially my great difficulty has been a sort of carelessness, a kind of regardless temper of mind, whence I have been disposed to indolence and trifling: and this temper has constantly been attended with guilt and shame; so that sometimes I have been in a kind of horror, to find myself so unlike the blessed God, and have thought I grew worse under all my trials; and nothing has cut and wounded my soul more than this. Oh, if I am one of God's chosen, as I trust through infinite grace I am, I find of a truth, that *the righteous are scarcely saved.*

[It is apparent that one main occasion of that distressing

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gloominess of mind with which he was so much exercised at Kaunaumeek, was reflection on his past errors and misguided zeal at *college*, in the beginning of the late religious commotions in the land. Hence he repeated his endeavours this year for reconciliation with the governors of the college, whom he had at that time offended. Although he had been at New-Haven, in June this year, and had attempted a reconciliation, as has been mentioned already; yet in the beginning of July, he made another journey thither, and renewed his attempt, but still in vain.]

July 25. Had little or no resolution for a life of holiness; was ready almost to renounce my hopes of living to God. And oh how dark it looked, to think of being unholy for ever! This I could not endure. The cry of my soul was that Psal. lxv. 3. *Iniquities prevail against me.* But was in some measure relieved by a comfortable meditation on God's eternity, that he never had a beginning, *&c.* Whence I was led to admire his greatness and power in such a manner, that I stood still and praised the Lord for his own glories and perfections; though I was (and if I should for ever be) an unholy creature, my soul was comforted to apprehend an eternal, infinite, powerful and holy God.

Saturday, July 30. Just at night, moved into my own house, and lodged there that night; found it much better spending the time alone in my own house, than in the wigwam where I was before.

Lord's day, July 31. Felt more comfortably than some days past. Blessed be the Lord who has now given me a place of retirement: oh that I might find God in it, and that he would dwell with me for ever!

Monday, August 1. Was still busy in further labours on my house.—Felt a little of the sweetness of religion, and thought it was worth the while to follow after God through a thousand snares, desarts, and death itself. Oh that I might always follow after holiness, that I may be fully conformed to God! Had some delight in secret prayer, though I had much sorrow.

Tuesday, Aug. 2. Was still labouring to make myself more comfortable with regard to my house and lodging. Laboured under spiritual anxiety; it seemed to me that I deserved to be turned out of the world; yet found some

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comfort in committing my cause to God. "It is good for me to be afflicted," that I may die wholly to this world, and all that is in it.

Wednesday, Aug. 3. Spent most of the day in writing. Enjoyed some sense of religion. Through divine goodness I am now uninterruptedly alone, and find my retirement is comfortable. I have enjoyed more sense of divine things within a few days last past, than for some time before. I longed after holiness, humility, and meekness. Oh that God would enable me to "pass the time of my sojourning here in fear," and always live to him!

Thursday, Aug. 4. Was enabled to pray much during the whole day; and through divine goodness found some intenseness of soul in the duty, as I used to do, and some ability to persevere in my supplications. Had some apprehensions of divine things that were engaging, and that gave me some courage and resolution. It is good, I find, to *persevere in attempts* to pray, if I cannot *pray with perseverance*, i. e. continue long in my addresses to the divine Being. I have generally found that the more I do in secret prayer, the more I have delighted to do, and have enjoyed more of a spirit of prayer: and frequently have found the contrary, when with journeying or otherwise, I have been much deprived of retirement. A seasonable steady performance of secret duties in their proper hours, and a careful improvement of all time, filling up every hour with some profitable labour, either of heart, head, or hands, are excellent means of spiritual peace and boldness before God. "Christ" indeed "is our peace, and by him we have boldness of access to God;" but a *good conscience, void of offence*, is an excellent preparation for an approach into the divine presence. There is difference between self-confidence and a self-righteous pleasing of ourselves with our own duties, attainments and spiritual enjoyments, which godly souls sometimes are guilty of,—and that holy confidence arising from the testimony of a good conscience, which good Hezekiah had, when he says, "Remember, oh Lord, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth, and with a perfect heart." "Then," says the holy psalmist, "shall I not be ashamed, when I have respect to all thy commandments." Filling up our time *with* and *for* God, is the way to rise up and lie down in peace.

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[The next eight days, he continued for the most part in a very comfortable frame, having his mind fixed and powerfully engaged in religion. He more than once blesses God that he had given him a little *cottage*, where he might live alone, and enjoy a happy retirement, free from noise and disturbance, and could at any hour of the day lay aside all studies, and spend time in lifting up his soul to God for spiritual blessings.]

Saturday, Aug. 13. Was enabled in secret prayer to raise my soul to God, with desire and delight. It was indeed a blessed season to my soul: I found the comfort of being a Christian. "I counted the sufferings of the present life not worthy to be compared with the glory" of divine enjoyments even in this world. All my past sorrows seemed kindly to disappear, and I remembered no more the sorrow for joy. Oh how kindly, and with what a filial tenderness, the soul hangs on, and confides in the Rock of ages at such a season, that he will "never leave nor forsake," but will cause "all things to work together for good!" I longed that others should know how good the Lord is. My soul was full of tenderness and love, even to the most inveterate of my enemies: I wanted they should share in the same mercy. I loved and longed that God should do just as he pleased with me and every thing else. I felt exceeding serious, calm and peaceful, and encouraged to press after holiness as long as I live, whatever difficulties and trials may be in my way. May the Lord always help me so to do. Amen, and Amen.

Lord's day, Aug. 14. I had much more freedom in public than in private. God enabled me to speak with some feeling of divine things; but I perceived no considerable effect.

Monday, Aug. 15. Spent most of the day in labour, to procure something to keep my horse on in the winter.—Enjoyed not much sweetness in the morning; was very weak in body through the day, and thought this frail tabernacle would soon drop into the dust; had some realizing apprehensions of a speedy entrance into another world. In this weak state of body I was not a little distressed for want of suitable food: had no bread, nor could I get any. I am forced to go or send ten or fifteen miles for all the bread I eat; and sometimes it is mouldy and sour before I eat it, if I get any considerable quantity. Then again I have none for some

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days together, for want of an opportunity to send for it, and cannot find my horse in the woods to go myself. This was my case now: but through divine goodness I had some Indian meal, of which I made little cakes, and fried them. Yet I felt contented with my circumstances, and sweetly resigned to God. In prayer I enjoyed great freedom; and blessed God as much for my present circumstances, as if I had been a king; and thought I found a disposition to be contented in any circumstances. Blessed be the Lord.

[The rest of this week, he was exceeding weak in body, and much exercised with pain; and yet obliged from day to day to labour hard, to procure fodder for his horse; excepting some part of the time he was so very ill, that he was neither able to work nor study. But he still speaks of longings after holiness and perfect conformity to God; complains of enjoying but little of God: yet says, that little was better to him than all the world besides. In this diary for Saturday, he says, he was something melancholy and sorrowful in mind; and adds, " I never feel comfortably, but when I find my soul going forth after God: if I cannot be holy, I must necessarily be miserable for ever."]

Lord's day, Aug. 21. Was much straitened in the forenoon-exercise: my thoughts seemed to be all scattered to the ends of the earth. At noon I fell down before the Lord, and groaned under my vileness, barrenness, deadness, and felt as if I was guilty of soul-murder, in speaking to immortal souls in such a manner as I had then done. In the afternoon, God was pleased to give me some assistance, and I was enabled to set before my hearers the nature and necessity of true repentance, *&c.* Afterwards had some small degree of thankfulness. Was very ill and full of pain in the evening; and my soul mourned that I had spent so much time to so little profit.

Monday, Aug. 22. Spent most of the day in study; and found my bodily strength in a measure restored. Had some intense and passionate breathings after holiness, and very clear manifestations of my utter inability to procure, or work it in myself; it is wholly owing to the power of God. Oh with what tenderness the love and desire of holiness fills the soul! I wanted to fly out of myself to God, or rather to get

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a conformity to him: but alas, I cannot add to my stature in grace one cubit. However, my soul can never leave striving for it; or at least groaning, that it cannot strive for it, and obtain more purity of heart. At night, I spent some time in instructing my poor people: oh that God would pity their state.

Tuesday, Aug. 23. Studied in the forenoon, and enjoyed some freedom. In the afternoon, laboured abroad: endeavoured to pray much; but did not find much intenseness of mind. Towards night, was very weary, and tired of this world of sorrow: the thoughts of death and immortality appeared very desirable, and even refreshed my soul. Those lines turned in my mind with pleasure,

Come, death, shake hands;
I'll kiss thy bands;
'Tis happiness for me to die:
What, dost thou think,
That I will shrink?
I'll go to immortality.

In evening-prayer, God was pleased to draw near my soul, though very sinful and unworthy. I was enabled to wrestle with God, and to persevere in my requests for grace: I poured out my soul for all the world, friends, and enemies. I was concerned, not so much for souls as such, but rather for Christ's kingdom, that it might appear in the world; that God might be known to be God in the whole earth. And oh, my soul abhorred the very thought of a *party* in religion! Let the truth of God appear, wherever it is; and God have the glory for ever. Amen. This was indeed a comfortable season: thought I had some small taste of, and real relish for the enjoyments and employments of the upper world. Oh that my soul was more attempered to it!

Wednesday, Aug. 24. Spent some time, in the morning, in study and prayer. Afterwards, was engaged in some necessary business abroad. Towards night, found a little time for some particular studies. I thought, if God should say, 'Cease making any provision for this life, for you shall in a few days go out of time into eternity,' my soul would leap for joy. Oh that I may both "desire to be dissolved, to be with Christ," and likewise "wait patiently all the days of my appointed time till my change come!" But alas, I am

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very unfit for the business and blessedness of heaven: Oh for more holiness!

Thursday, Aug. 25. Part of the day engaged in studies, and part in labour abroad. I find it is impossible to enjoy peace and tranquillity of mind without a careful improvement of time. This is really an imitation of God and Christ Jesus: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work," says our Lord. But still, if we would be like God, we must see that we fill up our time for him. I daily long to dwell in perfect light and love. In the mean time, my soul mourns that I make so little progress in grace, and preparation for the world of blessedness: I see and know that I am a very barren tree in God's vineyard, and that he might justly say, "Cut it down." Oh that God would make me more lively and vigorous in grace, for his own glory! Amen.

Lord's day, Aug. 28. Was much perplexed with some irreligious Dutchmen. All their discourse turned upon the things of the world, which occasioned me no little uneasiness: what a misery it would be to spend an eternity with such men! Well might David say, "I beheld the transgressors, and was grieved."—But adored be God, *heaven* is a place into which no unclean thing enters. Oh, I long for the holiness of that world: Lord, prepare me for it.

[The next day, he set out on a journey to New-York. Was rather dejected the two first days of his journey; but seems to have enjoyed some degrees of the sensible presence of God.]

Wednesday, Aug. 31. Rode down to Bethlehem: was in a serious and heavenly frame, I hope, when I came there. Eternal things engrossed all my thoughts, and I longed to be in the world of spirits. How happy is it to have all our thoughts swallowed up in that world; to feel one's self a serious considerate stranger in this world, diligently seeking a road through it, the best, the sure road to the heavenly Jerusalem!

Thursday, September 1. Rode to Danbury. Was more dull and dejected in spirit than yesterday. Indeed I always feel comfortably when death and the things of another world are present to my view: whenever my mind is taken off from the things of this world, and set on God, my soul is then at *rest*.

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[He went forward on his journey, and came to New-York on the next Monday. After tarrying there two or three days, he set out from the city towards New-Haven, intending to be there at the commencement; and on Friday came to Horse-Neck. In the mean time, he complains much of dulness, and want of fervour in religion: but yet from time to time, speaks of his enjoying spiritual warmth and pleasure in conversation with Christian friends, assistance in public services, *&c.*]

Saturday, Sep. 10. Rode six miles to Stanwich, and preached to a considerable assembly of people. Had some assistance and freedom, especially towards the close. Endeavoured much afterwards, in private conversation, to establish holiness, humility, meekness, *&c.* as the essence of true religion; and to moderate some noisy sort of persons, who appeared to be influenced by unseen spiritual pride. Alas, what extremes men incline to run into!—Returned to Horse-Neck, and felt some seriousness and sweet solemnity in the evening.

Lord's day, Sep. 11. In the afternoon, preached from Tit. iii. 8. I think, God never helped me more in painting out true religion, and in detecting clearly, and tenderly discountenancing false appearances of religion, party-zeal and spiritual pride; as well as a confident dogmatical spirit, and its spring, *viz.* ignorance of the heart.——In the evening, took much pains in private conversation to suppress some confusions, which I perceived were amongst that people.

Monday, Sep. 12. Rode to Mr. Mills's at Ripton. Had some perplexing hours; but was some part of the day very comfortable. It is through great trials, I see, that we must enter the gates of paradise. If my soul could but be holy, that God might not be dishonoured, methinks I could bear sorrows.

Tuesday, Sep. 13. Rode to New-Haven. Was sometimes dejected; not in the best frame. I find, though my inward trials are great, and a life of solitude gives them greater advantage to settle, and penetrate to the inmost recesses of the soul; yet it is better to be alone, than incumbered with noise and tumult. I find it very difficult to maintain any sense of divine things, while removing from place to place, diverted with new objects and filled with care. A settled steady business is best adapted to a life of strict religion.

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Wednesday, Sep. 14. This day I ought to have taken my *degree*;* but God sees fit to deny it me. And though I was greatly afraid of being overwhelmed with perplexity and confusion, when I should see my class-mates take theirs; yet in the very season of it, God enabled me with calmness and resignation to say, "The will of the Lord be done." Indeed, through divine goodness, I have scarcely felt my mind so calm, sedate and comfortable for some time. I have long feared this season, and expected my humility, meekness, patience and resignation would be much tried:† but found much more pleasure and divine comfort than I expected.—Felt spiritually serious, tender and affectionate in private prayer with a dear Christian friend to-day.

Thursday, Sep. 15. Had some satisfaction in hearing the ministers; it is always a comfort to me to hear religious and spiritual discourse. Oh that ministers and people were more spiritual and devoted to God!—Towards night, with the advice of Christian friends, I offered the following reflections in writing, to the rector and trustees of the college, (which are for substance the same that I had freely offered to the rector before, and intreated him to accept;) and this I did, that if possible I might cut off all occasion of stumbling and offence, from those that seek occasion. What I offered, is as follows—

"Whereas I have said before several persons, concerning Mr. Whittelsey, one of the tutors of Yale-college, that I did not believe he had any more grace than the chair I then leaned upon; I humbly confess that herein I have sinned against God, and acted contrary to the rules of his word, and have injured Mr. Whittelsey. I had no right to make thus free with his character, and had no just reason to say as I did concerning him. My fault herein was the more aggravated, in that I said this concerning one that was so much my superior, and one that I was obliged to treat with special respect and honour, because of the relation I stood in to him in the college. Such a manner of behaviour, I confess, did

* This being *commencement*-day.

† His trial was the greater, in that, had it not been for the displeasure of the governors of the college, he would not only on that day have shared with his class-mates in the public honours which they then received, but would on that occasion have appeared at the head of that class; which, if he had been with them, would have been the most numerous of any that ever had been graduated at that college.

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not become a Christian; it was taking too much upon me, and did not savour of that humble respect that I ought to have expressed towards Mr. Whittelsey. I have long since been convinced of the falseness of those apprehensions by which I then justified such a conduct. I have often reflected on this act with grief; I hope, on account of the sin of it: and am willing to lie low, and be abased before God and man for it. And humbly ask the forgiveness of the governors of the college, and of the whole society; but of Mr. Whittelsey in particular. And whereas I have been accused by one person of saying concerning the reverend rector of Yale-college, that I wondered he did not expect to drop down dead for fining the scholars that followed Mr. Tennent to Milford; I seriously profess, that I do not remember my saying any thing to this purpose. But if I did, which I am not certain I did not, I utterly condemn it, and detest all such kind of behaviour; and especially in an undergraduate towards the rector. And I now appear, to judge and condemn myself for going once to the separate meeting in New-Haven, a little before I was expelled, though the rector had refused to give me leave. For this I humbly ask the rector's forgiveness. And whether the governors of the college shall ever see cause to remove the academical censure I lie under, or no, or to admit me to the privileges I desire; yet I am willing to appear, if they think fit, openly to own, and to humble myself for those things I have herein confessed."

God has made me willing to do any thing that I can do consistent with truth, for the sake of peace, and that I might not be a stumbling-block and offence to others. For this reason I can cheerfully forego and give up what I verily believe, after the most mature and impartial search, is my right, in some instances. God has given me that disposition, that if this were the case, that a man has done me a hundred injuries, and I, though ever so much provoked to it, have done him one, I feel disposed and heartily willing humbly to confess my fault to him, and on my knees to ask forgiveness of him; though at the same time he should justify himself in all the injuries he has done me, and should only make use of my humble confession to blacken my character the more, and represent me as the only person guilty; yea, though he should as it were insult me, and say, "he knew all this before, and that I was making work for repentance." Though

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what I said concerning Mr. Whittelsey was only spoken in private, to a friend or two; and being partly overheard, was related to the rector, and by him extorted from my friends, yet, seeing it was divulged and made public, I was willing to confess my fault publicly.—But I trust, God will plead my cause.*

[The next day he went to Derby; then to Southbury, where he spent the Sabbath: and speaks of some spiritual comfort; but complains much of unfixedness, and wanderings of mind in religion.]

Monday, Sep. 19. In the afternoon, rode to Bethlehem, and preached there. Had some measure of assistance, both in prayer and preaching. I felt serious, kind and tender towards all mankind, and longed that holiness might flourish more on earth.

Tuesday, Sep. 20. Had thoughts of going forward on my journey to my Indians; but towards night was taken with pain in my teeth, and shivering cold, and could not possibly recover a comfortable degree of warmth the whole night following. I continued very full of pain all night; and in the morning had a very high fever, and pains almost all over me. I had a sense of the divine goodness in appointing this to be the place of my sickness, *viz.* among my friends that were very kind to me. I should probably have perished,

* I was witness to the very Christian spirit Mr. Brainerd shewed at that time, being then at New-Haven, and being one that he saw fit to consult on that occasion. (This was the first time that ever I had opportunity of personal acquaintance with him.) There truly appeared in him a great degree of calmness and humility; without the least appearance of rising of spirit for any ill treatment he supposed he had suffered, or the least backwardness to abase himself before them who he thought had wronged him. What he did was without any objection or appearence of reluctance, even to his friends in private. Earnest application was made on his behalf to the authority of the college, that he might have his degree then given him; and particularly by the Reverend Mr. Burr of Newark, one of the correspondents of the honourable society in Scotland; he being sent from New-Jersey to New-Haven, by the rest of the commissioners, for that end; and many arguments were used, but without success. Indeed the governors of the college were so far satisfied with the reflections Mr. Brainerd had made on himself, that they appeared willing to admit him again into college; but not to give him his degree, till he should have remained there, at least a twelvemonth, which being contrary to what the correspondents, to whom he was now engaged, had declared to be their mind, he did not consent to it. He desired his degree, as he thought it would tend to his being more extensively useful; but still when he was denied it, he manifested no disappointment or resentment.

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if I had first got home to my own house in the wilderness, where I have none to converse with but the poor rude ignorant Indians. Here I saw was mercy in the midst of affliction. I continued thus, mostly confined to my bed, till Friday night, very full of pain; but through divine goodness not afraid of death. Then the extreme folly of those appeared to me, who put off their turning to God till a sick-bed. Surely this is not a time proper to prepare for eternity. On Friday evening my pains went off rather suddenly; I was exceeding weak, and almost fainted; but was very comfortable the night following. These words, Psal. cxviii. 17, I frequently revolved in my mind; and thought we were to prize the continuation of life only on this account,—that we may "shew forth God's goodness and works of grace."

[From this time, he gradually recovered; and on the next Tuesday was so well as to be able to go forward on his journey homewards; but was till the Tuesday following before he reached Kaunaumeek. Great part of this time he seems to have had a very deep sense of the vanity and emptiness of all things here below, and of the reality, nearness, and vast importance of eternal things.]

Tuesday, Oct. 4. This day rode home to my own house and people. The poor Indians appeared very glad of my return. Found my house and all things in safety. I presently fell on my knees, and blessed God for my safe return, after a long and tedious journey, and a season of sickness in several places where I had been, and after I had been sick myself. God has renewed his kindness to me, in preserving me one journey more. I have taken many considerable journeys since this time last year, and yet God has never suffered one of my bones to be broken, or any distressing calamity to befal me, excepting the illness I had in my last journey; though I have been often exposed to cold and hunger in the wilderness, where the comforts of life were not to be had; have frequently been lost in the woods, and sometimes obliged to ride much of the night; and once lay out in the woods all night. Blessed be God that has preserved me!

[In this diary for the next eleven days, are great com-

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plaints of distance from God, spiritual pride, corruption, and exceeding vileness. He once says, his heart was so pressed with a sense of his pollution, that he could scarcely have the assurance to desire that God should not cast him off for ever. At another time, he says, he had so little sense of God, or apprehension and relish of his glory and excellency, that it made him more disposed to kindness and tenderness towards those who are blind and ignorant of God and things divine and heavenly.]

Lord's day, Oct. 16. In the evening, God was pleased to give me a feeling sense of my own unworthiness; but through divine goodness such as tended to draw, rather than drive me from God: it filled me with deep solemnity. I retired alone, (having at this time a friend with me,) and poured out my soul to God with much freedom; and yet in anguish, to find myself so unspeakably sinful and unworthy before a holy God. Was now much resigned under God's dispensations towards me, though my trials had been very great. But thought whether I could be resigned if God should suffer the French Indians to come upon me, and deprive me of my life, or carry me away captive, (though I knew of no special reason then to propose this trial to myself, more than any other;) and my soul seemed so far to rest and acquiesce in God, that the sting and terror of these things seemed in a great measure gone. Presently after I came to the Indians, whom I was teaching to sing psalm-tunes that evening, I received the following letter from Stockbridge, by a messenger sent on the sabbath on purpose, which made it appear of greater importance.

"Sir, Just now we received advices from Col. Stoddard, that there is the utmost danger of a rupture with France. He has received the same from his Excellency our governor, ordering him to give notice to all the exposed places, that they may secure themselves the best they can against any sudden invasion. We thought best to send directly to Kaunaumeek, that you may take proper measures for your safety that dwell there. I am, Sir, *&c.*"

Upon reading the contents, I thought, it came in a good season; for my heart seemed fixed on God, and therefore I was not much surprised: but this news only made me more serious, and taught me that I must not please myself with

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any of the comforts of life which I had been preparing for my support. Blessed be God, who gave me any intenseness and fervency this evening!

Monday, Oct. 17. Had some hopes that "God would arise and have mercy on Zion" speedily. My heart is indeed refreshed, when I have any prevailing hopes of Zion's prosperity. Oh that I may see the glorious day, when Zion shall become the joy of the whole earth! Truly there is nothing that I greatly value in this lower world.

Thursday, Oct. 20. Had but little sense of divine things this day. Alas, that so much of my precious time is spent with so little of God! Those are tedious days, wherein I have no spirituality.

Friday, Oct. 21. Returned home to Kaunaumeek: was glad to get alone in my little cottage, and to cry to that God who seeth in secret, and is present in a wilderness.

Saturday, Oct. 22. Had but little sensible communion with God. This world is a dark cloudy mansion. Oh when will the Sun of righteousness shine on my soul without cessation or intermission!

Lord's day, Oct. 23. In the morning, had a little dawn of comfort arising from the hope of seeing glorious days in the church of God: was enabled to pray for it with some degree of fervency. In the forenoon, treated on the glories of heaven; in the afternoon, on the miseries of hell, and the danger of going there. Had some freedom and warmth, both parts of the day: the people were very attentive. In the evening, two or three came to me under serious concern. I was enabled to discourse closely and earnestly with them: oh that God would be merciful to their poor souls!

[He seems, through the whole of this week, to have been greatly concerned to fill up every inch of time in the service of God, and to have been most diligently employed in study, prayer, and instructing the Indians; and from time to time expresses longings of soul after God, and the advancement of his kingdom.]

Lord's day, Oct. 30. In the morning, enjoyed some fixedness of soul in prayer, which was indeed sweet and desirable; was enabled to leave myself with God, and to acquiesce in him. At noon I was refreshed with reading Rev. iii. more especially the 11th and 12th verses. I longed for that

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blessed day, when I should "dwell in the temple of God," and "go no more out" of his immediate presence!

Monday, Oct. 31. Rode to Kinderhook, about fifteen miles from my place. While riding, I felt some divine sweetness in the thoughts of being "a pillar in the temple of God" in the upper world, and being no more deprived of his blessed presence, and the sense of his favour, which is better than life. My soul was so lifted up to God, that I could pour out my desires to him, for more grace and further degrees of sanctification, with abundant freedom. I longed to be more prepared for that blessedness, with which I was then in some measure refreshed. Returned home in the evening, but took a bad cold by riding in the night.

Tuesday, November 1. Was very much disordered in body, and sometimes full of pain in my face and teeth; was not able to study much, and had but little spiritual comfort. Alas, when God is withdrawn, all is gone.—Had some sweet thoughts, which I could not but write down, on the design, nature, and end of Christianity.

Wednesday, Nov. 2. Was still more indisposed in body, and in much pain most of the day: had not much comfort; was scarcely able to study at all, and still entirely alone in the wilderness. But, blessed be the Lord, that I am not exposed in the open air. I have a house, and many of the comforts of life to support me. I have learned in a measure, that all good things, relating both to time and eternity, come from God.——In the evening, had some degree of quickening in prayer: I think, God gave me some sense of his presence.

Thursday, Nov. 3. Spent this day in secret fasting and prayer, from morning till night. Early in the morning, had some assistance in prayer. Afterwards, read the story of Elijah the prophet, 1 Kings xvii. xviii. and xix chapters, and also 2 Kings ii. and iv. chapters. My soul was much moved, observing the faith, zeal and power of that holy man, how he wrestled with God in prayer. My soul then cried with Elisha, "Where is the Lord God of Elijah!" I longed for more faith. My soul breathed after God, and pleaded with him, that a "double portion of that spirit," which was given to Elijah, might "rest on me." And that which was divinely refreshing and strengthening to my soul, was, I saw that God is the *same* that he was in the days of

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Elijah. Was enabled to wrestle with God by prayer, in a more affectionate, fervent, humble, intense and importunate manner, than I have for many months past. Nothing seemed too hard for God to perform; nothing too great for me to expect from him. I had for many months entirely lost all hopes of being made instrumental of doing any special service for God in the world; it has appeared entirely impossible, that one so vile should be thus improved for God. But at this time God was pleased to revive this hope. Afterwards read the iiid chapter of Exodus and on to the xxth, and saw more of the glory and majesty of God discovered in those chapters, than ever I had seen before; frequently in the mean time falling on my knees, and crying to God for the faith of Moses, and for a manifestation of the divine glory. Especially the iiid and ivth, and part of the xivth and xvth chapters, were unspeakably sweet; my soul blessed God, that he had shewn himself so gracious to his servants of old. The xvth chapter seemed to be the very language which my soul uttered in the season of my first spiritual comfort, when I had just got through the Red sea, by a way that I did not expect. Oh how my soul then rejoiced in God! And now those things came fresh and lively to my mind; now my soul blessed God afresh, that he had opened that unthought-of way to deliver me from the fear of the Egyptians, when I almost despaired of life. Afterwards read the story of Abraham's pilgrimage in the land of Canaan: my soul was melted, in observing his faith, how he leaned on God; how he *communed* with God, and what a stranger he was in the world. After that, read the story of Joseph's sufferings, and God's goodness to him: blessed God for these examples of faith and patience. In prayer I was enabled to wrestle ardently for myself, for Christian friends, and for the church of God; and felt more desire to see the power of God in the conversion of souls, than I have done for a long season. Blessed be God for this season of fasting and prayer: may his goodness always abide with me, and draw my soul to him!

Thursday, Nov. 4. Rode to Kinderhook; went quite to Hudson's River, about twenty miles from my house; performed some business, and returned home in the evening to my own house. I had rather ride hard, and fatigue myself, to get home, than spend the evening and night amongst those that have no regard for God.

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[The two next days he was very ill and full of pain, probably through his riding in the night, after a fatiguing day's journey on Thursday: but yet seems to have been diligent in business.]

Monday, Nov. 7. This morning the Lord afforded me some special assistance in prayer; my mind was solemn, fixed, affectionate, and ardent in desires after holiness. I was full of tenderness and love, and my affections seemed to be dissolved into kindness and softness. In the evening enjoyed the same comfortable assistance in prayer as in the morning: my soul longed after God, and cried to him with a filial freedom, reverence, and boldness. Oh that I might be entirely consecrated and devoted to God!

Thursday, Nov. 10. Spent this day in fasting and prayer alone. In the morning, was very dull, lifeless, and discouraged. After some time, reading 2 Kings xix chapter, my soul was moved and affected; especially reading verse 14, and onward. I saw there was no other way for the afflicted children of God to take, but to go to God with all their sorrows. Hezekiah, in his great distress, went and spread his complaint before the Lord. I was then enabled to see the mighty power of God, and to cry to God affectionately and ardently for his divine power and grace to be exercised towards me. Afterwards, read the story of David's trials, and observed the course he took under them, how he strengthened his hands in God; whereby my soul was carried out after God, enabled to cry to him, and rely upon him, and felt strong in the Lord. Was afterwards refreshed, observing the blessed temper that was wrought in David by his trials: all bitterness and desire of revenge seemed wholly taken away; so that he mourned for the death of his enemies; 2 Sam. i. 17. and iv. 9. Was enabled to bless God, that he had given me something of this divine temper, that my soul freely *forgives*, and heartily *loves my enemies*.

[It appears by his diary for the remainder of this week, and for the two following weeks, that great part of the time he was very ill and full of pain: and yet obliged through his circumstances, in this ill state of body, to undergo great fatigues in labour, travelling day and night, and to expose himself in stormy and severe seasons. He from time to time

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speaks of outgoings of soul after God; his heart strengthened in God; seasons of divine sweetness and comfort; his heart affected with gratitude for mercies, &c. And yet there are many complaints of lifelessness, weakness of grace, distance from God, and great unprofitableness. Still there appears a constant care, from day to day, not to lose time, but to improve it all for God.]

Lord's day, Nov. 27. In the evening, was greatly affected in reading an account of the very joyful death of a pious gentleman; which seemed to invigorate my soul in God's ways. I felt courageously engaged to pursue a life of holiness and self-denial as long as I live, and poured out my soul to God for his help and assistance. Eternity then seemed near, and my soul rejoiced, and longed to meet it. Oh I trust, that will be a blessed day that finishes my toil here.

Monday, Nov. 28. In the evening, was obliged to spend time in company and conversation that was unprofitable. Nothing lies heavier upon me, than the misimprovement of time.

Tuesday, Nov. 29. Began to study the Indian tongue with Mr. Sergeant at Stockbridge.* Was perplexed for want of more retirement. I love to live alone in my own little cottage, where I can spend much time in prayer.

Wednesday, Nov. 30. Pursued my study of Indian; but was very weak and disordered in body, and troubled in mind at the barrenness of the day, that I had done so little for God. I had some enlargement in prayer at night. Oh, a barn, or stable, hedge, or any other place, is truly desirable, if God is there! Sometimes, of late, my hopes of Zion's prosperity are more raised, than they were in the summer past. My soul seems to confide in God, that he will yet "shew forth his salvation" to his people, and make Zion "the joy of the whole earth." Oh how excellent is the loving kindness of the Lord! My soul sometimes inwardly exults at the lively thoughts of what God has already done for his church, and

* The commissioners that employed him had directed him to spend much time this winter with Mr. Sergeant, to learn the language of the Indians; which necessitated him very often to ride, backwards and forwards, twenty miles through the uninhabited woods between Stockbridge and Kaunaumeek; which many times exposed him to extreme hardship in the severe seasons of the winter.

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what mine eyes have seen of the salvation of God. It is sweet to hear nothing but spiritual discourse from God's children; and sinners enquiring the way to Zion, saying, What shall we do? Oh that I may see more of this blessed work!

Thursday, December 1. Both morning and evening, I enjoyed some intenseness of soul in prayer, and longed for the enlargement of Christ's kingdom in the world. My soul seems, of late, to *wait on God* for his blessing on Zion. Oh that religion might powerfully revive!

Friday, Dec. 2. Enjoyed not so much health of body, or fervour of mind, as yesterday. If the chariot wheels move with ease and speed at any time, for a short space; yet by and bye they drive heavily again. "Oh that I had the wings of a dove, that I might fly away" from sin and corruption, and be "at rest" in God!

Saturday, Dec. 3. Rode home to my house and people. Suffered much from extreme cold. I trust I shall ere long arrive safe at my journey's end, where my toils shall cease.

Lord's day, Dec. 4. Had but little sense of divine and heavenly things. My soul mourns over my barrenness. Oh how sad is spiritual deadness.

Monday, Dec. 5. Rode to Stockbridge. Was nearly overdone with the extreme cold. Had some refreshing meditations by the way; but was barren, wandering, and lifeless, much of the day. Thus my days roll away, with but little done for God; and this is my burden.

Tuesday, Dec. 6. Was perplexed to see the vanity and levity of professed Christians. Spent the evening with a friend, who was able in some measure to sympathize with me in my spiritual conflicts. Was a little refreshed to find one with whom I could converse of *inward trials, &c.*

Wednesday, Dec. 7. Spent the evening in perplexity, with a kind of guilty indolence. When I have no heart or resolution for God, and the duties incumbent on me, I feel guilty of negligence and misimprovement of time. Certainly I ought to be engaged in my work and business, to the utmost extent of my strength and ability.

Thursday, Dec. 8. My mind was much distracted with different affections. Seemed to be at an amazing distance from God; and looking round in the world, to see if there was not some happiness to be derived from it, God, and some

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certain objects in the world, seemed each to invite my affections; and my soul seemed to be distracted between them. I have not been so much beset with the world for a long time; and that with relation to some particular objects which I thought myself most dead to. But even while I was desiring to please myself with any thing below, guilt, sorrow, and perplexity, attended the first motions of desire. Indeed I cannot see the appearance of pleasure and happiness in the world, as I used to do: and blessed be God for any habitual deadness to the world. I found no peace, or deliverance from this distraction and perplexity of mind, till I found access to the throne of grace: and as soon as I had any sense of God, and things divine, the allurements of the world vanished, and my heart was determined for God. But I mourned over my folly, that I should desire any pleasure, but only in God. God forgive my spiritual idolatry!

[The next thirteen days, he appears to have been continually in deep concern about the improvement of precious time; and there are many expressions of grief that he improved time no better; such as, "Oh, what misery do I feel, when my thoughts rove after vanity! I should be happy if always engaged for God! Oh wretched man that I am!" He speaks of his being pained with a sense of his barrenness, perplexed with his wanderings, longing for deliverance from the being of sin, mourning that time passed away, and so little was done for God. On Tuesday, December 20, he speaks of his being visited at Kaunaumeek by some under spiritual concern.]

Thursday, Dec. 22. Spent this day alone in fasting and prayer, and reading God's word the exercises and deliverances of God's children. Had, I trust, some exercise of faith, and realizing apprehension of divine power, grace and holiness; and also of the unchangeableness of God, that he is the same as he was when he delivered his saints of old out of great tribulation. My soul was at sundry times enlarged for God's church and people: oh that Zion might become the "joy of the whole earth!" It is better to wait upon God with patience, than to put confidence in any thing in this world. "My soul, wait thou on the Lord; from him cometh thy salvation."

Friday, Dec. 23. Felt a little more courage and resolution in religion, than at some other times.

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Saturday, Dec. 24. Had some assistance in prayer, and longing desires after sanctification, especially in the evening; was sensible of my own weakness and spiritual impotency; saw plainly that I should fall into sin, if God of his abundant mercy did not uphold my soul, and withhold me from evil. Oh that God would uphold me by his free Spirit, and save me from the hour of temptation!

Lord's day, Dec 25. Prayed much in the morning, with a feeling sense of my own spiritual weakness and insufficiency for any duty. God gave me some assistance in preaching to the Indians, especially in the afternoon, when I was enabled to speak with uncommon plainness, freedom and earnestness. Blessed be God for any assistance granted to one so unworthy. Afterwards felt some thankfulness, but still sensible of barrenness. Spent some time in the evening with one or two persons under spiritual concern, and exhorting others to their duty, *&c.*

Monday, Dec. 26. Rode down to Stockbridge. Was very much fatigued with my journey, wherein I underwent great hardship: was much exposed and very wet by falling into a river. Spent the day and evening without much sense of divine and heavenly things; but felt guilty, grieved and perplexed, with wandering careless thoughts.

Tuesday, Dec. 27. Had a small degree of warmth in secret prayer, in the evening; yet alas, but little spiritual life, and consequently but little comfort. Oh the pressure of a "body of death."*

Wednesday, Dec. 28. Rode about six miles to the ordination of Mr. Hopkins. During the solemnity I was somewhat affected with a sense of the greatness and importance of the work of a minister of Christ. Afterwards was grieved to see the vanity of the multitude. In the evening, spent a little time with some Christian friends, with some degree of satisfaction; but most of the time I had rather have been alone.

Thursday, Dec. 29. Spent the day chiefly in conversing with friends; yet enjoyed little satisfaction, because I could find but few disposed to converse of divine and heavenly things. Alas, what are things of this world, to afford satisfaction to the soul!—Near night, returned to Stockbridge;

* This day he wrote the *second letter* added at the end of this history.

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in secret blessed God for retirement, and that I am not always exposed to the company and conversation of the world. Oh that I could live in the secret of God's presence!

Friday, Dec. 30. Was in a solemn devout frame in the evening. Wondered that earth, with all its charms, should ever allure me in the least degree. Oh that I could always realize the being and holiness of God.

Saturday, Dec. 31. Rode from Stockbridge home to my house: the air was clear and calm, but intensely cold. I was in great danger of perishing by the extremity of the season. Was enabled to meditate much on the road.

Lord's day, January 1, 1743-4. In the morning, had some small degree of assistance in prayer. Saw myself so vile and unworthy, that I could not look my people in the face when I came to preach. Oh, my meanness, folly, ignorance, and inward pollution. In the evening, had a little assistance in prayer, so that the duty was delightsome, rather than burdensome. Reflected on the goodness of God to me in the past year. Of a truth God has been kind and gracious to me, though he has caused me to pass through many sorrows; he has provided for me bountifully, so that I have been enabled, in about fifteen months past, to bestow to charitable uses about a hundred pounds New-England money, that I can now remember.* Blessed be the Lord, who has so far used me as *his steward*, to distribute a portion of *his goods*. May I always remember, that all I have comes from him. Blessed be the Lord, who has carried me through all the toils, fatigues and hardships of the year past, as well as the spiritual sorrows and conflicts that have attended it. Oh that I could begin this year with God, and spend the whole of it to his glory, either in life or death!

Monday, Jan. 2. Had some affecting sense of my own impotency and spiritual weakness.—It is nothing but the power of God that keeps me from all manner of wickedness. I see that I am nothing, and can do nothing without help from above: oh for divine grace. In the evening, had some

* Which was, I suppose, to the value of about one hundred and eighty five pounds in our bills of the old tenor, as they now pass. By this, as well as many other things, it is manifest that his frequent melancholy did not arise from the consideration of any disadvantage he was laid under to get a living in the world, by his expulsion from the college.

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ardour of soul in prayer, and longing desires to have God for my guide and safeguard at all times.*

Tuesday, Jan. 3. Was employed much of the day in writing; and spent some time in other necessary employment. My time passes away so swiftly that I am astonished when I reflect on it, and see how little I do in it. My state of solitude does not make the hours hang heavy upon my hands. Oh what reason of thankfulness have I on account this retirement. I find that I do not, and it seems I cannot, lead a *Christian* life, when I am abroad, and cannot spend time in devotion, Christian conversation, and serious meditation, as I should do. Those weeks that I am obliged now to be from home, in order to learn the Indian tongue, are mostly spent in perplexity and barrenness, without much relish of divine things; and I feel myself a stranger at the throne of grace, for want of more frequent and continued retirement. When I return home, and give myself to meditation, prayer and fasting, a new scene opens to me; and my soul longs for mortification, self-denial, humility, and divorcement from all the things of the world. This evening, my heart was somewhat warm and fervent in prayer and meditation, so that I was loth to indulge sleep. Continued in those duties till about midnight.

Wednesday, Jan. 4. Was in a resigned and mortified temper of mind, much of the day. Time appeared a moment, life a vapour, and all its enjoyments as empty bubbles, and fleeting blasts of wind.

Thursday, Jan. 5. Had a humbling and pressing sense of my unworthiness. The depravity of my own heart filled me with bitterness and anguish; and I was ready to sink under the weight of so heavy a burden. Thus I spent the evening till late; was somewhat intense and ardent in prayer.

Friday, Jan. 6. Feeling and considering my extreme weakness and want of grace, the pollution of my soul, and danger of temptations on every side, I set apart this day for fasting and prayer, neither eating nor drinking from evening to evening, beseeching God to have mercy on me; and my soul intensely longed that the dreadful spots and stains of sin might be washed away. Saw something of the power and alsufficiency of God. My soul seemed to rest on his

* This day he wrote the *third letter*, published at the end of this account of his life.

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power and grace; longed for resignation to his will, and mortification to all things here below. My mind was greatly fixed on divine things; my resolutions for a life of mortification, continual watchfulness, self-denial, seriousness, and devotion to God, were strong and fixed; my desires ardent and intense; my conscience tender, and afraid of every appearance of evil. My soul grieved with the reflection on past levity, and want of resolution for God. I solemnly renewed the dedication of myself to him, and longed for grace to enable me always to keep covenant with him. Time appeared very short, eternity near; and a great name, either in or after life, together with all earthly pleasures and profits, but an empty bubble, a deluding dream.

Saturday, Jan. 7. Spent this day in seriousness, with stedfast resolutions for God and a life of mortification. Studied closely, till I felt my bodily strength fail. Felt some degree of resignation to God, with an acquiescence in his dispensations; was grieved that I could do so little for God before my bodily strength failed. Spent the time in reading, meditation, and prayer, till the evening was far spent: was grieved to think that I could not "watch unto prayer" the whole night. But blessed be God, heaven is a place of continual and incessant devotion, though earth is dull.

[The six days following, he continued in the same happy frame of mind; enjoyed the same composure, calmness, resignation, ardent desire, and fervency of spirit, in a high degree, every day, not one excepted. Thursday, this week, he kept as a day of secret fasting and prayer.]

Saturday, Jan. 14. This morning, enjoyed a most solemn season in prayer: my soul seemed enlarged, and assisted to pour out itself to God for grace, and for every blessing needed for myself, my dear Christian friends, and for the church of God; and was so enabled to see him who is invisible, that my soul rested upon him for the performance of every thing I asked agreeable to his will. It was then my happiness to "continue instant in prayer," and was enabled to continue in it for near an hour. My soul was then "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might." Longed exceedingly for angelic holiness and purity, and to

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have my thoughts at all times employed in divine and heavenly things. Oh how blessed is a heavenly temper; how unspeakably blessed to feel a measure of that rectitude, in which we were at first created! Enjoyed divine assistance in prayer sundry times in the day. My soul confided in God for myself, and for his Zion; trusted in divine power and grace, that he would do glorious things in his church on earth, for his own glory.

[The next day he speaks of some glimpses he had of the divine glories, and of his being enabled to maintain his resolutions in some measure; but complains that he could not draw near to God: seems to be filled with trembling fears lest he should return to a life of vanity, to please himself with some of the enjoyments of this lower world; and speaks of his being much troubled, and feeling guilty, that he should address immortal souls with no more ardency and desire for their salvation.—On Monday, he rode down to Stockbridge, was distressed with the extreme cold; yet his mind was in a devout and solemn frame during his journey. The four next days he was very ill, probably by his suffering from the cold in his journey; yet he says he spent the time in a more solemn manner than he expected. On Friday evening, he rode down and visited Mr. Hopkins; and on Saturday, rode eighteen miles to Salsbury, where he kept the Sabbath, and enjoyed considerable degrees of God's gracious presence, assistance in duty, and divine comfort and refreshment, longing to give himself wholly to God, to be his for ever.]

Monday, Jan. 23. Never felt more resigned to God, nor so much dead to the world, in every respect, as now; was dead to all desire of reputation and greatness, either in life or after death; all I longed for was to be holy, humble, crucified to the world.

Tuesday, Jan. 24. Near noon, rode over to Canaan. In the evening, was unexpectedly visited by a considerable number of people, with whom I was enabled to converse profitably of divine things. Took pains to describe the difference between a regular and irregular *self-love;* the one consisting with supreme love to God, the other not; the former uniting God's glory and the soul's happiness, that they become one common interest, but the latter disjoining and se-

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parating God's glory and man's happiness, seeking the latter with a neglect of the former. Illustrated this by that genuine love that is found between the sexes; which is diverse from that which is wrought up by rational arguments only, or the hope of self-interest. Love is a pleasing passion; it affords pleasure to the mind where it is; yet genuine love is not, nor can be placed upon any object, with the design of being pleased with the feeling of it in a man's own breast.

[On Wednesday he rode to Sheffield; the next day to Stockbridge; and on Saturday, home to Kaunaumeek, though the season was cold and stormy. The journey was followed with illness and pain. It appears by his diary that he spent the time, while riding, in profitable meditations, and in lifting up his heart to God; and he speaks of assistance, comfort and refreshment, though still complaining of barrenness. His diary for the five next days is full of bitter complaints; he expresses himself as full of shame and self-loathing for his lifeless temper and sluggishness of spirit, and as being in perplexity and extremity, appearing to himself unspeakably vile and guilty before God, on account of some inward workings of corruption.]

Thursday, Feb. 2. Spent this day in fasting and prayer, seeking the presence and assistance of God, that he would enable me to overcome all my corruptions and spiritual enemies.

Friday, Feb. 3. Enjoyed more freedom and comfort than of late; was intensely engaged in meditation upon the different whispers of the various powers and affections of a pious mind, exercised with a great variety of dispensations. I could not but write, as well as meditate, on so entertaining a subject.* I hope the Lord gave me some true sense of divine things this day: but alas, how great and pressing are the remains of indwelling corruption. I am now more sensible than ever that God alone is "the author and finisher of faith," i.e. that the whole and every part of sanctification, and every good word, work or thought, that is found in me, is the effect of his power and grace; that "without him I can do nothing," in the strictest sense, and that, "he works in us to will and to do of his own good pleasure," and from no other motive. Oh how amazing it is that people can

* What he wrote on this head is published at the end of this account of his life.

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talk so much about mens' power and goodness; when, if God did not hold us back every moment, we should be devils incarnate. This my bitter experience, for several days last past, has abundantly taught me concerning myself.

Saturday, Feb. 4. Enjoyed some degree of freedom and spiritual refreshment; was enabled to pray with some fervency for Zion's prosperity, and my faith and hope seemed to *take hold of God* for the performance of what I was enabled to ask. Sanctification in myself, and the ingathering of God's elect, was all my desire; and the hope of its accomplishment, all my joy.

Lord's day, Feb. 5. Was enabled in some measure to rest and confide in God; to prize his presence, and even some glimpses of the light of his countenance, above my necessary food. After the season of weakness, temptation, and desertion I endured last week, I thought myself to be somewhat like Samson, when his locks began to grow again. Was enabled to preach with more life and warmth, than I have done for some weeks past.

Monday, Feb. 6. This morning my soul was again strengthened in God, and found some sweet repose in him in prayer; longing especially for the complete mortification of sensuality and pride, and for resignation to God's dispensations at all times, as through grace I felt it at this time. I did not desire deliverance from any difficulty attending my circumstances, unless God was willing: oh how comfortable is this temper. Spent most of the day in reading God's word, in writing, and prayer. Enjoyed repeated and frequent comfort and intenseness of soul in prayer through the day. Spent the evening in private conversation with my people; and afterwards, felt some warmth in secret prayer.

Tuesday, Feb. 7. Was much engaged in meditating on the powers and affections of the godly soul, in pursuing its beloved object. Wrote something of the native language of spiritual sensation, in its soft and tender whispers: declaring that it now feels and "tastes that the Lord is gracious;" that he is the supreme good, the only soul-satisfying happiness; that he is a complete, sufficient, and almighty portion: saying, "Whom have I in heaven but thee; and there is none upon earth that I desire besides thee." I feel it is heaven to please him, and to be just what he would have me to be; oh that my soul were holy as he is holy; oh that

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it were pure, even as Christ is pure; and perfect as my Father in heaven is perfect! These, I feel, are the sweetest commands in God's book, comprising all others. And shall "I break them? Must I break them; am I under such a necessity as long as I live in the world! Wo, wo is me that I am a sinner, because I now grieve and offend this blessed God, who is infinite in goodness and grace! Oh, if he would punish me for my sins, it would not wound my heart so deep to offend him; but though I sin continually, yet he continually repeats his kindness to me! Methinks I could bear any suffering; but how can I bear to grieve and dishonour this blessed God! How shall I yield ten thousand times more honour to him? What shall I do to glorify and worship this best of Beings? Oh that I could consecrate myself, soul and body, to his service for ever; could give up myself to him, so as never more to attempt to be my own, or to have any will or affections that are not perfectly conformed to him! But alas, I find I cannot be thus entirely devoted to God; I cannot live, and not sin. Oh ye angels, do ye glorify him incessantly; and if possible, prostrate yourselves lower before the blessed King of heaven. I long to bear a part with you; and were it possible, to help you. But when we have done all we can to eternity, we shall not be able to offer the ten thousandth part of the homage that the glorious God deserves!"

Wednesday, Feb. 8. Was in a comfortable frame of soul most of the day, though sensible of much spiritual barrenness. I find that both mind and body are quickly tired with intenseness and fervour in the things of God: oh that I could be as incessant as angels in devotion and spiritual fervour.

Thursday, Feb. 9. Observed this day as a day of fasting and prayer, intreating of God to bestow upon me his blessing and grace; especially to enable me to live a life of mortification to the world, as well as of resignation and patience. Enjoyed some realizing sense of divine power and goodness in prayer, several times; and was enabled to roll the burden of myself and friends, and of Zion, upon the goodness and grace of God: but in general I was more dry and barren than I have usually been of late upon such occasions.

Friday, Feb. 10. Was exceedingly oppressed most of

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the day, with shame, grief and fear, under a sense of my past folly, as well as present barrenness and coldness. When God sets before me my past misconduct, especially any instances of *misguided zeal*, it sinks my soul into shame and confusion, and makes me afraid of a shaking leaf. My fear is such as the prophet Jeremiah complains of, Jer. xx. 10. I have not confidence to hold up my face, even before my fellow-worms, only when my soul confides in God, and I find the sweet temper of Christ, the spirit of humility, solemnity and mortification, alive in my soul. In the evening I was unexpectedly refreshed in pouring out my complaint to God; my shame and fear were turned into sweet composure and acquiescence in God.

Saturday, Feb. 11. Felt much as yesterday, enjoyed but little sensible communion with God.

Lord's day, Feb. 12. My soul seemed to confide in God, and to repose itself on him. I had outgoings of soul after God in prayer. Enjoyed some divine assistance in the forenoon, in preaching; but in the afternoon, was more perplexed. Afterwards, found some relief in prayer. I loved, as a feeble, afflicted, despised creature, to cast myself on a God of infinite grace and goodness, hoping for no happiness but from him.

Monday, Feb. 13. Was calm and sedate in morning-devotions; and my soul seemed to rely on God. Rode to Stockbridge, and enjoyed some comfortable meditations by the way; had a more refreshing taste and relish of heavenly blessedness, than I have enjoyed for many months past. I have at times, of late, felt as ardent desires after holiness as ever, though not so much sensible enjoyment. My soul longed to leave earth, and bear a part with angels in their celestial employments. I said, "Lord, it is good to be here;" and it appeared to me better to die, than to lose the relish of these heavenly delights.

[A sense of divine things seemed to continue with him, in a lesser degree, through the next day. On Wednesday he was, by some discourse that he heard, cast into a melancholy gloom, that operated much in the same manner as his melancholy had formerly done, when he came first to Kaunaumeek; the effects of which seemed to continue in some degree the six following days.]

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Wednesday, Feb. 22. In the morning, had as clear a sense of the exceeding pollution of my nature as ever I remember to have had in my life. I then appeared to myself inexpressibly lothsome and defiled; sins of childhood, of early youth, and such follies as I had not thought of for years together, come now fresh to my view, as if committed but yesterday, and appeared in the most odious colours. They appeared more in number than the hairs of my head; yea, they went over me as a heavy burden. In the evening, the hand of faith seemed to be strengthened in God; my soul rested and acquiesced in him. I was supported under my burdens, by reading the cxxvth psalm; found that it was sweet and comfortable to lean on God.

Thursday, Feb. 23. Was frequent in prayer, and enjoyed some assistance. There is a God in heaven that overrules all things for the best, and this is the comfort of my soul. "I had fainted, unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." In the evening, enjoyed some freedom in prayer, for myself, my friends, and the church of God.

Friday, Feb. 24. Was exceeding restless and perplexed under a sense of the misimprovement of time; mourned to see time pass away; felt in the greatest hurry; seemed to have every thing to do, yet could do nothing, but only grieve and mourn over my ignorance and unprofitableness, the folly of my thoughts and actions, the pride and bitterness of some of my past frames; all which at this time appeared in lively colours, and filled me with shame. I could not compose my mind to any profitable studies, by reason of this pressure. And the reason, I judge, why I am not allowed to study a great part of my time, is, because I am endeavouring to lay in such a stock of knowledge as shall nourish self-sufficiency. I know it to be my indispensable duty to study, and qualify myself in the best manner I can for public service: but this is my misery, I naturally study and prepare, that I may "consume it upon my lusts" of pride and self-confidence.

[He continued in much the same frame of uneasiness at the misimprovement of time, and pressure of spirit under a sense of vileness and unprofitableness, for the six following days; excepting some intervals of calmness and composure, in resignation to, and confidence in God.]

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Friday, March 2. Was most of the day employed in writing on a divine subject. Was frequent in prayer, and enjoyed some small degree of assistance. But in the evening, God was pleased to grant me a divine sweetness in prayer; especially in the duty of intercession. I think, I never felt so much kindness and love to those who I have reason to believe are my enemies, (though at that time I found such a disposition to think the best of all, that I scarce knew how to think that any such thing as enmity and hatred lodged in any soul; it seemed as if all the world must needs be friends;) and never prayed with more freedom and delight, for myself, or dearest friend, than I did now for my enemies.

Saturday, March 3. In the morning, spent an hour in prayer, with great intenseness and freedom, and with the most soft and tender affection towards mankind. I longed that those who bear me ill-will, might be eternally happy: it seemed refreshing to think of meeting them in heaven, how much soever they had injured me on earth: had no disposition to insist upon any confession from them, in order to reconciliation, nor of the exercise of love and kindness from them. Oh it is an emblem of heaven itself, to love all the world with a love of forgiveness and benevolence; to feel our souls sedate, mild, and meek; to be void of all evil surmisings and suspicions, and scarce able to think evil of any man upon any occasion; to find our hearts simple, open and free, to those that look upon us with a different eye. Prayer was so sweet an exercise to me, that I knew not how to cease, lest I should lose the spirit of prayer. Felt no disposition to eat or drink, for the sake of the pleasure of it, but only to support my nature, and fit me for divine service. Could not be content without a very particular mention of a great number of dear friends at the throne of grace; as also the particular circumstances of many, so far as they were known.

Lord's day, March 4. In the morning, enjoyed the same intenseness in prayer as yesterday, though not in so great a degree: felt the same spirit of love, universal benevolence, forgiveness, humility, resignation, mortification to the world, and composure of mind, as then. My soul rested in God, and I wanted no other refuge or friend. While I thus trust in God, all things seem to be at peace with me, even the

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stones of the earth: but when I cannot apprehend and confide in God, all things appear with a different aspect.

[Through the four next days, he complains of barrenness, want of holy confidence in God, stupidity and wanderings of mind. He speaks also of being pressed under a sense of his past follies, as well as present workings of corruption. On Friday, he seems to have been restored to a considerable degree of the same excellent frame that he enjoyed the Saturday before.]

Saturday, March 10. In the morning, felt exceeding dead to the world and all its enjoyments. Thought I was ready and willing to give up life and all its comforts, as soon as called to it; and yet I had then as much comfort of life as almost ever I had. Life itself now appeared but an empty bubble; the riches, honours, and common enjoyments of life appeared extremely tasteless. I longed to be perpetually and entirely *crucified* to all things here below, by the *cross of Christ*. My soul was sweetly resigned to God's disposal of me, in every respect; and I saw that nothing had happened to me but what was best. I confided in God, that he would "never leave me," though I should "walk through the valley of the shadow of death." It was then my meat and drink to be holy, to live to the Lord, and die to the Lord. And I thought, that I then enjoyed such a heaven, as far exceeded the most sublime conceptions of an unregenerate soul; and even unspeakably beyond what I myself could conceive of at another time. I did not wonder that Peter said, "Lord, it is good to be here," when thus refreshed with divine glories. My soul was full of love and tenderness in the duty of intercession; especially felt a most sweet affection to some precious godly ministers of my acquaintance. Prayed earnestly for dear Christians, and for those I have reason to fear are my enemies. I could not have spoken a word of bitterness, or entertained a bitter thought, against the vilest man living. Had a sense of my own great unworthiness. My soul seemed to breathe forth love and praise to God afresh, when I thought he would let his children love and receive me as one of their brethren and fellow-citizens: and when I thought of their treating me in that manner, I longed to lie at their feet; and could think of

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no way to express the sincerity and simplicity of my love and esteem of them, as being much better than myself.—Towards night I was very sorrowful, and seemed to myself the worst creature living. I could not pray, nor meditate, nor think of holding up my face before the world.—Was a little relieved in prayer, in the evening; but longed to get on my knees, and ask forgiveness of every body that ever had seen any thing amiss in my past conduct, especially in my *religious zeal*.—Was afterwards much perplexed, so that I could not sleep quietly

Lord's day, March 11. My soul was in some measure strengthened in God, in morning-devotion; so that I was released from trembling, fear and distress. Preached from the parable of the *sower*, Matth. xiii. Enjoyed some assistance, both parts of the day; had some freedom, affection and fervency in addressing my poor people; longed that God should take hold of their hearts, and make them spiritually alive Indeed I had so much to say to them, that I knew not how to leave off speaking.*

Monday, March 12. In the morning was in a devout, tender and loving frame of mind; enabled to cry to God, I hope, with a child-like spirit, with importunity, resignation, and composure of mind. My spirit was full of quietness and love to mankind, and longed that peace should reign on the earth; was grieved at the very thoughts of a *fiery*, and *intemperate* zeal in religion; mourned over past follies in that respect and my soul confided in God for strength and grace sufficient for my future work and trials.—Spent the day chiefly in hard labour, making preparation for my intended journey.

Tuesday, March 13. Felt my soul going forth after God sometimes, but not with such ardency as I wished. In the evening, was enabled to continue *instant in prayer*, for some considerable time together; and especially had respect to the journey I designed to undertake on the morrow, with the leave of divine providence. Enjoyed some freedom and fervency, intreating that the divine presence might attend

* This was the last Sabbath that ever he performed public service at Kaunaumeek, and these the last sermons that ever he preached there. It appears by his diary, that while he continued with these Indians, he took great pains with them, and did it with much discretion; but the particular manner how, has been omitted for brevity's sake.

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me in every place where my business might lead me; and had a particular reference to the trials and temptations I might be more eminently exposed to in particular places. Was strengthened and comforted, although I was before very weary. Truly "the *joy of the Lord* is our *strength*."

Wednesday, March 14. Enjoyed some intenseness of soul in prayer, repeating my petitions for God's presence in every place where I expected to be in my journey. Besought the Lord that I might not be too much pleased and amused with dear friends and acquaintance, in one place and another. Near ten set out on my journey, and at night came to Stockbridge.

Thursday, March 15. Rode down to Sheffield. Here I met a messenger from East-Hampton on Long-Island, who by the unanimous vote of that large town was sent to invite me thither, in order to settle with that people, where I had before been frequently invited. Seemed more at a loss what was my duty than before. When I heard of the great difficulties of that place, I was much concerned and grieved, and felt some desires to comply with their request; but knew not what to do. Endeavoured to commit the case to God.

Lord's day, March 18. At Salisbury. Was exceeding weak and faint, so that I could scarcely walk: but God was pleased to afford me much freedom, clearness and fervency in preaching. I have not had the like assistance in preaching to sinners for many months past. Here another messenger met me, and informed me of the vote of another congregation, to give me an invitation to come among them upon probation for settlement.* Was greatly exercised in mind with a weight and burden of care: oh that God would "send forth faithful labourers into his harvest!"

[After this, he went forward on his journey towards New-York and New-Jersey, but proceeded slowly; performing his journey under a great degree of bodily indisposition. However, he preached several times by the way, being urged by friends; in which he had considerable assistance. He speaks of comfort in conversation with Christian friends, from time to time, and of various things in the exercises and frames of his heart, that shew much of a divine influence on his mind

* This congregation was that at Millington, near Haddam. They were very earnestly desirous of his coming among them.

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in this journey: yet he complains of *the thing that he feared, viz.* a decline of his spiritual life, or vivacity in religion, by means of his constant removal from place to place, and want of retirement. He came to New-York on Wednesday, March 28; and to Elisabeth-Town on the Saturday following, where it seems he waited till the commissioners assembled.]

Thursday, April 5. Was again much exercised with weakness and pain in my head. Attended on the commissioners' meeting.* Resolved to go on still with the Indian affair, if divine providence permitted; although I had before felt some inclination to go to East-Hampton, where I was solicited to go.†

[After this, he continued two or three days in the Jerseys, very ill, and then returned to New-York; from thence in New-England, and to his native town of Haddam; where he

* The Indians at Kaunanmeek being but few in number; and Mr. Brainerd having now been labouring among them about a year, and having prevailed upon them to be willing that he should leave Kaunaumeek, and remove to Stockbridge, to live constantly under Mr. Sergeant's ministry; he thought he might now do more service for Christ among the Indians elsewhere. He therefore went this journey to New-Jersey to lay the matter before the commissioners who met at Elisabeth-Town on this occasion, and determined that he should forthwith leave Kaunaumeek, and go to the Delaware Indians.

† By the invitations Mr. Brainerd had lately received, it appears, that it was not from necessity, or for want of opportunities to settle in the ministry amongst the English, notwithstanding the disgrace he had been laid under at college, that he was determined to forsake all the outward comforts to be enjoyed in the English settlements, to go and spend his life among savages, and endure the difficulties and self-denials of an Indian mission. Just as he was leaving Kaunanmeek, he had an earnest invitation to a settlement at East-Hampton on Long Island, the pleasantest town on the whole Island, and one of its largest and most wealthy parishes. The people there were unanimous in their desires to have him for their pastor, and for a long time continued in an earnest pursuit of what they desired, and were hardly brought to relinquish their endeavours and give up their hopes of obtaining him. Nor did Mr. Brainerd chuse the business of a missionary to the Indians, rather than accept of such invitations, because he was unacquainted with the difficulties and sufferings which attended such a service. He had had experience of these difficulties in summer and winter; having spent about a twelvemonth in a lonely desert among these savages, where he had gone through extreme hardships, and been the subject of a train of outward and inward sorrows, which were now fresh in his mind. Notwithstanding all these things, he chose still to go on with this business; and that although the place he was now going to, was at a still much greater distance from most of his friends and native land.

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arrived on Saturday, April 14.——Still he complains of the want of retirement, and while in New-York, says, "Oh, it is not the pleasures of the world can comfort me. If God deny his presence, what are the pleasures of the city to me? One hour of sweet retirement where God is, is better than the whole world." He continues to cry out of his ignorance, meanness and unworthiness; yet speaks of some seasons of special divine assistance. He spent some days among his friends at East-Hampton and Millington.]

Tuesday, April 17. Rode to Millington again; felt perplexed when I set out; was feeble in body, and weak in faith. I was going to preach a lecture, and feared I should never have assistance enough to get through. But contriving to ride alone, at a distance from the company that was going, I spent the time in lifting up my heart to God: had not gone far before my soul was abundantly strengthened with those words; "If God be for us, who can be against us?" I went on, confiding in God; and fearing nothing so much as self-confidence. In this frame I went to the house of God, and enjoyed some assistance. Afterwards felt the spirit of love and meekness in conversation with some friends. Then rode home to my brother's; and in the evening, singing hymns with friends, my soul seemed to melt. In prayer afterwards, I enjoyed the exercise of faith, and was enabled to be fervent in spirit: found more of God's presence than I have done any time in my late wearisome journey. Eternity appeared very near; my nature was very weak, and seemed ready to be dissolved; the sun declining, and the shadows of the evening drawing on apace. I longed to fill up the remaining moments all for God. Though my body was so feeble, and wearied with preaching, and much private conversation, yet I wanted to sit up all night to do something for God. To God, the giver of these refreshments, be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Wednesday, April 18. Was very weak, and enjoyed but little spiritual comfort. Was exercised with one cavilling against original sin. May the Lord open his eyes to see the fountain of sin in himself!

[After this, he visited several ministers in Connecticut; and then travelled towards Kaunaumeek, and came to Mr. Ser-

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geant's at Stockbridge, Thursday, April 26. He performed this journey in a very weak state of body, attended with his usual exercises of mind; at times rejoicing to think that so much more of his work was done, and he so much nearer to the eternal world.]

Friday, April 27. Spent some time in visiting friends, and discoursing with my people, who were now moved down from their own place to Mr. Sergeant's, and found them very glad to see me returned. Was exercised with a sense of my own unworthiness.

Lord's day, April 29. Preached for Mr. Sergeant, both parts of the day, from Rev. xiv. 4. Enjoyed some freedom, though not much spirituality. In the evening, my heart was in some measure lifted up in thankfulness to God for any assistance.

Monday, April 30. Rode to Kaunaumeek, but was extremely ill; did not enjoy the comfort I hoped for in my own house.

Tuesday, May 1. Having received new orders to go to a number of Indians on Delaware river in Pensylvania, and my people here being mostly removed to Mr. Sergeant's, I this day took all my clothes, books, *&c.* and disposed of them. I then set out for Delaware river, and made it in my way to return to Mr. Sergeant's in the evening. Rode several hours in the rain through the howling wilderness, though in a state of feebleness and great affliction.

[He continued at Stockbridge the next day; and on Thursday rode a little way, to Sheffield, under a great degree of illness; but with encouragement and chearfulness of mind amidst all his fatigues. On Friday, he rode to Salisbury, and continued there till after the sabbath. He speaks of being refreshed in conversation with some Christian friends, about their heavenly home and their journey thither: at other times he speaks of himself as exceedingly perplexed with barrenness and deadness. On Monday he rode to Sharon; and still complains of the mis-improvement of time.]

Tuesday, May 8. Set out from Sharon in Connecticut; travelled about forty-five miles to a place called the Fish-kit,*

* A place so called in New-York government, near Hudson's river, on the west side of the river.

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and lodged there. While riding I spent much of my time in prayer, that God would go with me to Delaware. My heart sometimes was ready to sink with the thoughts of my work, and going alone in the wilderness, I knew not where: but still it was comfortable to think, that others of God's children had "wandered about in caves and dens of the earth;" and Abraham, when he was called to go forth, "went out, not knowing whither he went." Oh that I might follow after God!

[The next day, he went forward on his journey; crossed Hudson's river, and went to Goshen in the Highlands; and so travelled across the woods, from Hudson's river to Delaware, about a hundred miles, through a desolate and hideous country, above New-Jersey; where were very few settlements. In this journey he suffered much fatigue and hardship. He visited some Indians in the way,* and discoursed with them concerning Christianity. Was considerably melancholy and disconsolate, being alone in a strange wilderness. On Saturday, he came to a settlement of Irish and Dutch people, about twelve miles above the Forks of Delaware.]

Lord's day, May 13. Rose early; felt very poorly after my long journey, and after being wet and fatigued. Was very melancholy; have scarce ever seen such a gloomy morning in my life; there appeared to be no *sabbath*; the children were all at play; I a stranger in the wilderness, and knew not where to go; and all circumstances seemed to conspire to render my affairs dark and discouraging. Was disappointed respecting an interpreter, and heard that the Indians were much scattered. I mourned after the presence of God, and seemed like a creature banished from his sight; yet he was pleased to support my sinking soul, amidst all my sorrows; so that I never entertained any thought of quitting my business among the poor Indians; but was comforted to think, that death would ere long set me free from these distresses.——Rode about three or four miles to the Irish people, where I found some that appeared sober and concerned

* See Mr. Brainerd's *Narrative*, in a letter to Mr. Pemberton, at the end of his ordination sermon.

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about religion. My heart then began to be a little encouraged; went and preached, first to the Irish and then to the Indians; and in the evening, was a little comforted. My soul seemed to rest on God and take courage: oh that he would be my support and comforter in an evil world.

Monday, May 14. Was very busy in some necessary studies. Felt myself loosened from the world: all appeared "vanity and vexation of spirit." Lonesome and disconsolate, I felt as if I was banished from all mankind, and bereaved of all that is pleasurable in life; but appeared to myself so vile and unworthy, that it seemed fitter for me to be here than any where else.

Tuesday, May 15. Still much engaged in my studies, and enjoyed more health than for some time past: but was dejected in spirit with a sense of my meanness. It seemed as if I could never do any thing at all to any good purpose, by reason of ignorance and folly: oh that a sense of these things might work more habitual humility.

Thursday, May 17. Was this day greatly distressed with a sense of my vileness; appeared to myself too bad to walk on God's earth, or to be treated with kindness by any of his creatures. God was pleased to let me see my inward pollution and corruption to such a degree, that I almost despaired of being made holy. "Oh wretched man that I am; who shall deliver me from the body of this death?" In the afternoon, met with the Indians, according to appointment, and preached to them. My soul seemed to confide in God; had some relief and enlargement in prayer, and some assistance in the duty of intercession; vital piety and holiness appeared sweet to me, and I longed for the perfection of it.

Friday, May 18. Felt again something of the power of religion; and my soul seemed to confide in God, that he would never leave me. But oftentimes saw myself so mean a creature, that I knew not how to think of preaching: oh that I could always live to, and upon God!

Saturday, May 19. Part of the time I was greatly oppressed with the weight and burden of my work; it seemed impossible for me ever to go through with what I had undertaken. Towards night, was very calm and comfortable; and I think, my soul trusted in God for help.

Lord's day, May 20. Preached twice to the poor Indians, and enjoyed some freedom, while I attempted to remove

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their prejudices against Christianity. My soul longed for assistance from above, all the while; for I saw I had no strength sufficient for the work. Afterwards, preached to the Irish people; was much assisted in the first prayer, and in preaching. Several persons seemed concerned for their souls, with whom I discoursed afterwards with freedom and power. Blessed be God for any assistance afforded to an unworthy worm: oh that I could live to him!

[Through the rest of this week, he was sometimes ready to sink with a sense of his unworthiness and unfitness for the work of the ministry; and sometimes encouraged and lifted above his fears and sorrows, and was enabled confidently to rely on God On Saturday evening especially, he enjoyed calmness and composure, and assistance in prayer. He rejoiced "That God remains unchangeably powerful and faithful, a sure and sufficient portion, and the dwelling-place of his children in all generations."]

Lord's day, May 27. Visited my Indians in the morning, and attended upon a *funeral* among them; was affected to see their Heathenish practices. Oh that they might be "turned from darkness to light!" Afterwards, got a considerable number of them together, and preached to them. I observed them very attentive. After this, preached to the white people from Heb. ii. 3. Was enabled to speak with some freedom and power: several people seemed much concerned about their souls, especially one who had been educated a Roman catholic. Blessed be the Lord for any help.

Monday, May 28. Set out from the Indians above the Forks of Delaware, on a journey towards Newark in New-Jersey, according to my orders. Rode through the wilderness; was much fatigued with the heat; lodged at a place called Black-River; was exceedingly tired and worn out.

[On Tuesday he came to Newark. The next day, went to Elisabeth-Town; on Thursday, he went to New-York; and on Friday returned to Elisabeth-Town. These days were attended with some perplexity. He continued at Elisabeth-Town till Friday in the week following. Was enlivened, refreshed and strengthened on the sabbath at the Lord's

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table. The ensuing days of the week were spent chiefly in studies preparatory to his *ordination;* and on some of them he seemed to have much of God's gracious presence, and of the influences of his Spirit; but was in a very weak state of body. On Saturday, he rode to Newark.]

Lord's day, June 10. At Newark. In the morning, was much concerned how I should perform the work of the day, and trembled at the thoughts of being left to myself. Enjoyed very considerable assistance in all parts of the public service. Had an opportunity again to attend on the ordinance of the Lord's supper, and through divine goodness was refreshed by it. My soul was full of love and tenderness towards the children of God, and towards all men; felt a certain sweetness of disposition towards every creature. At night I enjoyed more spirituality, and desire after holiness, than I have felt for some time: was afraid of every thought and every motion, lest thereby my heart should be drawn away from God. "Lord, in thy presence is fulness of joy: oh the blessedness of living to thee.

Monday, June 11. This day the *presbytery* met together at Newark, in order to my *ordination.* Was very weak and disordered in body; yet endeavoured to repose my confidence in God. Spent most of the day alone, especially the forenoon. At three in the afternoon preached my probation sermon, from Acts xxvi. 17, 18, being a text given me for that purpose. Felt not well, either in body or mind; however, God carried me through comfortably. Afterwards, passed an examination before the presbytery. Was much tired, and my mind burdened with the greatness of that charge I was in the most solemn manner about to take upon me. I was so pressed with the weight of the work incumbent upon me, that I could not sleep this night, though very weary and in great need of rest.

Tuesday, June 12. Was this morning further examined, respecting my experimental acquaintance with Christianity.*

* Mr. Pemberton, in a letter to the Honourable society in Scotland that employed Mr. Brainerd, which he wrote concerning him, (published in Scotland, in The Christian Monthly History,) writes thus, "We can with pleasure say, that Mr. Brainerd passed through his ordination-trials, to the universal approbation of the presbytery, and appeared uncommonly qualified for the work of the ministry. He seems to be armed with a great deal of self-denial, and animated with a noble zeal to propagate the gospel among those barbarous nations, who have long dwelt in the darkness of Heathenism."

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At ten o'clock my *ordination* was attended to; the sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Pemberton. At this time I was affected with a sense of the important trust committed to me; yet composed and solemn, without distraction. I hope, I then (as many times before) gave up myself to God, to be for him, and not for another. Oh that I might always be engaged in his service, duly remembering the solemn charge I have received, in the presence of God, angels, and men. Amen. May I be assisted of God for this purpose.—Towards night, rode to Elisabeth-Town.

PART VI.

From his Ordination, till he first began to preach to the Indians at Crosweeksung, among whom he had his most remarkable success.

WEDNESDAY, June 13. Spent some considerable time in writing an account of the Indian affairs to go to Scotland. Conversed much with friends; but enjoyed little satisfaction.

Thursday, June 14. Received some particular kindness from friends, and wondered that God should open the hearts of any towards me: saw myself unworthy of any favour, either from God or man. Was much exercised with pain in my head; yet determined to set out on my journey towards Delaware in the afternoon; but the pain increased so much, that I was obliged to betake myself to bed. The night following I was greatly distressed with pain and sickness; was sometimes almost bereaved of the exercise of reason by the extremity of pain. Continued much distressed till Saturday, when I was something relieved by an emetic; but was unable to walk abroad till the Monday following, and still remained very feeble. I often admired the goodness of God, that he did not suffer me to proceed on my journey from this place where I was so tenderly used, and to be sick by the way among strangers. God is very gracious to me, both in health and sickness, and interminglies much mercy with all my afflictions and toils. Enjoyed some sweetness in things divine, in the midst of my pain and weakness. Oh that I could praise the Lord!

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[On Tuesday, June 19. He set out on his journey home, and in three days reached his place, near the Forks of Delaware. Performed the journey under much weakness of body, but had comfort in his soul; and in this state he continued through the week.]

Lord's day, June 24. Extremely feeble, scarcely able to walk. Visited my Indians, and took much pains to instruct them; laboured with some that were much disaffected to Christianity. My mind was much burdened with the weight and difficulty of my work. My whole dependence and hope of success seemed to be on God, who alone I saw could make them willing to receive instruction. My heart was much engaged in prayer, sending up silent requests to God, even while I was speaking to them. Oh that I could always go in the strength of the Lord.

Monday, June 25. Was something better in health than of late, and was able to spend a considerable part of the day in close studies. Had more freedom and fervency in prayer than usual of late; especially longed for the presence of God in my work, and that the poor Heathen might be converted. In evening prayer, my faith and hope in God were much raised. To an eye of reason every thing respecting the conversion of the Heathen is as dark as midnight; yet I cannot but hope in God for the accomplishment of something glorious among them. My soul longed much for the advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom on earth. Was very fearful lest I should admit some vain thought, and so lose the sense I then had of divine things. Oh for an abiding heavenly temper.

Tuesday, June 26. In the morning, my desires seemed to rise, and ascend up freely to God. Was busy most of the day in translating prayers into the language of the Delaware Indians; met with great difficulty, seeing that my Interpreter was altogether unacquainted with the business. But though much discouraged with the difficulty of the work, yet God supported me; and especially in the evening, gave me sweet refreshment. In prayer my soul was enlarged, and my faith drawn into sensible exercise; was enabled to cry to God for my poor Indians; and though the work of their conversion appeared "impossible with man, yet with God" I saw "all things were possible." My faith was much strength-

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ened, by observing the wonderful assistance God afforded his servants Nehemiah and Ezra, in reforming his people, and re-establishing his ancient church. I was much assisted in prayer for dear Christian friends, and for others that I apprehended to be Christless; but was more especially concerned for the poor Heathen, and those of my own charge. Was enabled to be instant in prayer for them, and hoped that God would bow the heavens and come down for their salvation. It seemed to me, there could be no impediment sufficient to obstruct that glorious work, seeing the living God, as I strongly hoped, was engaged for it. I continued in a solemn frame, lifting up my heart to God for assistance and grace, that I might be more mortified to this present world; that my whole soul might be taken up continually in concern for the advancement of Christ's kingdom: longed that God would purify me more, that I might be as a chosen vessel to bear his name among the Heathen. Continued in this frame till I dropped asleep.

Wednesday, June 27. Felt something of the same solemn concern, and spirit of prayer, that I enjoyed last night, soon after I arose in the morning.—In the afternoon, rode several miles to see if I could procure any lands for the poor Indians, that they might live together, and be under better advantages for instruction. While I was riding, had a deep sense of the greatness and difficulty of my work; and my soul seemed to rely wholly upon God for success, in the diligent and faithful use of means. Saw, with greatest certainty, that *the arm of the Lord* must be *revealed*, for the help of these poor Heathen, if ever they were delivered from the bondage of the powers of darkness. Spent most of the time, while riding, in lifting up my heart for grace and assistance.

Thursday, June 28. Spent the morning in reading several parts of the holy scripture, and in fervent prayer for my Indians, that God would set up his kingdom among them, and bring them into his church.—About nine, I withdrew to my usual place of retirement in the woods; and there again enjoyed some assistance in prayer. My great concern was for the conversion of the Heathen, and the Lord helped me to plead with him for it. Towards noon, rode up to the Indians, in order to preach to them; and while going my heart went up to God in prayer for them. I could freely tell the Lord, he knew that the cause was not mine, which I was en-

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gaged in; but it was his own cause, and it would be for his own glory to convert the poor Indians. Blessed be his name, I felt no desire for their conversion, that I might receive honour from the world, as being the instrument of it. Had some freedom in speaking to the Indians.

Saturday, June 30. My soul was much solemnized in reading God's word, especially the ninth chapter of Daniel. I saw how God had called out his servants to prayer, and made them wrestle with him, when he designed to bestow any great mercy on his church. But alas, I was ashamed of myself, to think of my dulness and inactivity, when there seemed to be so much to do for the upbuilding of Zion. Oh, how does Zion lie waste! I longed that the church of God might be enlarged: was enabled to pray, I think, in faith. My soul seemed sensibly to confide in God, and was enabled to wrestle with him. Afterwards, walked abroad to a place of sweet retirement, and enjoyed some assistance in prayer again: had a sense of my great need of divine help, and felt my soul sensibly depend on God. Blessed be his name, this has been a comfortable week to me.

Lord's day, July 1. In the morning, was perplexed with wandering vain thoughts; was much grieved, judged and condemned myself before God. And oh, how miserable did I feel, because I could not live to God. At ten, rode away with a heavy heart, to preach to my Indians. Upon the road I attempted to lift up my heart to God, but was infested with an unsettled wandering frame of mind; was exceeding restless and perplexed, and filled with shame and confusion before God. I seemed to myself to be "more brutish than any man;" and thought, none deserved to be "cast out of God's presence" so much as I. If I attempted to lift up my heart to God, as I frequently did by the way, on a sudden, before I was aware, my thoughts were wandering "to the ends of the earth;" and my soul was filled with surprise and anxiety to find it thus. After I came to the Indians, my mind was also 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

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found in myself 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 consciences; for I never saw such attention raised in them before. When I came away from them, I spent the whole time while I was riding to my lodgings, three miles distant, in prayer and praise to God. After I had rode 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 gave up myself 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, chearful, and full in this dedication of myself. My whole soul cried, "Lord, to thee I dedicate myself: oh accept of me, and let me be thine for ever. Lord, I desire nothing else; I desire nothing more. Oh come, come, Lord, 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.

Monday, July 2. Had some relish of the divine comforts of yesterday; but could not get that warmth and exercise of faith that I desired. Had sometimes a distressing sense of my past follies, and present ignorance and barrenness; and especially in the afternoon, was sunk down under a load of sin and guilt, in that I had lived so little to God, after his

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abundant goodness to me yesterday. In the evening, though very weak, was enabled to pray with fervency, and to continue instant in prayer, near an hour. My soul mourned over the power of its corruption, and longed exceedingly to be washed and purged as with hyssop. Was enabled to pray for my dear absent friends, Christ's ministers, and his church; and enjoyed much freedom and fervency, but not so much comfort, by reason of guilt and shame before God.—Judged and condemned myself for the follies of the day.

Tuesday, July 3. Still very weak. This morning, was enabled to pray under a feeling sense of my need of help from God, and trust I had some faith in exercise; and blessed be God, was enabled to plead with him a considerable time. Truly God is good to me. But my soul mourned and was grieved at my sinfulness and barrenness, and longed to be more engaged for God. Near nine, withdrew again for prayer; and through divine goodness, had the blessed Spirit of prayer. My soul loved the duty, and longed for God in it. It is sweet to be *the Lord's*, to be sensibly devoted to him. What a blessed portion is God; how glorious, how lovely in himself! Spent most of the day in translating prayers into Indian. In the evening, was enabled again to wrestle with God in prayer with fervency, and afterwards to maintain a self-diffident and watchful frame of spirit; felt jealous and afraid lest I should admit carelessness and self-confidence.

[The next day he seems to have had special assistance and fervency, but in a less degree than the preceding day. Thursday was spent in great bodily weakness, yet in the most painful exercises of religion. In great bitterness of spirit he exclaims, "I thought there was not one creature living so vile as I. Oh, my inward pollution; my guilt and shame before God!——I know not what to do. I longed ardently to be cleansed and washed from the stains of inward pollution! Oh, to be made like God, or rather to be made fit for God to own!"]

Friday, July 6. Awoke this morning in the fear of God: soon called to mind my sadness in the evening past, and spent my first waking minutes in prayer for sanctification,

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that my soul might be washed from its exceeding pollution and defilement. After I arose, I spent some time in reading God's word, and cried to God under a sense of my great indigency.—I am, of late, most of all concerned for ministerial qualifications, and the conversion of the Heathen. Last year, I longed to be prepared for a world of glory, and speedily to depart out of this world; but of late my concern is for the conversion of the Heathen; and for that end, I long to live. Blessed be God, I have less desire to live for any of the pleasures of the world than ever I had. I long and love to be a pilgrim, and want grace to imitate the life, labours, and sufferings of St. Paul among the Heathen. And when I long for holiness now, it is not so much for myself as formerly; but rather that thereby I may become an "able minister of the New-Testament," especially to the Heathen. Spent about two hours this morning in reading and prayer by turns; and was in a watchful tender frame, afraid of every thing that might cool my affections, and draw away my heart from God. Was somewhat strengthened in my studies, but near night very weak and weary.

Saturday, July 7. Much disordered this morning, my vigour all spent and exhausted; but was affected and refreshed in reading the story of Elijah's translation, and enjoyed some affection and fervency in prayer. I longed for ministerial gifts and graces, that I might do something in the cause of God. Afterwards was refreshed and invigorated, while reading Mr. Joseph Alleine's first case of conscience, and enabled then to pray with some ardour. Was afraid of carelessness and self-confidence, and longed for holiness.

Lord's day, July 8. Was ill last night, unable to rest quietly. Had some degree of assistance in preaching to the Indians, and afterwards to the white people, especially in the close of my discourse, from Jer. iii. 23. The Lord also assisted me in some measure in the first prayer: blessed be his name. Near night, though very weary, was enabled to read God's word with some relish, and to pray with affection, fervency, and faith: my soul was more sensibly dependent on God than usual. Was watchful and jealous of my own heart, lest I should admit carelessness and vain thoughts, and grieve the blessed Spirit, so that he should withdraw his heavenly influences. Longed to "depart, and be with Christ," more than at any time of late. My soul was ex-

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ceedingly united to the saints of ancient times, as well as those now living; especially my soul melted for the society of Elijah and Elisha. Was enabled to cry to God with a child-like spirit, and to continue instant in prayer for some time. Was much enlarged in the duty of intercession; remembered great numbers of dear friends, and precious souls, as well as Christ's ministers. Continued in this frame, afraid of every idle thought, till I dropped asleep.

Monday, July 9. Ill, and not able to sit up the whole day; towards night a little better. Then spent some time in reading and prayer; enjoyed some degree of fervency and affection; was enabled to plead with God for his cause and kingdom: and through divine goodness, it was apparent to me that it was his cause I pleaded for, and not my own. I was encouraged to make this an argument with God to answer my requests.

Tuesday, July 10. Ill and full of pain, and very dull and spiritless. In the evening, had an affecting sense of my ignorance, and of my need of God at all times, to do every thing for me; and my soul was humbled before God.

Wednesday, July 11. Still exercised with illness and pain. Had some degree of affection and warmth in prayer and reading God's word. Longed for Abraham's faith and fellowship with God; and felt some resolution to spend all my time for God, and to exert myself with more fervency in his service; but found my body weak and feeble. In the afternoon, though very ill, was enabled to spend some considerable time in prayer; indeed most of the day in that exercise. My soul was diffident, watchful and tender, lest I should offend my blessed friend, in thought or behaviour. I am persuaded my soul confided in, and leaned upon the blessed God. Oh what need I have of God at all times, to assist me and lead me! Found a great want of strength and vigour, both in the outer and inner man.

[The exercises and experiences of the next nine days, are very similar to those of the preceding; a sense of his own weakness, ignorance, unprofitableness and vileness; lothing and abhorring himself; self-diffidence; sense of the greatness of his work, and his great need of divine help, and the extreme danger of self-confidence; longing for holiness and humilty, and for the conversion of the Indians.

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Saturday, July 21. This morning, was greatly oppressed with guilt and shame, from a sense of inward vileness and pollution. About nine, withdrew to the woods for prayer; but had not much comfort. I appeared to myself the vilest, meanest creature upon earth, and could scarcely live with myself. So mean and vile I appeared, that I thought I should never be able to hold up my face in heaven, if God of his infinite grace should bring me thither. Towards night my burden respecting my work among the Indians began to increase, and was aggravated by hearing sundry things that looked very discouraging; in particular that they intended to meet together the next day for an idolatrous feast and dance. Then I began to be in anguish: I thought I must in conscience go and endeavour to break them up, yet knew not how to attempt it. However, I withdrew for prayer, hoping for strength from above. In prayer I was exceedingly enlarged, and my soul was as much drawn out as ever I remember. I was in such anguish, and pleaded with so much earnestness and importunity, that when I rose from my knees I felt extremely weak and overcome. I could scarcely walk straight, my joints were loosed, the sweat ran down my face and body, and nature seemed as if it would dissolve. So far as I could judge, I was wholly free from selfish ends in my fervent supplications for the poor Indians. I knew they were met together to worship devils, and not God; this made me cry earnestly that God would now appear, and help me in my attempts to break up this idolatrous meeting. My soul pleaded long, and I thought God would hear, and would go with me to vindicate his own cause. I seemed to confide in him for his presence and assistance. Thus I spent the evening, praying incessantly for divine assistance, and that I might not be self-dependent, but still have my whole dependance upon God. What I passed through was remarkable, and indeed inexpressible. All things here below vanished; and there appeared to be nothing of any considerable importance to me, but holiness of heart and life, and the conversion of the Heathen to God. All my cares, fears and desires, which might be said to be of a worldly nature, disappeared; and were in my esteem, of little more importance than a puff of wind. I exceedingly longed that God would get to himself a name among the Heathen; and I appealed to him with the

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greatest freedom, that he knew I "preferred him above my chief joy." Indeed I had no notion of joy from this world; I cared not where or how I lived, or what hardships I went through, so that I could but win souls to Christ. I continued in this frame all the evening and night. While I was asleep, I dreamed of these things; and when I waked, (as I frequently did,) the first thing I thought of was this great work of pleading for God against Satan.

Lord's day, July 22. When I waked, my soul was burdened with what seemed to be before me. I cried to God before I could get out of bed; and as soon as I was dressed I withdrew into the woods, to pour out my burdened soul to God, especially for assistance in my great work; for I could scarcely think of any thing else. I enjoyed the same freedom and fervency as the last evening; and did with unspeakable freedom give up myself afresh to God, for life or death, for all hardships he should call me to among the Heathen; and felt as if nothing could discourage me from this blessed work. I had a strong hope that God would "bow the heavens and come down," and do some marvellous work among the Heathen. And when I was riding to the Indians, three miles, my heart was continually going up to God for his presence and assistance; hoping, and almost expecting, that God would make this the day of his power and grace amongst the poor Indians. When I came to them, I found them engaged in their frolic; but through divine goodness I got them to break up and attend to my preaching: still there appeared nothing of the special power of God among them. Preached again in the afternoon, and observed the Indians were more sober than before; but still saw nothing special among them. Satan took occasion from this to tempt and buffet me with suggestions, that there is no God; or if there be, he is not able to convert the Indians before they have more knowledge, *&c.* I was very weak and weary, and my soul borne down with perplexity; but was dead to all the world, and determined still to wait upon God for the conversion of the Heathen, though Satan tempted me to the contrary.

Monday, July 23. Retained still a deep and pressing sense of what lay with so much weight upon me yesterday, but was more calm and quiet; enjoyed freedom and composure, after the temptations of the last evening. Felt re-

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signed to the divine will, and desired nothing so much as the conversion of the Heathen to God; that his kingdom might come in my own heart, and the hearts of others. Rode to a settlement of Irish people, about fifteen miles south-westward; spent my time in prayer and meditation by the way. Near night, preached from Matth. v. 3. God was pleased to afford some freedom and fervency; blessed be his name.

Tuesday, July 24. Rode about seventeen miles westward, over a hideous mountain, to a number of Indians. Got together near thirty of them: preached to them in the evening, and lodged among them.* Felt weak and rather disconsolate: yet could have no pleasure in the thought of any other circumstances or business in life. All my desire was the conversion of the Heathen, and all my hope was in God; who does not suffer me to please myself with hopes of seeing friends, returning to my dear acquaintance, or enjoying worldly comforts.

[The next day he preached to these Indians again; then returned to the Irish settlement, and preached to a numerous congregation: there was a considerable appearance of awakening in the congregation. Thursday he returned home, exceedingly fatigued and spent; still in the same frame of mortification to the world, and solicitous for the advancement of Christ's kingdom. He says, "I have felt this week, more of the spirit of a *pilgrim on earth*, than perhaps ever before: and yet so desirous to see Zion's prosperity, that I was not so willing to leave this scene of sorrow as I used to be."—The two remaining days of the week he was very ill, and cries out of wanderings, dulness, and want of spiritual fervency. On the Sabbath he was confined by illness, not able to preach. He continued very ill all the week;† and says, that "he thought he never before endured such a season of distressing weakness; his nature was so spent that he could neither stand, sit, nor lie with any quiet; he was exercised with extreme faintness and sickness at his stomach; his mind was as much disordered as his body, perplexed to think that he lived for nothing, and could do nothing but trifle.

* See Mr. Brainerd's narrative at the end of his *ordination-sermon*.

† This week, on Tuesday, he wrote the *fourth letter*, added at the end of his account.

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He speaks of it as a season wherein *Satan* buffeted him with some peculiar temptations."—Concerning the next five days he writes thus, "On Lord's day, August 5, was still very poorly. But though weak, I visited and preached to the poor Indians twice, and was strengthened beyond my expectations. Indeed, the Lord gave me some freedom and fervency in addressing them, though I had not strength enough to stand, but was obliged to sit down the whole time. Towards night, was extremely weak and full of pain, and have continued much in the same state that I was in last week; unable to engage in any business, and frequently unable to pray in the family. I am obliged to let all my thoughts and concerns run at random; for I have neither strength to read, meditate or pray: and this naturally perplexes my mind. I seem to myself like a man that has all his estate embarked in one small boat, unhappily going adrift, down a swift torrent. The poor owner stands on the shore, and looks, and laments his loss. But alas, though my all seems to be adrift, and I stand and see it, I dare not lament; for this sinks my spirits more, and aggravates my bodily disorders. I am forced therefore to divert myself with trifles, although at the same time I am afraid, and often feel as if I was guilty of the misimprovement of time. My conscience is frequently so exercised with this miserable way of spending time, that I have no peace; though I have no strength of mind or body to improve it to better purpose. Oh that God would pity my distressed state!"

[The next three weeks after this, his illness was not so extreme; he was in some degree capable of business, both public and private, though still labouring under indisposition. He also enjoyed more inward assistance and strength of mind, and often expressed great longings for the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, especially by the conversion of the Heathen, which was all his hope and joy. He continues still to express his desires after holiness and living to God, and his sense of his own unworthiness. He several times speaks of his appearing to himself the vilest creature on earth; and once says, that he verily thought there were none of God's children who fell so far short of holiness and perfection in their obedience as he. He speaks of his feeling more dead than ever to the enjoyments of the world, and of

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the special assistance he had in preaching to the Indians, and of some appearances of religious concern among them. He speaks also of assistance in prayer for absent friends, and especially ministers and candidates for the ministry; and of much comfort he enjoyed in the company of some ministers who came to visit him.]

Saturday, September 1. Was so far strengthened, after a season of great weakness, that I was able to spend two or three hours in writing on a divine subject. Enjoyed some comfort in things sacred: and as my bodily strength was in some measure restored, so my soul seemed to be somewhat vigorous, and engaged in the things of God.

Lord's day, Sep. 2. Was enabled to speak to my poor Indians with much concern and fervency; and am persuaded God enabled me to exercise faith in him, while I was speaking to them. I perceived that some of them were afraid to hearken to, and embrace *Christianity*, lest they should be inchanted and poisoned by some of the *powows!* But I was enabled to plead with them not to fear these; and confiding in God for safety and deliverance, I bid a challenge to all these *powers of darkness*, to do their worst upon *me* first. I told my people, I was a *Christian*, and asked them why the *powows* did not bewitch and poison me. I scarcely ever felt more sensible of my own unworthiness than in this action. I saw that the honour of God was concerned in it, and I desired to be preserved, not from selfish views, but for a testimony of the divine power and goodness, and of the truth of Christianity, and that God might be glorified. Afterwards, I found my soul rejoice in God for his assisting grace.

[After this he went a journey into New-England, and was absent from the place of his abode, at the Forks of Delaware, about three weeks. He was in a feeble state the greater part of the time. But towards the close of the journey, he gained much in health and strength. And as to the state of his mind, and his religious and spiritual exercises, it was much with him as usual in his journeys; except that he seemed to be more generally comfortable. Yet there are complaints of the want of fervency, and want of retirement, and time alone with God. In this journey he did not forget the Indians; but once and again speaks of his longing for their conversion.]

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Wednesday, Sep. 26. Rode home to the Forks of Delaware. What reason have I to bless God, who has preserved me in riding more than four hundred and twenty miles, and has "kept all my bones, that not one of them has been broken." My health likewise is greatly recovered: oh that I could dedicate my all to God! This is all the return I can make to him.

Thursday, Sep. 27. Was rather melancholy; had not much freedom and comfort in prayer. My soul is disconsolate when God is withdrawn.

Friday, Sep. 28. Spent the day in prayer, reading, and writing. Felt some warmth in prayer, and some desires for the enlargement of Christ's kingdom by the conversion of the Heathen, and that God would make me a "chosen vessel, to bear his name before them:" longed for grace to enable me to be faithful.

Monday, October 1. Was engaged this day in making preparation for my intended journey to Susquahannah: withdrew several times to the woods for secret duties, and endeavoured to plead for the divine presence to go with me to the poor Pagans, to whom I was going to preach the gospel. Towards night rode about four miles, and met brother Byram,* who was come at my desire, to be my companion in travel to the Indians. I rejoiced to see him, and I trust, God made his conversation profitable to me. I saw him, as I thought, more dead to the world, its anxious cares and alluring objects, than I was. This made me look within myself, and gave me a greater sense of my guilt, ingratitude, and misery.

Tuesday, Oct. 2. Set out on my journey, in company with dear brother Byram and my interpreter, and two chief Indians from the Forks of Delaware. Travelled about twenty-five miles, and lodged in one of the last houses on our road; after which there was nothing but a hideous and howling *wilderness*.

Wednesday, Oct. 3. We went on our way into the wilderness, and found the most difficult and dangerous travelling that any of us had ever seen. We had scarce any thing else but lofty mountains, deep valleys, and hideous rocks, to make our way through. However, I felt some pleasure in

* Minister at a place called *Rockciticus*, about forty miles from Mr. Brainerd's lodgings.

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divine things part of the day, and had my mind intensely engaged in meditation. Near night, the beast I rode upon hung one of her legs in the rocks, and fell down under me; but through divine goodness, I was not hurt. However, she broke her leg; and being in such a hideous place, and near thirty miles from any house, I saw nothing that could be done to preserve her life, and so was obliged to kill her, and to prosecute my journey on foot. This accident made me admire the divine goodness, that my bones were not broken, and the multitude of them filled with strong pain. Just at dark we kindled a fire, cut up a few bushes, and made a shelter over our heads, to save us from the frost, which was very hard that night; and committing ourselves to God by prayer, we lay down on the ground and slept quietly.

Friday, Oct. 5. We arrived at Susquahannah river, at a place called *Opeholhaupung*,* and found there twelve Indian houses. After I had saluted the king in a friendly manner, I told him my business, and that my desire was to teach them *Christianity*. After some consultation, the Indians assembled, and I preached to them. When I had done, I asked if they would hear me again. They replied that they would consider of it; and soon after sent me word that they would immediately attend, if I would preach: which I did, with freedom, both times. When I asked them again whether they would hear me further, they replied, they would the next day. I was sensible of the impossibility of doing any thing for the poor Heathen, without special assistance from above: and my soul seemed to rest on God, and leave it to him to do as he pleased in that which I saw was his own cause. Through divine goodness, I had felt something of this frame most of the time I was travelling thither; and in some measure before I set out.

Saturday, Oct. 6. Rose early, and besought the Lord for help in my great work. Near noon, preached again to the Indians: in the afternoon, visited them from house to house, and invited them to come and hear me again the next day, and put off their hunting design, which they were just entering upon, till Monday. "This night," I trust, "the Lord stood by me," to encourage and strengthen my soul. I spent more than an hour in secret retirement; was enabled to pour out my heart before God, for the increase of grace and

* See his narrative at the end of his ordination sermon.

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ministerial endowments; for success among the poor Indians, for God's ministers and people, and for distant friends.

[The next day he complains of great want of fixedness and intenseness in religion, so that he could not keep any spiritual thought one minute without distraction; which occasioned anguish of spirit. He felt, (he says) "amazingly guilty, and extremely miserable;" and cries out, "Oh my soul, what death it is, to have the affections unable to centre in God, by reason of darkness, and consequently roving after that satisfaction elsewhere which is only to be found in him." However, he preached twice to the Indians with some freedom and power; but was afterwards damped by the *objections* they made against Christianity. In the evening, under a sense of his great defects in preaching, he "intreated God not to impute to him blood-guiltiness;" yet at the same time rejoiced in God.]

Monday, Oct. 8. Visited the Indians with a design to take my leave of them, supposing they would this morning go out to hunting early; but beyond my expectation, they desired to hear me preach again. I gladly complied with their request, and afterwards endeavoured to answer their *objections* to Christianity. Then they went away; and we spent the rest of the afternoon in reading and prayer, intending to go homeward very early next day. My soul was in some measure refreshed in secret prayer and meditation. Blessed be the Lord for all his goodness.

Tuesday, Oct. 9. We rose about four in the morning; and commending ourselves to God by prayer, and asking his special protection, we set out on our journey homewards about five, and travelled with great steadiness till past six at night. We then made a fire, and a shelter of barks, and so rested. In the night, the wolves howled around us; but God preserved us.

[The next day they rose early and set forward, and travelled till they came to an Irish settlement, where Mr. Brainerd was acquainted, and lodged there. He mentions his thankfulness to God for his goodness to him in this journey, complaining at the same time of his own barrenness. On Thurs-

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day, he continued in the same place; and he and Mr. Byram preached to the people.]

Friday, Oct. 12. Rode home to my lodging; where I poured out my soul to God in secret prayer, and endeavoured to bless him for his abundant goodness to me in my late journey. I scarcely ever enjoyed more health, at least of late years; and God marvellously, and almost miraculously, supported me under the fatigues of the way, travelling on foot. Blessed be the Lord, who continually preserves me in all my ways.

Lord's day, Oct. 14. Was much confused and perplexed in my thoughts; could not pray; and was almost discouraged, thinking I should never be able to preach any more. But afterwards, God was pleased to give me some relief from these confusions: yet still I was afraid, and even trembled before him. I went to the place of public worship, lifting up my heart to God for assistance in my great work. He was gracious to me, and helped me to plead with him for holiness, and to use the strongest arguments, drawn from the incarnation and sufferings of Christ for this very end, that men might be made holy. Afterwards I was much assisted in preaching. I know not that ever God helped me to preach in a more close and distinguishing manner for the trial of men's state. Through infinite goodness, I felt what I spake; and God enabled me to treat on divine truth with uncommon clearness. Yet I was so sensible of my defects in preaching, that I could not be proud of my performance, as at some times; and blessed be the Lord for this mercy. In the evening I longed to be entirely alone, to bless God for help in a time of extremity; and prayed for greater degrees of holiness, that I might shew my gratitude to God.

[Next morning he spent some time in prayer before sunrise, in the same grateful frame of mind that he had been in the evening before: and afterwards went to his Indians, and spent some time in teaching and exhorting them.]

Tuesday, Oct. 16. Felt a spirit of solemnity and watchfulness; was afraid I should not live to and upon God: longed for more intenseness and spirituality. Spent the day in writing, frequently lifting up my heart to God for more hea-

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venly-mindedness. In the evening, had assistance in prayer, and thirsted and pleaded to be as holy as the blessed *angels:* longed for ministerial gifts and graces, and success in my work. Was greatly assisted in the duty of intercession, and enabled to remember and plead for numbers of dear friends, and ministers of Christ.

Friday, Oct. 19. Felt an abasing sense of my own impurity and unholiness; and mourned that I had grieved a gracious God, who was still kind to me, notwithstanding all my unworthiness. My soul enjoyed a sweet season of bitter repentance and sorrow, that I had wronged that blessed God, who I was persuaded, was reconciled to me in his dear Son. My soul was now tender, devout, and solemn. I was afraid of nothing but sin, and afraid of that in every action and thought.

Wednesday, Oct. 24. Near noon, rode to my people; spent some time and prayed with them. Felt like a pilgrim on earth; longed much to leave this gloomy mansion, yet found the exercise of patience and resignation. Returning home from the Indians, I spent the whole time in lifting up my heart to God. In the evening, enjoyed a blessed season alone in prayer; was enabled to cry to God with a childlike spirit, for the space of near an hour. Enjoyed freedom in supplicating for myself, for dear friends, ministers, and some who are preparing for that work, and for the church of God; and longed to be as lively myself in God's service as the angels.

Thursday, Oct. 25. Was busy in writing. Sensible of my absolute dependence on God in all respects, I saw that I could do nothing, unless he should smile upon my attempt. "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing, as of ourselves," was a truth that I fully realised.

Friday, Oct. 26. In the morning my soul was melted with a sense of divine goodness and mercy to such a vile unworthy worm. I delighted to lean upon God, and place my whole trust in him. My soul was exceedingly grieved for sin, and longed after holiness; it wounded me deeply to think how I had abused the kindness of God. I longed to be perfectly holy, that I might not grieve a gracious God; who continues to love, notwithstanding his love is abused. I longed for holiness more for this end, than I did for my own happiness sake. This was my greatest happiness, never more to dishonour, but always to glorify the blessed God.

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[The four next days, he was exercised with much disorder and pain of body, with a degree of melancholy and gloominess of mind, bitterly complaining of deadness and unprofitableness, yet mourning and longing after God.]

Wednesday, Oct. 31. Was sensible of my barrenness, and decays in the things of God: my soul failed when I remembered the fervency I had enjoyed at the throne of grace. Oh, I thought, if I could but be spiritual, warm, heavenly-minded, and affectionately breathing after God, this would be better than life to me. My soul longed exceedingly for heath, to be loosed from this dulness and barrenness, and made for ever active in the service of God. I seemed to live for nothing, and to do no good: and oh the burden of such a life! Oh, death, death, my kind friend, hasten and deliver me from dull mortality, and make me spiritual and vigorous to eternity!

Thursday, November 1. Had but little sweetness in divine things. In the evening, felt some life, and longings after God. Desired to be always solemn, devout, and heavenly-minded; was afraid to leave off praying, lest I should again lose a sense of the things of God.

Friday, Nov. 2. Was filled with sorrow and confusion in the morning, and could neither enjoy divine things, nor get any relief in prayer. Saw I deserved that every one of God's creatures should be let loose upon me, as the executioners of his wrath: and yet I saw that I deserved what I did not fear as my portion. About noon, rode up to the Indians; and while going, could feel no desires for them, and even dreaded to say any thing to them. But God was pleased to give me some freedom and enlargement, and made the season comfortable. In the evening I had enlargement in prayer. But alas, what comforts and enlargements I have felt for these many weeks past, have been only transient and short; and the greater part of my time has been filled up with deadness, or struggles with deadness, and bitter conflicts with corruption. I have found myself exercised sorely with some particular things that I thought myself most of all freed from. Thus I have ever found it, when I have thought the battle was over, and the conquest gained, and so let down my watch, the enemy has risen up and done me the greatest injury.

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Saturday, Nov. 3. I read the life and trials of a godly man, and was much warmed by it. I wondered at my past deadness, and was more convinced of it than ever. Was enabled to confess and bewail my sin before God with self-abhorrence.

Lord's day, Nov. 4. Had, I think, some exercise of faith in prayer, in the morning: longed to be spiritual. Had considerable help in preaching to my poor Indians: was encouraged with them, and hoped that God designed mercy for them.

[The next day* he set out on a journey to New-York, to the meeting of the Presbytery there; and was gone from home more than a fortnight. He seemed to enter on this journey with great reluctance; fearing that the diversions of it would prove a means of cooling his religious affections, as he had found in other journeys. Yet in this journey he had some special seasons wherein he enjoyed extraordinary evidences and fruits of God's gracious presence. He was greatly fatigued, and exposed to cold and storms: and when he returned from New-York to New-Jersey, on Friday, was taken very ill, and was detained by his illness some time.]

Wednesday, Nov. 21. Rode from Newark to Rockciticus in the cold, and was almost overcome with it. Enjoyed some interesting conversation with Mr. Jones, while I dined with him: my soul loves the people of God, and especially the ministers of Jesus Christ, who feel the same trials as I do.

Thursday, Nov. 22. Came on my way from Rockciticus to Delaware river. Was very much disordered with a cold and pain in my head. About six at night, I lost my way in the wilderness, and wandered over rocks and mountains, down hideous steeps, through swamps, and most dreadful and dangerous places. The night being dark, and few stars to be seen, I was greatly exposed, much pinched with cold, and distressed with an extreme pain in my head, attended with sickness at my stomach. Every step I took was distressing to me. I had little hope for several hours together, but that I must lie out in the woods all night, in this distressed case. But about nine o'clock I found a house, through the abun-

* On this day he concluded his Narrative, at the end of his ordination sermon.

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dant goodness of God, and was kindly entertained. I have frequently been thus exposed, and sometimes lain out the whole night; but God has hitherto preserved me, and blessed be his name. Such fatigues and hardships as these serve to wean me more from the earth; and I trust, will make heaven the sweeter. Formerly, when thus exposed to cold and rain, I was ready to please myself with the thoughts of enjoying a comfortable house, a warm fire, and other outward comforts; but now these have less place in my heart, (through the grace of God,) and my eye is more to God for comfort. In this world I expect tribulation; and it does not now, as formerly, appear strange to me. I do not in such seasons of difficulty flatter myself that it will be better hereafter; but rather think, how much worse it might be; how much greater trials others of God's children have endured, and how much greater are yet perhaps reserved for me. Blessed be God, that he makes the thoughts of my journey's end and of my dissolution a great comfort to me, under my sharpest trials; and scarcely ever lets these thoughts be attended with terror or melancholy, but more frequently with hope and joy.

Friday, Nov. 23. Visited a sick man; discoursed and prayed with him. Then visited another house, where was one dead and laid out; looked on the corpse, and longed that my time might come to depart, that I might be with Christ. Retired to my lodgings about one o'clock. Felt poorly; but was able to read, most of the afternoon.

[During the next twelve days, he had many seasons of the special influences of God's Spirit, animating, invigorating, and comforting him in the ways of God and duties of religion, but intermixed with great dejection and melancholy. He spent much time in hard labour, with others, to construct a little cottage or hut, to live in by himself through the winter. Yet he frequently preached to the Indians, and speaks of special assistance being afforded, and of his sometimes having considerable encouragement, from the attention they gave to the word. But on Tuesday, Dec. 4, he sunk into great discouragement, from seeing many of them going in company to an idolatrous feast and dance, after he had taken abundant pains to dissuade them from these things.]

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Thursday, Dec. 6. Having now a happy opportunity of being retired in a house of my own, which I have lately procured and occupied, and considering that it is now a long time since I have been able, either on account of bodily weakness, or for want of retirement or some other difficulty, to spend any time in secret fasting and prayer; considering also the greatness of my work, and the extreme difficulties that attend it: and that my poor Indians are now *worshipping devils*, notwithstanding all the pains I have taken with them, which almost overwhelms my spirit; moreover, considering my extreme barrenness, spiritual deadness and dejection, of late, as also the power of some particular corruptions; I set apart this day for secret prayer and fasting, to implore the blessing of God on myself, on my poor people, on my friends, and on the church of God. At first I felt a great backwardness to the duties of the day, on account of the seeming impossibility of performing them; but the Lord helped me to break through this difficulty. He was pleased to give me some clear conviction of my sinfulness, and a discovery of the plague of my own heart, more affecting than I have had of late. Especially I saw my sinfulness in this, that when God had withdrawn himself, then, instead of living and dying in pursuit of him, I have been disposed to one of these two things;—either to yield an unbecoming respect to some earthly objects, as if happiness were to be derived from them;—or to be secretly froward and impatient, and unsuitably desirous of death, so that I have sometimes thought I could not bear to think my life must be lengthened out. And that which often drove me to this impatient desire of death, was a despair of doing any good in life; and I chose death, rather than a life spent for nothing. But now God made me sensible of my sin in these things, and enabled me to cry to him for forgiveness. Yet this was not all I wanted; for my soul appeared exceedingly polluted, like a nest of vipers, or a cage of unclean and hateful birds. I therefore wanted to be purified "by the blood of sprinkling, that cleanseth from all sin;" and this, I hope, I was enabled to pray for in faith. I enjoyed much more intenseness, fervency and spirituality, than I expected; God was better to me than my fears. Towards night I felt my soul rejoice, that God is unchangeably happy and glorious; that he will be glorified, whatever becomes of his creatures. I was enabled to perse-

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vere in prayer, till I saw so much need of divine help, in every respect, that I knew not how to leave off, and had forgot that I needed food. This evening also I was much assisted in meditating on Is. lii. 3. Blessed be the Lord for any help in the past day.

Tuesday, Dec. 7. Spent some time in prayer, in the morning; enjoyed some freedom and affection in the duty, and had longing desires of being made "faithful to the death." Spent a little time in writing on a divine subject; then visited the Indians and preached to them, but under inexpressible dejection. I had no heart to speak to them, and could not do it, but as I forced myself. I knew they must hate to hear me, having but just got home from their idolatrous feast and devil-worship.—In the evening, had some freedom in prayer and meditation.

Saturday, Dec. 8. Have been uncommonly free this day from dejection, and from the distressing apprehension that I could do nothing. Was enabled to pray and study with some comfort, and especially assisted in writing on a divine subject. In the evening I rejoiced in God, and blessed his name for shining on my soul. Oh the blessed change I then felt, when God, "brought me out of darkness into his marvellous light!"

Lord's day, Dec. 9. Preached both parts of the day at a place called Greenwich, in New-Jersey, about ten miles from my own house. In the first discourse I had scarcely any warmth or affectionate longing for souls. During the interval, I got alone among the bushes, and cried to God for pardon of my deadness; was in anguish and bitterness, that I could not address souls with more compassion and tenderness. I judged and condemned myself for want of this heavenly temper; though I saw I could not obtain it without divine assistance, any more than I could make a world.—In the latter exercise, blessed be the Lord, I had some fervency, both in prayer and preaching; and especially in the application of my discourse was enabled to address precious souls with affectionate concern and importunity. The Spirit of God, I think, was there; as the effects were apparent, tears runnin down many cheeks.

Monday, Dec. 10. Near noon I preached again: God gave me some assistance, and enabled me in some degree to be faithful; so that I had peace in my own soul, and a very com-

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fortable composure, "although Israel should not be gathered." Came away from Greenwich, and rode home; arrived just in the evening. By the way, my soul blessed God for his goodness; and I rejoiced that so much of my work was done, and I so much nearer my blessed reward. Blessed be God for grace to be faithful.

Tuesday, Dec. 11. Felt very poorly in body, being much tired and worn out the last night. Was assisted in some measure in writing on a divine subject; but was so feeble and sore in my breast, that I had not much resolution in my work. I long for that world "where the weary are at rest;" yet through the goodness of God I do not now feel impatient.

Wednesday, Dec. 12. Was again very weak; but somewhat assisted in secret prayer, and enabled with pleasure to cry, "Come, Lord Jesus; come, Lord Jesus; come quickly." My soul longed for God, for the living God. Oh how delightful it is to pray under such sweet influences; how much better than one's necessary food! I had at this time no disposition to eat, though late in the morning; for earthly food appeared wholly tasteless. Oh how much "better is thy love than wine," than the sweetest wine!—I visited and preached to the Indians in the afternoon, but under much dejection. Found my Interpreter under some concern for his soul; this was some comfort to me, though it filled me with new care. I longed greatly for his conversion; lifted up my heart to God for it, while I was talking to him. Came home and poured out my soul for him; enjoyed some freedom in prayer, and was enabled to leave all with God.

Thursday, Dec. 13. Endeavoured to spend the day in fasting and prayer, to implore the divine blessing on my poor people; and in particular, I sought converting grace for my Interpreter, and three or four more under some concern for their souls. I was much disordered in the morning when I arose; but having determined to spend the day in this manner, I attempted it. Enjoyed some freedom in pleading for these poor souls; and when interceding for them, I was freer from wandering and distracting thoughts, than in any part of my supplications. But in general I was greatly exercised with wanderings; so that in the evening it seemed as if I had need to pray for nothing so much as for the pardon of sins committed in the day past, and the vileness I

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then found in myself. The sins I most lamented were pride and wandering thoughts, whereby I mocked God. The former of these excited me to think of writing, or preaching, or converting Heathen, or performing some other great work, that my name might live when I should be dead. My soul was in anguish and ready to drop into despair, to find so much of that cursed temper. With this and with wandering thoughts, I was almost overwhelmed, and even ready to give over striving after a spirit of devotion. I often sunk into a considerable degree of despondency, and thought I was "more brutish than any man." Yet after all my sorrows, I trust, through grace, the exercises of this day have been for my good, and have taught me more of my corruption and weakness without Christ, than I knew before.

Friday, Dec. 14. Near noon went to the Indians; but knew not what to say to them, and was ashamed to look them in the face. I felt I had no power to address their consciences, and therefore had no boldness to say any thing. Much of the day I was in despair about ever doing or seeing any good in the land of the living.

Lord's day, Dec. 16. Was so overwhelmed with dejection, that I knew not how to live. I longed for death exceedingly: my soul was sunk into deep waters, and the floods were ready to drown me. I was so much oppressed, that my soul was in a kind of horror: I could not keep my thoughts fixed in prayer for the space of one minute, without fluttering and distraction. I was exceedingly ashamed that I did not live to God. I had no distressing doubt about my own state; but would have cheerfully ventured, as far as I could possibly know, into eternity. When going to preach to the Indians, my soul was in anguish; I was so overborne with discouragement that I despaired of doing any good, and was driven to my wits-end. I knew nothing what to say, nor what course to take. At last I insisted on the evidence we have of the truth of Christianity from the *miracles* of Christ; many of which I set before them, and God helped me to make a close application to those who refused to believe the truth; and indeed I was enabled to speak to the consciences of all, in some measure. I was a little encouraged to find, that God enabled me to be faithful once more. Then came and preached to another company of them, but was very faint and weary. In the evening I was something refreshed, and

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enabled to pray and praise God with composure and affection. Felt some enlargement and courage in my work: was willing to live, and longed to do more for God than my weak state of body would admit. "I can do all things through Christ that strengthens me;" and by his grace, I am willing to spend and be spent in his service, when I am not thus sunk in dejection and despair.

Monday, Dec. 17. Was comfortable in mind, most of the day; and enabled to pray with some freedom, cheerfulness, composure and devotion. Had also some assistance in writing on a divine subject.

Tuesday, Dec. 18. Went to the Indians, and discoursed to them near an hour, but without any power to come close to their hearts. At last I felt some fervency, and God helped me to speak with warmth. My Interpreter also was amazingly assisted; and I doubt not but "the Spirit of God was upon him," (though I had no reason to think he had any true and saving grace, but was only under conviction of his lost state;) and presently, most of the grown persons were much affected, and the tears ran down their cheeks. One *old man* (I suppose a hundred years old) was so much affected that he wept, and seemed convinced of the importance of what I taught them. I staid a considerable time, exhorting and directing them; and came away, lifting up my heart to God in prayer and praise, and encouraged and exhorted my Interpreter to "strive to enter in at the strait gate." Came home and spent most of the evening in prayer and thanksgiving, and found myself much enlarged and quickened. Was greatly concerned that the Lord's work, which seemed to be begun, might be carried on with power to the conversion of poor souls, and the glory of divine grace.

Wednesday, Dec. 19. Spent a great part of the day in prayer to God for the outpouring of his Spirit on my poor people; also to bless his name for awakening my Interpreter and some others, and giving us some tokens of his presence yesterday. And blessed be God I had much freedom five or six times in the day, in prayer and praise, and felt a weighty concern upon my spirit for the salvation of those precious souls, and the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom among them. My soul hoped in God for some success in my ministry; and blessed be his name for so much hope.

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Thursday, Dec. 20. Was enabled to visit the throne of grace frequently this day; and through divine goodness, enjoyed much freedom and fervency. Was much assisted in crying for mercy for my poor people, and felt cheerfulness and hope in my requests for them. I spent much of the day in writing, but was enabled to intermix prayer with my studies.

Friday, Dec. 21. Assisted again to pray with freedom, chearfulness and hope. God was pleased to make the duty comfortable and pleasant to me; so that I delighted to persevere, and repeatedly to engage in it. Towards noon visited my people, and spent the whole time in the way to them in prayer, longing to see the power of God among them, as there appeared something of it the last Tuesday. I found it sweet to rest and hope in God. Preached to them twice, and at two distinct places: had considerable freedom each time, and so had my Interpreter. Several of them followed me from one place to the other, and I thought there was some divine influence discernible amongst them. In the evening, was assisted in prayer again. Blessed, blessed be the Lord!

[Similar things are expressed concerning his inward frame, and assistances on Saturday, as on the preceding days. He observes that this was a comfortable week to him, but concludes, "Oh that I had no reason to complain of so much barrenness. Oh that there were no vain thoughts and evil affections lodging within me! The Lord knows how I long for that world, where they "rest not day nor night, saying, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty." On the following Sabbath, he speaks of assistance and freedom in his public work, but as having less of the sensible presence of God than frequently in the week past; yet his soul was kept from sinking into discouragement. On Monday, he seemed to enjoy much the same liberty and fervency, as he had done, through the greater part of the preceding week.*

Tuesday, Dec. 25. Enjoyed very little quiet sleep last night, by reason of bodily weakness, and the closeness of my studies yesterday; yet my heart was somewhat lively in prayer and praise. I was delighted with the divine glory

* This day he wrote the *fifth letter* added at the end of this history.

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and happiness, and rejoiced that God was God, and that he was unchangeably possessed of glory and blessedness. Though he "held my eyes waking," yet he helped me to improve my time profitably amidst my pains and weakness, in continued meditations on Luke xiii. 7. "Behold, these three years I come seeking fruit, &c." My meditations were sweet, and I wanted to set before sinners their sin and danger.

[He continued in a very low state, as to his bodily health, for some days; which seems to have been a great hindrance to him in his religious exercises and pursuits. Yet he expresses some degree of divine assistance, from day to day through the remaining part of this week. He preached several times to his Indians, and there appeared still some concern amongst them for their souls. On Saturday he rode to the Irish settlement, about fifteen miles from his lodgings, in order to spend the sabbath there.]

Lord's day, Dec. 30. Discoursed, both parts of the day, from Mark viii. 34. God gave me very great freedom and clearness, and (in the afternoon especially) considerable warmth and fervency. In the evening also I was happy in conversing with friends on divine things. I do not remember ever to have clearer apprehensions of religion in my life; but found a struggle, in the evening, with spiritual pride.

[On Monday, he preached again in the same place with freedom and fervency; and rode home to his lodging in the evening, under a considerable degree of bodily illness, which continued the two next days.]

Thursday, Jan. 3. 1744-5. Being sensible of the great want of divine influences, and the outpouring of God's Spirit, I spent this day in fasting and prayer, to seek so great a mercy for myself, and my poor people in particular, and for the church of God in general. In the morning, was very lifeless in prayer, and had scarcely any sense of God. Near noon, enjoyed some freedom in praying that the *will of God* might in every respect become *mine;* and I am persuaded it was so at that time in some good degree. In the afternoon, I was exceeding weak, and could not enjoy much

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fervency in prayer; but felt a great degree of dejection, which I believe was very much owing to my bodily weakness and disorder.

Friday, Jan. 4. Rode up to the Indians, near noon; spent some time there under great disorder. My soul was sunk down into deep waters, and I was almost overwhelmed with melancholy.

Saturday, Jan. 5. Was able to do something at writing, but much disordered with pain in my head. At night, was distressed with a sense of my spiritual pollution, and ten thousand youthful, yea, and childish follies, that nobody but myself had any thought about; all which appeared to me now fresh, and in a lively view, as if committed yesterday, and made my soul ashamed before God, and caused me to lothe myself.

Lord's day, Jan. 6. Preached to my poor Indians, but had little heart or life. Towards night I was pressed under a sense of my unfaithfulness. Oh the joy and peace that arises from a sense of "having obtained mercy of God to be faithful;" and oh the misery and anguish that spring from an apprehension of the contrary!

Wednesday, Jan. 9. In the morning, God was pleased to remove that gloom which has of late oppressed my mind, and gave me freedom and comfort in prayer. I was encouraged and strengthened, and enabled to plead for grace for myself, and mercy for my poor Indians; and was sweetly assisted in my intercessions with God for others. Blessed be his holy name for ever and ever. Amen, and Amen. Those things that of late have appeared most difficult and almost impossible, now appeared not only possible but easy. My soul so much delighted to continue instant in prayer, at this blessed season, that I had no desire for my necessary food. I even dreaded leaving off praying at all, lest I should lose this spirituality, and this blessed thankfulness to God which I then felt. I was now quite willing to live, and undergo all trials that might remain for me in a world of sorrow; but still longed for heaven, that I might glorify God in a perfect manner. Oh "come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." Spent the day in reading a little; and in some amusements, which I was necessitated to take by reason of much weakness and disorder. In the evening, enjoyed some freedom and intenseness in prayer.

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[The three remaining days of the week, he was very low and feeble in body; but nevertheless continued in the same comfortable frame of mind, as is expressed on Wednesday. On the Sabbath, this sweetness in spiritual alacrity began to abate; but still he enjoyed some degree of comfort, and had assistance in preaching to the Indians.]

Monday, Jan. 14. Spent this day under a great degree of bodily weakness and disorder, and had very little freedom, either in my studies or devotions. In the evening I was much dejected and melancholy. It pains and distresses me, that I live so much of my time for nothing. I long to do much in a little time, and if it might be the Lord's will, to finish my work speedily in this tiresome world. I am sure, I do not desire to live for any thing in this world; and through grace, I am not afraid to look the king of terrors in the face. I know I shall be afraid, if God leaves me; and therefore I think it always my duty to lay in for that solemn hour. But for a very considerable time past, my soul has rejoiced to think of death in its nearest approaches; and even when I have been very weak, and seemed nearest eternity. Not unto me, not unto me, but to God be the glory. I feel convinced, that if God do not enable me to maintain a holy dependance upon him, death will easily be a terror to me; but at present I must say, "I long to depart, and to be with Christ," which is best of all. When I am in a sweet resigned frame of soul, I am willing to tarry a while in a world of sorrow, I am willing to be from home as long as God sees fit it should be so; but when I want the influence of this temper, I am then apt to be impatient to be gone. Oh when will the day appear, that I shall be perfect in holiness, and in the enjoyment of God!

Wednesday and *Thursday*, Jan. 16, 17. I spent most of the time in writing on a divine subject, and enjoyed some freedom and assistance. Was likewise enabled to pray more frequently and fervently than usual, and my soul rejoiced in God; especially on the evening of the last of these days. *Praise* then seemed *comely*, and I delighted to bless the Lord. Oh what reason have I to be thankful, that God ever helps me to labour and study for him! He does but receive his own, when I am enabled in any measure to praise him, labour for him, and live to him. Oh how comfortable

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it is, to feel the assistance of divine grace in the performance of the duties God has enjoined us. "Bless the Lord, oh my soul."

[The same enlargement of heart and delight continued through the next day. But on the day following it began to decline, and continued to do so the whole of the next week: yet he enjoyed some seasons of special assistance.]

Lord's day, Jan. 27. Had the greatest degree of inward anguish that I almost ever endured. I was perfectly overwhelmed, and so confused, that after I began to discourse to the Indians, before I could finish a sentence, sometimes I forgot entirely what I was aiming at; or if with much difficulty I recollected what I had before designed, still it appeared strange, and like something I had long forgotten, or had now but an imperfect remembrance of. I know it was a degree of distraction, occasioned by melancholy, spiritual desertion, and some other things that particularly pressed upon me this morning, with an uncommon weight, the principal of which respected my Indians. This distressing gloom never went off the whole day; but was so far removed, that I was enabled to speak with some freedom and concern to the Indians, at two of their settlements; and I think there was some appearance of the presence of God with us, some seriousness and seeming concern among the Indians, at least a few of them. In the evening, this gloom continued till family-prayer,* about nine o'clock, and almost through this exercise, until I came near the close, when I was praying (as I usually do) for the illumination and conversion of my poor people; and then the cloud was scattered, so that I enjoyed a holy freedom, and conceived hopes, that God designed mercy for some of them. The same I enjoyed afterwards in secret prayer; in which precious duty I had for a considerable time, freedom and faith, in praying for myself, my poor Indians, and dear friends and acquaintance in New-England and elsewhere, and for the interest of Zion in general. "Bless the Lord, oh my soul, and forget not all his benefits."

* Though Mr. Brainerd now dwelt by himself in the forementioned little cottage, which he had built for his own use; yet that was near to a *family* of white people with whom he had lived before, and with whom he still attended family-prayer.

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[He spent the greater part of this week in dejection and melancholy, which on Friday rose to an extreme height. This gloominess continued till Saturday evening, when he was again relieved in family-prayer; and after it, was refreshed in secret, and felt willing to live and endure hardships in the cause of God. His hopes of the advancement of Christ's kingdom, and of seeing the power of God among the poor Indians, were considerably raised.]

Lord's day, Feb. 3. In the morning I was somewhat relieved of that gloom and confusion, which my mind has of late been greatly exercised with, and was enabled to pray with some composure and comfort. But however, I went to my Indians trembling; for my soul "remembered the wormwood and the gall," (I might almost say the *hell*) of Friday last; and I was greatly afraid I should be obliged to drink of that "cup of trembling," which was inconceivably more bitter than death, and made me long for the grave more, unspeakably more, than for hid treasures, yea, inconceivably more than the men of this world long for such treasures. But God was pleased to hear my cries, and to afford me great assistance; so that I felt peace in my own soul, and was satisfied, that if not one of the Indians should be profited by my preaching, but should all be lost, yet I should be accepted and rewarded as faithful; for I am persuaded the Lord enabled me to be so.—Had some good degree of help afterwards, at another place; and much longed for the conversion of the poor Indians. Was somewhat refreshed and comforted towards night; oh that my soul might praise the Lord for his goodness!

[In the three next days, he was the subject of much dejection: but the three remaining days of the week seem to have been spent with much composure and comfort. On the following sabbath he preached at Greenwich in New-Jersey. In the evening he rode eight miles to visit a sick man at the point of death, and found him speechless and senseless.]

Monday, Feb. 11. About break of day, the sick man died. I was affected at the sight: spent the morning with the mourners: and after prayer and some discourse with

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them, I returned to Greenwich, and preached again from Psal. lxxxix. 15, and the Lord gave me assistance. I felt a love to souls, and to the kingdom of Christ; and longed that poor sinners might know the joyful sound. Several persons were much affected. After meeting I was enabled to discourse, with freedom and concern, to some persons who applied to me under spiritual trouble. Left the place, much composed, and rode home to my house about eight miles distant. Discoursed to friends, and inculcated divine truths upon some. In the evening, was in the most solemn frame that I almost ever remember to have experienced. I know not that death ever appeared more real to me, or that ever I saw myself in the condition of a dead corpse, laid out, and dressed for a lodging in the silent grave, so evidently as at this time. Yet I felt exceeding comfortable; my mind was composed and calm, and death appeared without a sting. I think, I never felt such a universal mortification to all created objects as now. Oh how great and solemn a thing it appeared to die! Oh how it lays the greatest honour in the dust; and how vain and trifling did the riches, honours and pleasures of the world appear! I could not, I dare not so much as think of any of them; for *death, death,* solemn (though not frightful) *death* appeared at the door. I could see myself dead and laid out, and inclosed in my coffin, and put down into the cold grave, with the greatest solemnity, but without terror. I spent most of the evening in conversing with a dear Christian friend; and blessed be God, it was a comfortable evening to us both. What are friends—what are comforts—what are sorrows—what are distresses? "The time is short: it remains that they which weep, be as though they wept not; and they which rejoice, as though they rejoiced not: for the fashion of this world passeth away. Oh come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen." Blessed be God for the comforts of the past day.

Tuesday, Feb. 12. Was exceeding weak; but in a resigned composed frame, most of the day: felt my heart freely go forth after God in prayer.

Wednesday, Feb. 13. Was much exercised with lowness, but still enabled to maintain a degree of spirituality.

Thursday, Feb. 14. Spent the day in writing on a divine subject; enjoyed health, and freedom in my work. Had a

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solemn sense of death, as I have had indeed every day this week, in some measure: what I felt on Monday last has been abiding.

Friday, Feb. 15. Was engaged in writing again almost the whole day. In the evening, was much assisted in meditating on that precious text, John vii. 37. "Jesus stood and cried, *&c.*" I had then a sweet sense of the free grace of the gospel: my soul was encouraged, warmed and quickened, and my desires drawn out after God in prayer. My soul was watchful, and afraid of losing so delightful a guest as I then entertained. I continued long in prayer and meditation, intermixing one with the other; and was unwilling to be diverted by any thing from so sweet an exercise. I longed to proclaim the grace I then meditated upon, to the world of sinners. Oh how quick and powerful is the word of the blessed God.

Lord's day, Feb. 17. My Interpreter being absent, I preached to the *white* people in the wilderness, upon the sunny side of a hill. Had a considerable assembly, consisting of many that lived not less than thirty miles asunder. I discoursed to them all day, from John vii. 37. "Jesus stood and cried, saying, if any man thirst, *&c.*" In the afternoon, it pleased God to grant me great freedom and fervency in my discourse; and I was enabled to imitate the example of Christ in the text, who *stood and cried*. I think, I was scarcely ever enabled to offer the free grace of God to perishing sinners with more freedom and plainness in my life. Afterwards I earnestly invited the children of God to come renewedly, and drink of this fountain of living water, from whence they have heretofore derived unspeakable satisfaction. It was a very comfortable time to me: there were many tears in the assembly, and I doubt not but that the Spirit of God was there, convincing poor sinners of their need of Christ. In the evening I felt composed and comfortable, though much tired. I had a perception of the excellency and glory of God; and my soul rejoiced that he was "God over all, blessed for ever." But I was too much crouded with company and conversation, and longed to be more alone with God. Oh that I could for ever bless God for the mercy of this day, who "answered me in the joy of my heart."

[The rest of this week seems to have been spent under a

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decay of this life and joy, and in distressing conflicts with corruption; but not without some seasons of refreshment and comfort.]

Lord's day, Feb. 24. In the morning, was much perplexed: my Interpreter being absent, I knew not how to perform my work among the Indians. However, I rode to them, and got a Dutchman to interpret for me, though he was but poorly qualified for the business. Afterwards I came and preached to a few white people, from John vi. 67. Here the Lord seemed to unburden me in some measure, especially towards the close of my discourse. I felt freedom to open the love of Christ to his own disciples: when the rest of the world *forsake* him, and are *forsaken* by him, so that he calls them no more, he then turns to his own, and says, "Will ye also go away?" I had a sense of the free grace of Christ to his own people, in such seasons of general apostacy, and when they themselves in some measure backslide with the world. Oh the mercy of Christ, in reminding his people of their danger of backsliding, and inviting them to persevere in their adherence to himself. I saw that backsliding souls, who seemed disposed to *go away* with the world, might return, and welcome, to him *immediately*; without any thing to recommend them, notwithstanding all their former backslidings. And thus my discourse was suited to the case of my own soul, for of late I have found a great want of this sense and apprehension of divine grace; and have often been greatly distressed, because I did not suitably apprehend this fountain opened to purge away sin; and so have been too much labouring for spiritual life, peace of conscience, and progressive holiness, in my own strength. But now God shewed me, in some measure, the arm of all strength, and the fountain of all grace.—In the evening I felt solemn and devout, resting on free grace for assistance, acceptance, and peace of conscience.

[Within the space of the next nine days, he had frequent refreshing, invigorating influences of God's Spirit; attended with complaint of dulness, and with longings after spiritual life and holy fervency.]

Wednesday, March 6. Engaged most of the day in pre-

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paring for a journey to New-England. Spent some time in prayer, with special reference to my intended journey. Was afraid I should forsake the "fountain of living waters," and attempt to derive satisfaction from, "broken cisterns," my dear friends and acquaintance, whom I might meet with in my journey. I looked to God to keep me from this *vanity*, as well as all others. In the evening I was visited by friends, some of whom, I trust, were real Christians. They discovered an affectionate regard to me, and seemed grieved that I was about to leave them; especially seeing I did not expect to make any considerable stay among them, if I should live to return from New-England.* Oh how kind has God been to me; how has he raised up friends in every place where his providence has called me! Friends are a great comfort, and it is God that gives them; it is *he* makes them what they are. "Bless the Lord, oh my soul, and forget not all his benefits."

[The next day he set out on his journey, and it was about five weeks before he returned. The special design of this journey, he himself declares afterwards, in his diary for March 21, where, speaking of his conversing with a certain minister in New-England, he says thus, "I contrived with him how to raise some money among Christian friends, in order to support a colleague with me in the wilderness, (I having now spent two years in a very solitary manner,) that we might be together; as Christ sent out his disciples two and two. And as this was the principal concern I had in view, in taking this journey, so I took pains in it, and hope God will succeed it, if for his glory." He first went into various parts of New-Jersey, and visited several ministers there. He then went to New-York; from thence into New-England, going to various parts of Connecticut, and then returned into New-Jersey. He met a number of ministers at Woodbridge, "who," he says, "met there to consult about the affairs of Christ's kingdom, in some important articles." He seems, for the most part, to have been free from melancholy in this journey; and many times to have had extraordinary assistance in public ministrations. His preaching also was attended with very hopeful appearances amongst

* It seems he had a design, by what afterwards appears, to remove and live among the Indians at Susquehannah river.

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the auditory. He also had many seasons of special comfort and spiritual refreshment, in conversation with ministers and other Christian friends, and in mediation and private prayer.]

Saturday, April 13. Rode home to my own house at the Forks of Delaware: was enabled to remember the goodness of the Lord, who preserved me while riding full six hundred miles in this journey, so that none of my bones were broken. Blessed be the Lord, who has preserved and returned me in safety to my own house. Verily it is he that has upheld me, and guarded my goings.

Lord's day, April 14. Was disordered in body with the fatigues of my late journey; but enabled to preach with some freedom, to a considerable assembly of white people, gathered from all parts round about. I spoke from Ezek. xxxiii. 11. "As I live, saith the Lord God," *&c.* Had much more assistance than I expected.

[This week he went a journey to Philadelphia, in order to engage the Governor there to use his interest with the chief man of the Six Nations, (with whom he maintained a strict friendship,) that he would permit him to live at Susquahannah, and instruct the Indians within their territories.* In his way to and from thence, he lodged with Mr. Beaty, a young Presbyterian minister. He speaks of seasons of spiritual refreshment which he enjoyed at his lodgings.]

Saturday, April 20. Rode with Mr. Beaty to Abington, to attend Mr. Treat's administration of the sacrament, according to the method of the church of Scotland. When we arrived, we found Mr. Treat preaching: afterwards I preached a sermon from Matth. v. 3. "Blessed are the poor in spirit," *&c.* God was pleased to give me great freedom and tenderness, both in prayer and sermon: the assembly was melted, and scores were all in tears. It was, as I then hoped and afterwards found, a "word spoken in season to many weary souls." I was extremely tired, and my spirits were much exhausted, so that I could scarcely speak loud; yet I could not help rejoicing in God.

* The Indians at Susquahannah are a mixed company of many nations, speaking various languages, and few of them properly of the Six Nations. But the country having formerly been conquered by the Six Nations, they claim the land; and the Susquahannah Indians are a kind of vassals to them.

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Lord's day, April 21. In the morning, calm and composed, with some outgoings of soul after God in secret duties, and longing desires for his presence in the *sanctuary* and at his *table*; that his presence might be in the assembly, and that his children might be entertained with "a feast of fat things."—In the forenoon, Mr. Treat preached. I felt some affection and tenderness during the administration of the ordinance. Mr. Beaty preached to the multitude abroad, who could not half have crouded into the meeting-house. In the season of the communion, I had comfortable apprehensions of the blissful communion of God's people, when they shall meet at their Father's table in his kingdom, in a state of perfection.—In the afternoon I preached abroad to the whole assembly, from Rev. xiv. 4. "These are they that follow the Lamb," *&c.* God was pleased again to give me great freedom and clearness, but not so much warmth as before. However, there was a most amazing attention in the whole assembly; and as I was informed afterwards, this was a good season to many.

Monday, April 22. I enjoyed some sweetness in retirement, in the morning. At eleven o'clock, Mr. Beaty preached with freedom and life. Then I preached from Job vii. 37, and concluded the solemnity. Had some freedom, but not equal to what I had enjoyed before; yet in prayer, the Lord enabled me to cry with a childlike temper, with tenderness and brokenness of heart.—Came home with Mr. Beaty to his lodgings; and spent the time, while riding together and afterwards, very agreeably on divine things.

Tuesday, April 23. Left Mr. Beaty's, and returned home to the Forks of Delaware; had some pleasant meditations on the road, and was enabled to lift up my heart to God in prayer and praise.

Friday, April 26. Conversed with a Christian friend with some warmth; and felt a spirit of mortification to the world, in a very great degree. Afterwards, was enabled to pray fervently, and to rely on God for "all things pertaining to life and godliness." In the evening, was visited by a dear Christian friend, with whom I spent an hour or two in conversation, on the very soul of religion. There are many with whom I can talk *about religion*; but alas, I find few with whom I can talk *religion itself*. Blessed be the Lord, there are some that love to feed on the kernel, rather than the shell.

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[The next day he went to the Irish settlement, often before mentioned, about fifteen miles distant; where he spent the Sabbath, and preached with some considerable assistance. On Monday he returned in a very weak state to his own lodgings.]

Tuesday, April 30. Was scarcely able to walk about, and was obliged to betake myself to the bed, much of the day. I spent the time in a very solitary manner, being neither able to read, meditate, nor pray, and had none to converse with in that wilderness. Oh how heavily does time pass away, when I can do nothing to any good purpose; but seem obliged to trifle away precious time! But of late I have seen it my duty to divert myself by all lawful means, that I may be fit, at least some small part of my time, to labour for God. And here is the difference between my present diversions, and those I once pursued, when in a natural state. I then delighted in them to the neglect of God, and drew my highest satisfaction from them: now I use them as means to help me in living to God; fixedly delighting in him, and not in them, drawing my highest satisfaction from *him*. Then they were my *all;* now they are only means leading to my *all*. And those things that are the greatest diversion, when pursued with this view, do not tend to hinder, but promote my spirituality; and I see now, more than ever, that they are absolutely necessary.

Wednesday, May 1. Was not able to sit up more than half the day; and yet had such recruits of strength sometimes, that I was able to write a little on a divine subject. Was grieved that I could no more live to God. In the evening, had some nearness and intenseness in secret prayer.

Thursday, May 2. In the evening, being a little better in health, I walked into the woods, and enjoyed a season of meditation and prayer. My thoughts run upon Psal. xvii. 15. "I shall be satisfied, when I awake with thy likeness." It was indeed a precious text to me, and I longed to preach to the whole world; my thoughts were exceeding clear, and my soul was refreshed. Blessed be the Lord, that in my late and present weakness, now for many days together, my mind is not gloomy, as at some other times.

Friday, May 3. Felt a little vigour of body and mind, in the morning; had some freedom and fervency in prayer.

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Visited and spent some time with my Indians. In the evening, again retiring into the woods, I enjoyed some sweet meditations on Isaiah liii. 1. "Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him," *&c.*

[The three next days were spent in much weakness of body: yet he enjoyed some assistance in public and private duties; and seems to have remained free from melancholy.]

Tuesday, May 7. Spent the day chiefly in making preparation for a journey into the wilderness. Was still weak, and concerned how I should perform so difficult a journey. Engaged in prayer for the divine blessing, direction, and protection in my intended journey; but wanted bodily strength to spend the day in fasting and supplication.

[The next day he set out on his journey to Susquahannah, with his Interpreter. He endured great hardships and fatigues in his way thither through a hideous wilderness; where after having lodged one night in the open woods, he was overtaken with a north-easterly storm, in which he was almost ready to perish. Having no manner of shelter, and not being able to make a fire in so great a rain, he could have no comfort if he stopped; therefore determined to go forward in hopes of meeting with some shelter, without which he thought it impossible he should live the night through. But their horses happening to have eat poison (for want of other food) at a place where they lodged the night before, were so sick that they could neither ride nor lead them, but were obliged to drive them before them, and travel on foot; until through the mercy of God (just at dusk) they came to a bark-hut, where they lodged that night. After he came to Susquahannah, he travelled about a hundred miles on the river, and visited many towns and settlements of the Indians; saw some of seven or eight distinct tribes, and preached to different nations, by different interpreters. He was sometimes much discouraged, and sunk in his spirits, through the opposition that appeared in the Indians to Christianity. At other times, he was encouraged by the disposition that some of these people manifested to hear, and willingness to be instructed. He here met with some who had formerly been his hearers at Kaunaumeek, and had removed hither; who saw

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and heard him again with great joy. He spent a fortnight among the Indians on this river; and passed through considerable labours and hardships, frequently lodging on the ground, and sometimes in the open air; till at length he fell extremely ill, as he was riding in the wilderness, being seized with an ague, followed with a burning fever, and extreme pains in his head and bowels, attended with a great evacuation of blood; so that he thought he must have perished in the wilderness. But at last coming to an Indian trader's hut, he got leave to stay there; and though without physic or food proper for him, it pleased God, after about a week's distress, to relieve him so far that he was able to ride. He returned homewards from Juncauta, an island far down the river; where was a considerable number of Indians, who appeared more free from prejudices against Christianity, than most of the other Indians. He arrived at the Forks of Delaware on Thursday, May 30, after having rode in this journey about three hundred and forty miles.* He came home in a very weak state, and under dejection of mind; which was a great hindrance to him in religious exercises. However, on the Sabbath, after having preached to the Indians, he preached to the white people with some success, from Is. liii. 10. "Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him," &c. Some were awakened by his preaching. The next day, he was much exercised for want of spiritual life and fervency.]

Tuesday, June 4. Towards evening, was in distress for want of the divine presence, and a sense of spiritual things. Withdrew to the woods, and spent near an hour in prayer and meditation; and the Lord had compassion on me. The season was indeed refreshing; my soul enjoyed intenseness and freedom in prayer, so that it grieved me to leave the place.

Wednesday, June 5. Felt thirsting desires after God, in the morning. In the evening, enjoyed a precious season of retirement: was favoured with some delightful meditations upon a sacred text. Divine things opened with clearness and certainty, and had a divine stamp upon them: my soul was also enlarged and refreshed in prayer, and I delighted to continue in the duty. I was assisted in praying for fellow-

* This is the journey which he occasionally mentions in his printed Journal.

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Christians, and my dear brethren in the ministry. Blessed be the Lord for such enjoyments. Oh how sweet and precious it is, to have a clear apprehension and tender sense of the mystery of godliness, of true holiness, and likeness to the best of Beings! What a blessedness, to be as much like God, as it is possible for a creature to be like his great Creator! Lord, give me more of thy likeness; "I shall be satisfied when I awake with it."

Thursday, June 6. Was engaged, a considerable part of the day, in meditation and study on divine subjects. Enjoyed some special freedom and sweetness in meditation. How refreshing it is, to be enabled to improve time well!

[The next day he went a journey of near fifty miles to Neshaminy, to assist at a sacramental occasion, to be attended to at Mr. Beaty's meeting-house; being invited thither by him and his people.]

Saturday, June 8. Was exceeding weak and fatigued with riding in the heat yesterday: but being desired, I preached in the afternoon, to a crouded audience, from Is. xl. 1. "Comfort ye, comfort ye my people, saith your God." The Lord was pleased to give me great freedom, in opening the sorrows of his people, and in setting before them comforting considerations. And, blessed be his name, it was a sweet melting season in the assembly.

Lord's day, June 9. Felt some longing desires for the presence of God to be with his people on the solemn occasion of the day. In the forenoon, Mr. Beaty preached; and there appeared some warmth in the assembly. Afterwards, I assisted in the administration of the Lord's supper: and towards the close of it, I discoursed to the multitude *extempore*, with some reference to that sacred passage, Is. liii. 10. "Yet it pleased the Lord to bruise him." Here I had great assistance in addressing sinners, and the word was attended with amazing power; many scores, if not hundreds, in that great assembly, consisting of three or four thousand, were much affected; so that there was a "very great mourning, like the mourning of Hadadrimmon."—In the evening I could hardly look any body in the face, because of the imperfections I saw in my performances the day past.

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Monday, June 10. Preached with a good degree of clearness and warmth, from Psal. xvii. 15. "I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness." And blessed be God, there was a great solemnity and attention in the assembly, and some refreshment among God's people.

Tuesday, June 11. Spent the day chiefly in conversation with Christian friends, and enjoyed some sweet sense of divine things. Oh how desirable it is, to keep company with God's dear children! These are the "excellent of the earth, in whom," I can truly say, "is all my delight." Oh what delight will it afford, to meet them all in a state of perfection! Lord, prepare me for it.

[The next day he left Mr. Beaty's, and went to Maidenhead in New-Jersey; and spent the next seven days in a comfortable state of mind, visiting several ministers in those parts.]

Tuesday, June 18. Set out from New-Brunswick with a design to visit some Indians at a place called Crosweeksung in New-Jersey, towards the sea.* In the afternoon, came to a place called Cranberry, and meeting with a serious minister, Mr. Macknight, I lodged there with him. Had some enlargement and freedom in prayer with a number of people.

* Mr. Brainerd having, when at Boston, wrote and left with a friend a brief Relation of facts concerning his labours with the Indians, and reception among them, during the space of time between November 5, 1744, and June 19, 1745, (with a view to connect his *Narrative*, at the end of Mr. Pemberton's ordination-sermon, and his *Journal*, in case they should ever be reprinted,) concludes the same with this passage: "As my body was very feeble, so my mind was scarce ever so much damped and discouraged about the conversion of the Indians, as at this time. And in this state of body and mind I made my first visit to the Indians in New-Jersey, where God was pleased to display his power and grace in the remarkable manner that I have represented in my printed Journal."

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PART VII.

From his first beginning to preach to the Indians at Crosweeksung, till he returned from his last journey to Susquahannah ill with the consumption whereof he died.

WE are now come to that part of Mr. Brainerd's life, wherein he had the greatest success in his labours for the good of souls, and in his particular business as a missionary to the Indians. After all his agonizing in prayer, and travelling in birth, for the conversion of the Indians, and all the interchanges of his raised hopes and expectations, and then disappointments and discouragements; and after waiting in a way of persevering prayer, labour and suffering, as it were through a long night, at length the day dawns. "Weeping continues for a night, but joy comes in the morning. He went forth weeping, bearing precious seed, and now he comes with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him." The desired event is brought to pass at last; but at a time, in a place, and upon subjects, that scarcely ever entered into his heart. An account of this would undoubtedly gratify the Christian reader, and it should have been here inserted as it stands in his Diary, had not a particular account of this glorious and wonderful success been drawn up by Mr. Brainerd himself, pursuant to the order of the honourable society in Scotland, and published by him in his lifetime.*]

Wednesday, June 19, 1745. Rode to the Indians at Crosweeksung: found few at home; discoursed to them however, and observed them very serious and attentive. At night I was extremely worn out, and scarcely able to walk or sit up. Oh how tiresome is earth; how dull the body!

Thursday, June 20. Towards night, preached to the Indians again, and had more hearers than before. In the evening, enjoyed some peace and serenity of mind, some composure and comfort in prayer alone; and was enabled to lift up my head with some degree of joy, under an apprehension that my redemption draws nigh. Blessed be God, that there remains a rest to his poor weary people.

Friday, June 21. Rode to Freehold, to see Mr. William Tennent; and spent the day comfortably with him. My

* The Reader will find this JOURNAL added, since the First Edition published by President Edwards, under the title of "Divine Grace displayed among the Indians."

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sinking spirits were a little raised and encouraged; and I felt my soul breathing after God, in the midst of Christian conversation. In the evening, was refreshed in secret prayer; saw myself a poor worthless creature, without wisdom to direct, or strength to help myself. Blessed be God, who lays me under a happy, a blessed necessity of living upon himself.

Saturday, June 22. About noon, rode to the Indians again; and near night, preached to them. Found my body much strengthened, and was enabled to speak with abundant plainness and warmth. The power of God evidently attended the word; several persons were brought under great concern for their souls, and made to shed many tears, and to wish for Christ to save them. I was much refreshed and quickened in my work, and could not but spend much time with them, in order to open both their misery and remedy. This was indeed a sweet afternoon to me. While riding, before I came to the Indians, my spirits were refreshed, and my soul enabled to cry to God almost incessantly, for many miles together. In the evening also I found the consolations of God were not small. I was then willing to live, and in some respects desirous of it, that I might do something for the kingdom of Christ. Yet death appeared pleasant, so that I was in some measure in a strait between two, having a desire to depart. I am often weary of this world, and want to leave it; but it is desirable to be drawn, rather than driven out of it.

Thursday, June 27. Rejoiced to find that God enabled me to be faithful, and that he was pleased to awaken these poor Indians by my means. Oh how heart-reviving, to see the fruit of my labours!

Friday, June 28. In the evening, my soul was revived and lifted up to God in prayer, for my poor Indians, myself and friends, and the church of God. How refreshing, how sweet was this! Bless the Lord, oh my soul, and forget not his goodness and tender mercy.

Saturday, June 29. Preached twice to the Indians, and could not but wonder at their seriousness, and the strictness of their attention. Blessed be God who has inclined their hearts to hear. Oh how refreshing it is to see them attend with such uncommon diligence and affection, with tears in their eyes, and concern in their hearts! In the evening,

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could not but lift up my soul to God in prayer, while riding to my lodgings; and blessed be his name, had assistance and freedom. The presence of God is better than life.

Tuesday, July 2. Rode from the Indians to Brunswick, near forty miles, and lodged there. Felt my heart drawn out after God in prayer, almost all the forenoon, especially while riding. In the evening, could not help crying to God for those poor Indians; and after I went to bed, my heart continued to go out for them, till I dropped asleep. Blessed be God that I may pray.

[He was so exhausted by constant preaching to these Indians, yielding to their earnest and importunate desires, that he found it necessary to take some relaxation. He therefore spent about a week in New-Jersey, after he left the Indians, visiting several ministers, and performing some necessary business, before he went to the Forks of Delaware. And though very weak in body, yet he seems to have been strong in spirit. On Friday, July 12, he arrived at his own house in the Forks of Delaware; continuing still free from melancholy, he from day to day enjoyed freedom, assistance, and refreshment in the inner man. But on Wednesday, the next week, he seems to have had some melancholy thoughts about his doing so little for God, being so much hindered by weakness of body.]

Thursday, July 18. Longed to spend the little inch of time I have in the world more for God: Felt a spirit of seriousness, tenderness and devotion, and wished to spend the whole night in prayer and communion with God.

Friday, July 19. In the evening, walked abroad for prayer and meditation, and enjoyed composure and freedom in these exercises, especially in meditation on Rev. iii. 12. "Him that overcometh, will I make a pillar in the temple of my God." This was a delightful theme to me, and it refreshed my soul to dwell upon it. Oh, when shall I *go no more out* from the service and enjoyment of the dear Lord! Lord, hasten the blessed day.

[Within the space of the next six days, he speaks of much inward refreshment and enlargement, from time to time.]

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Friday, July 26. In the evening, God was pleased to help me in prayer, beyond what I have experienced for some time. My soul was especially drawn out for the enlargement of Christ's kingdom, and for the conversion of my poor people; and I relied on God for the accomplishment of that great work. Oh how sweet were the thoughts of death to me at this time! How I longed to be with Christ, to be employed in the glorious work of angels, and with an angel's freedom, vigour and delight. Yet how willing was I to stay awhile on earth, that I might do something, if the Lord pleased, for his interest in the world. My soul, my very soul longed for the ingathering of the poor Heathen; and I cried to God for them most willingly and heartily, and yet because I could not but cry. This was a delightful season; for I had some lively taste of heaven, and a temper of mind suited in some measure to the employments and entertainments of it. My soul was grieved to leave the place; but my body was weak and worn out, and it was near nine o'clock. I longed that the remaining part of my life might be filled up with more fervency and activity in the things of God. Oh the inward peace, composure, and God-like serenity of such a frame: heaven must needs differ from this only in degree, and not in kind. "Lord, ever give me this bread of life."

Lord's day, July 28. In the evening my heart was melted and broken with a sense of past barrenness and deadness. Oh how I then longed to live to God, and bring forth much fruit to his glory.

Monday, July 29. Was much exercised with a sense of vileness, with guilt and shame before God.

[For other things remarkable, while he was this time at the Forks of Delaware, the reader must be refered to his public Journal. As particularly for his labours and success there among the Indians.

On Wednesday, July 31. He set out on his return to Crosweeksung, and arrived there the next day. In his way thither, he had longing desires that he might come to the Indians in the "fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ;" attended with a sense of his own great weakness, dependance, and worthlessness.]

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Friday, August 2. In the evening I retired, and my soul was drawn out in prayer to God, especially for my poor people, to whom I had sent word that they might gather together, that I might preach to them the next day. I was much enlarged in praying for their saving conversion, and scarcely ever found my desires for any thing of this nature so sensibly and clearly disinterested, and free from selfish views. It seemed to me, I had no care, or hardly any desire to be the instrument of so glorious a work, as I wished and prayed for among the Indians; if the blessed work might be accomplished to the honour of God, and the enlargement of the dear Redeemer's kingdom, this was all my desire and care; and for this mercy I hoped, but with trembling, for I felt what Job expresses, chap. ix. 16. My rising hopes, respecting the conversion of the Indians, have been so often dashed, that my spirit is as it were broken, and courage wasted, and I hardly dare hope.

[Concerning his labours and marvellous success amongst the Indians, for the following ten days, let the reader see his public Journal. The things worthy of note in his Diary, not there published, are his earnest and importunate prayers for the Indians, and the travail of his soul for them from day to day; his great refreshment and joy in beholding the wonderful mercy of God, and the glorious manifestations of his power and grace in his work among them; his ardent thanksgivings to God; his heart's rejoicing in Christ, as King of his church, and King of his soul; in particular at the sacrament of the Lord's supper at Mr. Macknight's meeting-house; a sense of his own exceeding unworthiness, which sometimes was attended with dejection and melancholy.]

Monday, Aug. 19. Near noon I rode to Freehold, and preached to a considerable assembly, from Matth. v. 3. It pleased God to leave me to be very dry and barren, so that I do not remember to have been so straitened for a whole twelvemonth past. God is just, and he has made my soul acquiesce in his will in this respect. It is contrary to flesh and blood, to be cut off from all freedom, in a large auditory, where their expectations are much raised; but so it was with me; and God helped me to say Amen to it; "Good

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is the will of the Lord." In the evening I felt quiet and composed, and had freedom and comfort in secret prayer.

Tuesday, Aug. 20. Was composed and comfortable, still in a resigned frame. Travelled from Mr. Tennent's in Freehold to Elisabeth-Town. Was refreshed to see friends, and relate to them what God had done, and was still doing among my poor people.

Wednesday, Aug. 20. Spent the forenoon in conversation with Mr. Dickinson, contriving something for the settlement of the Indians together in a body, that they might be under better advantages for instruction. In the afternoon, spent some time agreeably with other friends; wrote to my brother at college; but was grieved that time passed away, while I did so little for God.

Friday, Aug. 23. In the morning, was very weak; but favoured with some freedom and sweetness in prayer; was composed and comfortable in mind. After noon, rode to Crosweeksung to my poor people.

Saturday, Aug. 24. Had composure and peace, while riding from the Indians to my lodgings; was enabled to pour out my soul to God for dear friends in New-England. Felt a tender frame of spirit, much composed and refreshed. Had likewise freedom and earnestness in praying for my dear people: blessed be God. "Oh the peace of God that passeth all understanding;" it is impossible to describe the peace of conscience and tenderness of soul I then enjoyed. Oh the blessed foretastes of heaven!

Lord's day, Aug. 25. I rode to my lodgings in the evening, blessing the Lord for his gracious visitation of the Indians, and the soul-refreshing things I had this day seen, and praying that God would still carry on his work among them.

Mouday, Aug. 26. I went from the Indians to my lodgings, rejoicing in the goodness of God to my poor people. Enjoyed freedom in prayer and other duties in the evening: bless the Lord, oh my soul.

[The next day he set out on a journey towards the Forks of Delaware, designing to go from thence to Susquahannah, by the way of Philadelphia. He waited on the governor of Pensylvania, to get a recommendation from him to the chiefs of the Indians, which he obtained. He speaks of much comfort and spiritual refreshment in this journey; also of a sense his exceeding unworthiness.]

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Lord's day, September 1. At the Forks of Delaware. God gave me the Spirit of prayer, and it was a blessed season. My soul cried to God for mercy in an affectionate manner, and in the evening rejoiced in God.

Wednesday, Sep. 4. Rode fifteen miles to an Irish settlement, and preached there from Luke xiv. 22. "And yet there is room." God was pleased to afford me some tenderness and enlargement in the first prayer, and much freedom and warmth in preaching. There were many tears in the assembly: the people of God seemed to melt, and others to be in some measure awakened. Blessed be the Lord, who lets me see his work going on in one place and another.

Friday, Sep. 6. Enjoyed some freedom and intenseness of mind in prayer alone, and longed to have my soul more warmed with divine and heavenly things. Was somewhat melancholy towards night, and longed to die and quit a scene of sin and darkness; but was a little supported in prayer.

Lord's day, Sep. 8. In the evening, God was pleased to assist me in prayer, and give me freedom at the throne of grace. I cried for the enlargement of his kingdom in the world, and in particular among my dear people; was also enabled to pray for many dear ministers and acquaintances, both in these parts and in New-England. My soul was so engaged and enlarged in the exercise, that I spent near an hour in it, and knew not how to leave the mercy-seat. Oh how I delighted to pray and cry to God! I saw, that he was both able and willing to do all that I desired, for myself and friends, and his church in general. I was likewise much enlarged and assisted in family-prayer. And afterwards, when I was just going to bed, God helped me to renew my petitions with ardency and freedom. It was to me a blessed evening of prayer. Bless the Lord, oh my soul.

[The next day he set out from the Forks of Delaware to go to Susquahannah; and on the fifth day of his journey, he arrived at Shaumoking, a large Indian town on Susquahannah river. He performed the journey under a considerable degree of melancholy, occasioned at first by his hearing that the Moravians were gone before him to the Susquahannah Indians.]

Saturday, Sep. 14. At Shaumoking. In the evening,

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my soul was enlarged and sweetly engaged in prayer; especially, that God would set up his kingdom in this place, where the devil now reigns in the most eminent manner. And I was enabled to ask this for God's glory, and because I longed for the enlargement of his kingdom, to the honour of his blessed name. I could appeal to God with the greatest freedom, that he knew it was his dear cause, and not my own, that engaged my heart: and my soul cried, "Lord, set up thy kingdom, for thine own glory. Glorify thyself; and I shall rejoice. Get honour to thy blessed name, and this is all I desire. Do with me just what thou wilt. Blessed be thy name for ever, that thou art God, and that thou wilt glorify thyself. Oh that the whole world might glorify thee. Oh let these poor people be brought to know thee, and love thee, for the glory of thy dear and blessed name!" I could not but hope, that God would bring in these miserable wicked Indians; though there appeared little human probability of it, for they were then dancing and revelling, as if possessed by the devil. Yet I hoped, though against hope, that God would be glorified by those poor Indians. I continued long in prayer and praise; had great freedom and enlargement in remembering dear friends in New-England, as well as the people of my charge. Was entirely free from that dejection of spirit with which I am frequently exercised: blessed be God.

[His Diary from this time to Sep. 22, (the last day of his continuance among the Indians at Susquahannah) is not legible, by reason of the badness of the ink. It was probably written with the juice of some berries found in the woods, having no other ink in that wilderness. So that for this space of time the reader must be wholly referred to his public Journal.

On Monday, Sep. 23. He left the Indians, in order to his return to the Forks of Delaware, in a very weak state of body, and under dejection of mind, which continued the two first days of his journey.]

Wednesday, Sep. 25. Rode still homeward. In the forenoon, enjoyed freedom and intenseness of mind in meditating on Job xlii. 5, 6. "I have heard of thee by the hearing of the ear, but now mine eye seeth thee; wherefore I

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abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes." The Lord gave me clearness to penetrate into the truths contained in that text: it was a comfortable season to me.

Thursday, Sep. 26. Was still much disordered in body, and able to ride but slowly, yet continued my journey. Near night, arrived at the Irish settlement, about fifteen miles from my own house. This day, while riding, I was much exercised with a sense of my barrenness, and verily thought there was no creature that had any true grace, but what was more spiritual and fruitful than I; could not think that any of God's children made so poor a hand of living to God as I.

Friday, Sep. 27. Spent considerable time, in the morning, in prayer and praise. My mind was somewhat intense in the duty, and in some degree warmed with a sense of divine things: I was melted to think that "God had accounted me faithful, putting me into the ministry," notwithstanding all my barrenness and deadness. My soul was also in some measure enlarged in prayer for the people of my charge, as well as for other dear friends. In the afternoon, visited some Christian friends, and spent the time, I think, profitably: my heart was warmed and more engaged in the things of God. In the evening I enjoyed enlargement, warmth and comfort in prayer; relied on God for assistance and grace to enable me to do something in his cause. My heart was drawn out in thankfulness to God for what he had done for his own glory among my poor people of late; and I felt encouraged to proceed in his work, being persuaded of his power, and hoping his arm might be further revealed, for the enlargement of his kingdom. My soul "rejoiced in hope of the glory of God," in hope of the advancement of his declarative glory in the world, as well as of enjoying him in a world of glory. Oh blessed be God, the living God, for ever!

[He continued in this comfortable frame the two next days. On the day following, he went to his own house, in the Forks of Delaware, and continued still the same. The next day, which was Tuesday, he visited his Indians. Wednesday he spent mostly in writing the meditations he had had in his late journey to Susquahannah. On Thursday he left the Forks of Delaware, and travelled towards Cros-

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weeksung, where he arrived on Saturday, October 5, and continued from day to day in a comfortable state of mind. There is nothing material in his *Diary* for this day and the next, but what is in his printed Journal.]

Monday, Oct. 7. Being called by the church and people of East-Hampton on Long-Island, as a member of a council, to assist and advise in affairs of difficulty in that church, I set out on my journey this morning, before it was well light, and travelled to Elisabeth-Town, and there lodged. Enjoyed some comfort on the road, in conversation with Mr. William Tennent, who was sent for on the same business.

[He prosecuted his journey with the other ministers that were sent for, and did not return till Oct. 24. While he was at East-Hampton, the importance of the business that the council were come upon, lay with such weight on his mind, and he was so concerned for the interest of religion in that place, that he slept but little for several nights successively. In his way to and from East-Hampton, he had several seasons of sweet refreshment, wherein his soul was enlarged and comforted with divine consolations, in secret retirement; and he had special assistance in public ministerial performances in the house of God; and yet, at the same time, a sense of extreme vileness and unprofitableness. He from time to time speaks of soul-refreshment and comfort in conversation with the ministers that travelled with him; and seems to have little or nothing of melancholy, till he came to the west-end of Long-Island on his return. After that, he was oppressed with dejection and gloominess of mind, for several days together. For an account of the four first days after his return from his journey, I refer the reader to his public Journal.]

Monday, Oct. 28. Had an evening of sweet refreshing; my thoughts were raised to a blessed eternity; my soul was melted with desires of perfect holiness, and perfectly glorifying God.

Tuesday, Oct. 29. About noon, rode and viewed the Indian lands at Cranberry: was much dejected, and greatly perplexed in mind; knew not how to see any body again,

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my soul was so sunk within me. Oh that these trials might make me more humble and holy. Oh that God would keep me from giving way to sinful dejection, which may hinder my usefulness.

Wednesday, Oct. 30. My soul was refreshed with a view of the continuance of God's blessed work among the Indians.

Thursday, Oct. 31. Spent most of the day in writing; enjoyed not much spiritual comfort, but was not so much sunk with melancholy as at some other times.

Saturday, Nov. 2. Spent the day with the Indians, and wrote some things of importance. Longed to do more for God than I did, or could do in this present feeble and imperfect state.

[Tuesday, Nov. 5. He left the Indians, and spent the remaining part of this week in travelling to various parts of New-Jersey, in order to get a collection for the use of the Indians, and to obtain a schoolmaster to instruct them. In the mean time, he speaks of great refreshment and entertainment with Christian friends, and of his being sweetly employed, while riding, in meditation on divine subjects; his "heart burned within him, while he went by the way, and the Lord opened to him the scriptures."]

Lord's day, Nov. 10. At Elisabeth-Town. Was comfortable in the morning, both in body and mind; preached in the forenoon from 2 Cor. v. 20. God was pleased to give me freedom and fervency in my discourse, and his presence seemed to be in the assembly; numbers were affected, and many tears were shed. In the afternoon, preached from Luke xiv. 22. "And yet there is room." Was favoured with divine assistance in the first prayer, and I poured out my soul with filial freedom; the living God also assisted me in preaching.

[The next day he went to New-Town on Long-Island, to a meeting of the Presbytery. He speaks of some sweet meditations he had while there, on "Christ's delivering up the kingdom to the Father;" and of his soul's being much refreshed and warmed with the consideration of that blissful day.]

Friday, Nov. 15. Could not cross the ferry by reason of the violence of the wind, nor could I enjoy any place of re-

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tirement at the ferry-house, so that I was in perplexity. Yet God gave me some satisfaction and sweetness in meditation, and lifting up my heart to him in the midst of company. And although some were drinking and talking profanely, which was indeed a grief to me, yet my mind was calm and composed; and I could not but bless God, that I was not likely to spend an eternity in such company. In the evening I sat down and wrote with composure and freedom; and through grace, I was enabled to spend the time in the service of God.

Saturday, Nov. 16. Crossed the ferry about ten o'clock; arrived at Elisabeth-Town near night. Was in a calm composed frame of mind, and felt an entire resignation with respect to a loss I had lately sustained, in having my horse stolen from me the last Wednesday night, at New-Town. Had some longings of soul for the dear people of Elisabeth-Town, that God would pour out his Spirit, and revive his work amongst them.

[He spent the four next days at Elisabeth-Town, for the most part, in a free and comfortable state of mind, intensely engaged in the service of God, and enjoying the special assistances of his Spirit. On Thursday he rode to Freehold, and spent the day under considerable dejection.]

Friday, Nov. 22. Rode to Mr. Tennent's, and from thence to Crosweeksung. Had little freedom in meditation, while riding, which was a grief and burden to me. Oh that I could fill up all my time for God, whether in the house or by the way. Was enabled, I think, this day to give up my soul to God, and place all my concerns in his hands; found some real consolation in the thought of being entirely at the divine disposal, and having no will or interest of my own. I have received my *all* from God; oh that I could return my *all* to him. Surely God is worthy of my highest affection, and most devout adoration; he is infinitely worthy that I should make him my last end, and live for ever to him. Oh that I might never more, in any one instance, live to myself!

Saturday, Nov. 23. Visited my people; spent the day with them; wrote some things of importance, but was dejected most of the day.

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Thursday, Nov. 28. I enjoyed some divine comfort and fervency in the public exercise, and afterwards. While riding to my lodgings, was favoured with some sweet meditations on Luke ix. 31. "Who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease which he should accomplish at Jerusalem." My thoughts ran with freedom, and I saw and felt what a glorious subject the death of CHRIST is for *glorified* souls to dwell upon in their conversation. Oh the death of Christ; how infinitely precious!

Monday, Dec. 2. Was much affected with grief, that I had not lived more to God; and felt strong resolutions to double my diligence in my Master's service.

[After this he went to a meeting of the Presbytery, at a place in New-Jersey, called Connecticut Farms; which occasioned his absence from his people the rest of this week. He speaks of some seasons of solemnity and spiritual affection during his absence.]

Monday, Dec. 9. Spent most of the day in procuring provisions, in order to my setting up housekeeping among the Indians. Enjoyed little satisfaction through the day, being very much out of my element.

Tuesday, Dec. 10. Was engaged in the same business as yesterday. Towards night, got into my own house.*

Wednesday, Dec. 11. Spent the forenoon in necessary labour about my house. In the afternoon, rode out upon business, and spent the evening with some satisfaction among friends in conversation on a serious and profitable subject.

Friday, Dec. 13. Spent the day chiefly in labour about my house. In the evening, spent some time in writing; but was much wearied with the labour of the day.

Saturday, Dec. 14. Rose early, and wrote by candle-light some considerable time; spent most of the day in writing, but was somewhat dejected. In the evening, was exercised with a pain in my head.

[For the two next days, see his public Journal. The remainder of this week he spent chiefly in writing; some part

* This is the *third* house that he built to dwell in by himself among the Indians: the first at Kaunaumeek in the county of Albany; the second at the Forks of Delaware in Pensylvania; and now this at Crosweeksung in New-Jersey.

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of the time under a degree of melancholy; but some part of it with a sweet ardency in religion.]

Saturday, Dec. 21. After my labours with the Indians, I spent some time in writing, and was much wearied with the labours of the day; found that my spirits were extremely spent, and that I could do no more. I am conscious to myself that my labours are as great and constant as my nature will bear, and that ordinarily I go to the extent of my strength; so that I do all I can: but the misery is, I do not labour with that *heavenly* temper, that single eye to the *glory* of God that I long for.

Monday and *Tuesday*, Dec. 23, 24. Spent these days in writing, with the utmost diligence. Felt on the whole a sweet mortification to the world, and a desire to live and labour only for God; but wanted more warmth and spirituality, a more sensible and affectionate regard to the glory of God.

Thursday and *Friday*, Dec. 26, 27. Laboured in my studies to the utmost of my strength; and though I felt a steady disposition of mind to live to God, and that I had nothing in this world to live for, yet I did not find that sensible affection in the service of God that I wanted to have; my heart seemed barren, though my head and hands were full of labour.

[For the four next days, see his public Journal.*]

Wednesday, Jan. 1. 1745-6. I am this day beginning a New Year; and God has carried me through numerous trials and labours in the past. He has amazingly supported my feeble frame; and "having obtained help of God, I continue to this day." Oh that I might live nearer to God this year than I did the last! The business I have been called to, and enabled to go through, I know has been as great as nature could bear up under, and what would have sunk and overcome me quite, without special support. But alas, alas, though I have done the labours and endured the trials, with what spirit have I done the one and borne the other? How cold has been the frame of my heart oftentimes; and how little have I sensibly eyed the glory of God, in all my doings

* On the first of these days he wrote the Sixth Letter, published at the end.

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and sufferings. I have found that I could have no peace without filling up all my time with labours; and thus "necessity has been laid upon me;" yea, in that respect, I have loved to labour: but the misery is, I could not sensibly labour *for God*, as I would have done. May I for the future be enabled more sensibly to make the glory of God my *all*.

Monday, Jan. 6. Being very weak in body, I rode out for my health. While riding, my thoughts were sweetly engaged for a time, upon "the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, which brake in pieces" all before it, and "waxed great, and became a great mountain, and filled the whole earth." I longed that Jesus should take to himself his great power and reign; and oh how sweet were the moments, wherein I felt my soul warm with hopes of the enlargement of the Redeemer's kingdom! I wanted nothing else but that Christ should reign, to the glory of his blessed name.

Wednesday, Jan. 8. In the evening my heart was drawn out after God in secret; was refreshed and quickened, and I trust, faith was in exercise. I had great hopes of the ingathering of precious souls to Christ; not only among my own people, but others also. I was sweetly resigned and composed under my bodily weakness; and was willing to live or die, and desirous to labour for God to the utmost of my strength.

Thursday, Jan. 9. Was still very weak, and much exercised with lowness of spirits. In the evening, enjoyed some enlargement and spirituality in prayer. Oh that I could always spend my time profitably, both in health and weakness.

Friday, Jan. 10. My soul was in a calm composed frame, filled with love to all the world; Christian simplicity and tenderness seemed to prevail and reign within me. Near night, visited a serious baptist minister, and had some agreeable conversation with him; found that I could taste God in friends.

Wednesday, Jan. 15. My spirits were very low and flat, and could not but think I was a burden to God's earth. I could scarcely look any body in the face, through shame and sense of barrenness. God pity a poor unprofitable creature!

[The two next days, he had some comfort and refreshment. For the two following days, see the public Journal.

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The next day he set out on a journey to Elisabeth-Town, to confer with the Correspondents, and enjoyed much spiritual refreshment from day to day. He speaks of serenity, composure and tenderness of soul; thanksgiving to God for his success among the Indians; delight in prayer and praise; sweet and profitable meditations on various divine subjects; longing for more love, for more vigour to live to God, for a life more entirely devoted to him, that he might spend all his time profitably for God and in his cause; conversing on spiritual subjects with affection, and lamentation for unprofitableness.]

Lord's day, Jan. 26. At Connecticut Farms. Was calm and composed. Was made sensible of my utter inability to preach, without divine help; and was in some good measure willing to leave it with God, to give or withhold assistance, as he saw would be most for his own glory. Was favoured with a considerable degree of assistance in my work. After public worship, I was in a sweet and solemn frame of mind, thankful to God that he had made me in some measure faithful in addressing precious souls, but grieved that I had no more fervency. I was tenderly affected towards all the world, longing that every sinner might be saved, and could not have entertained any bitterness towards the worst enemy living. In the evening, rode to Elisabeth-Town. While riding, was almost constantly engaged in lifting up my heart to God, lest I should lose that heavenly solemnity and composure I then enjoyed. Afterwards, was pleased to think that God reigneth, and that I could never be uneasy with any of his dispensations; but must be entirely satisfied, whatever trials he should cause me or his church to encounter. Never felt more sedateness, divine serenity and composure of mind; could freely have left the dearest earthly friend for the society of angels, and spirits of just men made perfect. My affections soared aloft to the blessed Author of every dear enjoyment: I viewed the emptiness and unsatisfactory nature of the most desirable earthly objects, any further than God is seen in them; and longed for a life of spirituality and inward purity, without which I saw there could be no true happiness.

[He retained a great degree of this excellent frame of

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mind, the four next days. As to his services among the Indians, and his success in this time, see the public Journal.]

Saturday, February 1. Towards night, enjoyed some of the clearest thoughts on 1 Cor. xv. 13—16, that ever I remember to have had upon any subject whatsoever, and spent two or three hours in writing them. I was refreshed with this intenseness. My mind was so engaged in these meditations that I could scarcely turn it to any thing else; and indeed I could not be willing to part with so delightful an entertainment.

Lord's day, Feb. 2. After public worship, my bodily strength being much spent, my spirits sunk amazingly; and especially on hearing that I was so generally taken to be a *Roman Catholic*, sent by the Papists to draw the Indians into an insurrection against the English, that some were in fear of me, and others were for having me taken up by authority and punished. Alas, what will not Satan do to bring a slur and disgrace on the work of God. Oh how holy and circumspect had I need to be! Through divine goodness, I have been enabled to "mind my own business," in these parts, as well as elsewhere; and to let all men, and all denominations of men alone, as to their party-notions; and only preached the plain and necessary truths of Christianity, neither inviting to nor excluding from my meeting any persons of any persuasion whatever. Towards night, the Lord gave me freedom at the throne of grace, in my first prayer before my *catechetical* lecture; and in opening the xlvith Psalm to my people, my soul confided in God, although the wicked world should slander and persecute me, or even condemn and execute me as a traitor to my king and country. Truly God is a "present help in time of trouble." In the evening, my soul was in measure comforted, having some hope that one poor soul was brought home to God this day. Oh that I could fill up every moment of time, during my abode here below, in the service of my God and King.

Monday, Feb. 3. My spirits were still much sunk with what I heard the day before, of my being suspected to be engaged in the *Pretender's* interest. It grieved me, that after there had been so much evidence of a glorious work of grace among these poor Indians, as that the most carnal men could not but take notice of the great change made among them,

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so many poor souls should still suspect the whole to be only a *Popish* plot, and so cast an awful reproach on this blessed work of the holy Spirit, and at the same time wholly exclude themselves from receiving any benefit by this divine influence. This put me upon searching whether I had ever dropped any thing inadvertently, that might give occasion to any to suspect that I was stirring up the Indians against the English; and could think of nothing, unless it was my attempting sometimes to vindicate the rights of the Indians, and complaining of the horrid practice of making the Indians drunk, and then cheating them out of their lands and other properties. Once, I remembered, I had done this with too much warmth of spirit, and it greatly distressed me; thinking that this might possibly prejudice them against this work of grace, to their everlasting destruction. God, I believe, did me good by this trial; which served to humble me, and shew me the necessity of watchfulness, and of being "wise as a serpent," as well as "harmless as a dove." This exercise led me often to the throne of grace; and there I found some support, though I could not get the burden wholly removed. Was assisted in prayer, especially in the evening.

[He was still exercised in mind about this affair, which caused him to reflect upon and humble himself and frequent the throne of grace; but soon found himself much more relieved and supported. He was this week in an extremely weak state, and obliged, as he expresses it, "to consume considerable time in diversions for his health."

The Monday after, he set out on a journey to the Forks of Delaware, to visit the Indians there. He performed the journey under great weakness, and sometimes was exercised with much pain; but says nothing of dejection and melancholy. He arrived at his own house at the Forks on Friday. During the week he felt composure of mind, thankfulness to God for his mercies to him and others, resignation to the divine will, comfort in prayer and religious conversation; his heart drawn out after God, and affected with a sense of his own barrenness, as well as the fulness and freeness of divine grace.]

Lord's day, Feb. 16. In the evening, was in a composed frame of mind. It was refreshing and comfortable to think

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that God had been with me, affording some good measure of assistance. I then found freedom and sweetness in prayer and thanksgiving; my soul was sweetly engaged and enlarged in prayer for dear friends and acquaintance. Blessed be the name of the Lord, that ever I am enabled to do any thing for his interest and kingdom. Blessed be God who enables me to be faithful. Enjoyed more resolution and courage for God, and more refreshment of spirit, than I have been favoured with for many weeks past.

Monday, Feb. 17. I was refreshed and encouraged: found a spirit of prayer in the evening, and earnest longings for the illumination and conversion of these poor Indians.

Wednesday, Feb. 19. My heart was comforted and refreshed, and filled with longings for the conversion of the Indians here.

Thursday, Feb. 20. God was pleased to support and refresh my spirits, by affording me assistance this day, and so hopeful a prospect of success. I returned home rejoicing, and blessing the name of the Lord. Found freedom afterwards in secret prayer, and had my soul drawn out for dear friends. How blessed it is to labour for God faithfully, and with the hope of success. Blessed be the Lord for ever and ever, for the assistance and comfort granted me this day.

Friday, Feb. 21. My soul was refreshed and comforted, and I could not but bless God, who had enabled me in some good measure to be faithful in the day past. How pleasant it is to be spent and worn out for God.

Saturday, Feb. 22. My spirits were much supported, though my bodily strength was much wasted. Oh that God would be gracious to the souls of these poor Indians! He has been very gracious to me this week, in enabling me to preach every day; and has given me some assistance, and encouraging prospect of success in almost every sermon. Blessed be his name. Divers of the white people have been awakened this week, and several of the Indians much cured of the prejudices and jealousies they had conceived against Christianity, and some seem to be really awakened.

[The next day he left the Forks of Delaware, to return to Crosweeksung, and spent the whole week till Saturday, before he arrived there. He preached by the way every day, excepting one, and was several times greatly assisted; had

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much inward comfort, and earnest longings to fill up all his time in the service of God. He utters such expressions as these, after preaching: "Oh that I may be enabled to plead the cause of God faithfully, to my dying moment! Oh how sweet it would be to spend myself wholly for God, and in his cause, and to be freed from selfish motives in my labours!"

For Saturday and Lord's day, March 1, 2, see the public Journal. The four next days were spent in great bodily weakness; but he speaks of some seasons of considerable inward comfort.]

Thursday, March 6. I walked alone in the evening, and found freedom and comfort in prayer, beyond what I have of late enjoyed. My soul rejoiced in my pilgrimage state, and was delighted with the thoughts of labouring and enduring hardness for Christ; felt some longing desires to preach the gospel to immortal souls, and confided in God, that he would be with me in my work, and that he would never leave nor forsake me, to the end of my race. Oh, that I may obtain mercy of God to be faithful, to my dying moment!

Friday, March 7. In the afternoon, went on in my work with freedom and cheerfulness, God assisting me; and enjoyed comfort in the evening.

Monday, March 10. My soul was refreshed and enlarged, and had I hope the lively exercise of faith in secret prayer this night. My will was sweetly resigned to the divine will, and my hopes respecting the enlargement of the kingdom of Christ somewhat raised. I could commit Zion's cause to God as his own.

[On Tuesday he found a degree of spirituality in Christian conversation. On Wednesday, complains that he enjoyed not much comfort and satisfaction through the day, because he did but little for God. On Thursday, spent considerable time in company, on a special occasion; but in perplexity, for want of savoury religious conversation.

In the former part of the week following he was very ill, and under great dejection; being, as he apprehended rendered unserviceable by his illness, and fearing that he should never be serviceable any more; he therefore longed for death. He was afterwards encouraged, and life appeared more desirable; because, as he says, he "had a little dawn of

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hope that he might be useful in the world." In the latter part of the week he was in some measure relieved of his illness, in the use of means prescribed by a physician.]

Monday, March 24. After the Indians were gone to their work, to clear their lands, I got alone, and poured out my soul to God, that he would smile upon these feeble beginnings, and that he would settle an Indian town that might be "a mountain of holiness." My soul was much refreshed in these petitions, and much enlarged for Zion's interest, and for numbers of dear friends in particular. My sinking spirits were revived and raised, and I felt animated in the service God has called me to. This was the happiest hour I have enjoyed for many days, if not weeks. I found an encouraging hope that something would be done for God, and that he would use and help me in his work. And oh, how sweet were the thoughts of labouring for God, when I felt any spirit and courage, and had any hope that ever I should be succeeded!

[The next day his Schoolmaster was taken ill of a pleurisy, and he spent great part of the remainder of this week in tending him. In his weak state this was almost too much for him, being obliged constantly to wait upon him from day to day, and to lie on the floor at night. His spirits sunk in a considerable degree, with his bodily strength under this burden.]

Monday, March 31. Towards night, enjoyed some sweet meditations on those words: "It is good for me to draw "near to God." My soul, I think, had some sweet sense of what is intended in those words.

[The next day he was extremely busy in tending the Schoolmaster, and in some other necessary affairs, that greatly diverted him from what he looked upon as his proper business: yet he speaks of comfort and refreshment in some parts of the day.]

Wednesday, April 2. Was somewhat exercised with a spiritless frame of mind. Was a little relieved and refreshed in the evening, with meditation alone in the woods. But alas, my days pass away as the chaff; it is but little I do or can do, that turns to any account, and it is my constant misery

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and burden that I am so fruitless in the vineyard of the Lord. Oh that I were *spirit*, that I might be active for God. This I think more than any thing else, makes me long that "this corruptible might put on incorruption, and this mortal put on immortality." God deliver me from clogs, fetters, and a body of death, that impede my service for him.

Friday, April 4. Spent most of the day in writing on Rev. xxii. 17. "And whosoever will," *&c.* Enjoyed some freedom and encouragement in my work, and some comfort and composure in prayer.

Saturday, April 5. After public worship, a number of my dear Christian Indians came to my house; with whom I felt a sweet union of soul. My heart was knit to them; and I cannot say that I have felt such a fervent "love to the brethren" for some time past. I also saw in them appearances of the same love. This gave me something of a view of the heavenly state; and particularly that part of the happiness of heaven, which consists in the *communion of saints*. This was affecting to me.

[On Tuesday he went to a meeting of the Presbytery, appointed at Elisabeth-Town. In his way thither he enjoyed some sweet meditations; but after he came there, he was under an awful gloom which oppressed his mind. This continued till Saturday evening, when he began to have some relief and encouragement. He spent the Sabbath at Staten-Island, where he preached to an assembly of Dutch and English, and enjoyed considerable refreshment and comfort, both in public and private. In the evening he returned to Elisabeth-Town.]

Monday, April 14. My spirits this day were raised and refreshed, and my mind composed, so that I was in a comfortable frame most of the day. In the evening my head was clear, my mind serene; I enjoyed sweetness in secret prayer, and meditation on Psal. lxxiii. 28. Oh how free, how chearful and yet solemn do I feel, when in a good measure freed from those damps and melancholy glooms, that I often labour under! And blessed be the Lord, I find myself relieved in this respect.

Tuesday, April 15. My soul longed for more spirituality, and it was my burden that I could do no more for God. My barrenness is my daily affliction and heavy load. Oh how

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precious is time; and how it pains me to see it slide away, while I do so very little to any good purpose. Oh that God would make me more fruitful and spiritual.

Thursday, April 17. Enjoyed some comfort in prayer, some freedom in meditation, and composure in my studies. Spent time in writing, in the forenoon. In the afternoon, engaged in conversation with several dear ministers. In the evening, preached from Psal. lxxiii. 28. "But it is good for me to draw near to God." God helped me to feel the truth of my text, both in the first prayer and in sermon. I was enabled to pour out my soul with great freedom and affection; and blessed be the Lord, it was a comfortable season to me. I was enabled to speak with tenderness, and yet with faithfulness; and divine truths seemed to fall with weight and influence upon the hearers. My heart was melted for the whole assembly, and I loved every one in it. My soul cried, "Oh that these dear people might be saved; oh that God would have mercy on them!

Lord's day, April 20.* Enjoyed some freedom, and I hope exercise of faith in prayer, in the morning; especially when I came to pray for Zion. I was free from that gloomy discouragement which so often oppresses me; my soul rejoiced in the hopes of Zion's prosperity, and the enlargement of the kingdom of the great Redeemer. Oh that his kingdom might come.

Monday, April 21. Was composed and comfortable most of the day, and mercifully freed from gloomy apprehensions. Had freedom and comfort in prayer several times, and especially some rising hopes of Zion's enlargement and prosperity. Oh how refreshing were these hopes to my soul! Oh that the kingdom of the Lord might come, and that the poor Indians might quickly be gathered in, in great numbers!

Tuesday, April 22. My mind was remarkably free this day from melancholy, and animated in my work. I found such fresh vigour and resolution in the service of God, that the *mountains* seemed to become a *plain* before me. Blessed be God for an interval of refreshment, and fervent resolution in my Lord's work! In the evening I was refreshed in secret prayer, and my heart drawn out for divine blessings; especially for the church of God, and his interest among my own people, and for dear friends in remote places. Oh that Zion might prosper, and precious souls be brought home to God!

* This day he entered into the 29th year of his age.

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[In this comfortable fervent frame of mind he remained the two next days. On the following Tuesday he went to Elisabeth-Town, to attend the meeting of the Presbytery there; and seemed to spend the time, while absent from his people on this occasion, in a free and comfortable state of mind.]

Saturday, May 3. Rode from Elisabeth-Town home to my people, at or near Cranberry; whither they are now removed, and where I hope God will settle them as a Christian congregation. Was refreshed in lifting up my heart to God, while riding; and enjoyed a thankful frame of spirit, for divine favours received the week past. Was somewhat uneasy and dejected in the evening, having no house of my own to go into in this place, but God was my support.

Tuesday, May 6. Enjoyed some spirit and courage in my work; was in a good measure free from melancholy. Blessed be God for freedom from this *death*.

Wednesday, May 7. Spent most of the day in writing, as usual. Enjoyed freedom in my work, and was favoured with some comfortable meditations this day. In the evening, was in a composed frame of mind; pleased and delighted to leave all with God, respecting myself, for time and eternity, and respecting the people of my charge, and dear friends. Had no doubt but that God would take care of me, and of his own interest among my people; and was enabled to use freedom in prayer, as a child with a tender father. Oh how sweet is such a frame!

Thursday, May 8. In the evening, was somewhat refreshed with divine things, and enjoyed a tender melting frame in secret prayer. My soul was drawn out for the interest of Zion, and comforted with the lively hope of the appearing of the kingdom of the great Redeemer. These were sweet moments: I felt almost loth to go to bed, and grieved that sleep was necessary. However, I lay down with a tender reverential fear of God, sensible that "his favour is life," and his smiles better than all that earth can give, infinitely better than life itself.

Saturday, May 10. Rode to Allen's-Town, to assist in the administration of the Lord's supper. In the afternoon, preached from Tit. ii. 14. "Who gave himself for us," *&c.* God was pleased to carry me through with some competency

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of freedom, and yet to deny me that enlargement and power I longed for. In the evening my soul mourned, and could not but mourn, that I had treated so excellent a subject in so defective a manner, that I had borne so broken a testimony for so worthy and glorious a Redeemer. And if my discourse had met with the utmost applause from all the world, (as I accidently heard it applauded by some persons of judgment) it would not have given me any satisfaction. It grieved me to think, that I had had no more holy warmth and fervency, that I had been no more melted in discoursing of Christ's death, and the end and design of it. Afterwards, enjoyed some freedom and fervency in secret and family prayer, and longed much for the presence of God to attend his word and ordinances the next day.'

Lord's day, May 11. Assisted in the administration of the Lord's supper, but enjoyed little enlargement; was grieved and sunk with some things I thought undesirable. In the afternoon, went to the house of God weak and sick in soul, as well as feeble in body. I longed that the people might be entertained and edified with divine truths, and that an honest fervent testimony might be borne for God; but knew not how it was possible for *me* to do any thing of that kind, to any good purpose. Yet God, who is rich in mercy, was pleased to give me assistance, both in prayer and preaching. He helped me to wrestle for his presence in prayer, and to tell him that he had promised, "Where two or three are met together in his name, there he would be in the midst of them;" and that we were, at least some of us, so met. I therefore pleaded, that for his truth's sake he would be with us; and blessed be his name, it was sweet thus to plead, and rely upon the promises. Discoursed from Luke ix. 30, 31. "And behold, there talked with him two men, which were Moses and Elias; who appeared in glory, and spake of his decease, which he should accomplish at Jerusalem." Enjoyed special freedom, from the beginning to the end of my discourse, without interruption. Things pertinent to the subject were abundantly presented to my view, and such a fulness of matter, that I scarcely knew how to dismiss the various heads and particulars I had occasion to touch upon. Blessed be the Lord, I was favoured with some fervency and power, as well as freedom; so that the word seemed to awaken the attention of a stupid audience, to a considerable

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degree. I was inwardly refreshed with the consolations of God, and could with my whole heart say, "Though there be no fruit in the vine, yet will I rejoice in the Lord." After public service, was refreshed with the conversation of some Christian friends.

Friday, May 16. Near night, enjoyed some agreeable and edifying conversation with a dear minister, which I trust was blessed to me. My heart was warmed, and engaged to live to God, so that I longed to exert myself with more vigour than ever I had done. Those words quickened me: "Herein is my Father glorified, that ye bring forth much fruit." My soul longed and prayed, to be enabled to live to God with the utmost constancy and ardour. In the evening God was pleased to shine upon me in secret prayer, and draw out my soul after himself. I had freedom in supplication for myself, but much more in intercession for others; so that I was sweetly constrained to say, Lord, use me as thou wilt; do as thou wilt with me; but oh, promote thine own cause! Zion is thine; oh visit thine heritage! Let thy kingdom come; oh let thy blessed interest be advanced in the world! When I attempted to look to God, respecting my worldly circumstances, and his providential dealings with me, in regard to settling with my congregation, which seems to be necessary, and yet very difficult, and contrary to my fixed intention for years past, as well as my disposition, which has been and still is, at times especially, to go forth and spend my life in preaching the gospel from place to place, and gathering souls *afar off* to JESUS the great Redeemer; when I attempted to look to God with regard to these things, and his designs concerning me, I could only say, "The will of the Lord be done:" it is no matter for me. The same frame of mind I felt with respect to another important affair, I have lately reflected on, and could say with the utmost calmness and composure, Lord, if it be most for thy glory, let me proceed in it; but if thou seest that it will in any wise hinder my usefulness in thy cause, oh prevent my proceeding. All I want respecting this life is, such circumstances as may best capacitate me to do service for God in the world.—Blessed be his name, I enjoyed liberty in prayer for my dear flock, and was enabled to pour out my soul into the bosom of a tender Father. My heart within me was melted when I came to plead for my dear people, and for the king-

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dom of Christ in general. How sweet was this evening to my soul! I knew not how to go to bed; and when got to bed, longed for some way to improve time for God, to some excellent purpose. Bless the Lord, oh my soul.

Saturday, May 17. Walked out in the morning, and felt much of the same frame I enjoyed the evening before. Had my heart enlarged in praying for the advancement of the kingdom of Christ, and found the utmost freedom in leaving all my concerns with God. I find discouragement to be a great hindrance to spiritual fervency and affection; but when God enables me sensibly to find that I have done something for him, this refreshes and animates me, so that I could break through all hardships, undergo any labours, and nothing seems too much either to do or to suffer. But oh what a death it is, to strive, and strive; to be always in a hurry, and yet do nothing, or at least nothing *for* GOD! Alas alas, that time flies away, and I do so little for God!

Lord's day, May 18. I felt my own utter insufficiency for my work: God made me to see that I was a child, yea, that I was foolish. I discoursed both parts of the day, from Rev. iii. 20. "Behold, I stand at the door and knock." God gave me freedom and power in the latter part of my forenoon's discourse; although, in the former part of it, I felt peevish and provoked with the unmannerly behaviour of the *white* people, who crouded in between my people and me; which proved a great temptation to me. Blessed be God, I got these shackles off before the middle of my discourse, and was favoured with a sweet frame of spirit in the latter part of the exercise; was full of love, warmth and tenderness, in addressing my dear people. In the interval I could not but discourse to my people on the kindness and patience of Christ in "standing and knocking at the door," &c. In the evening I was grieved that I had done so little for God: oh that I could be "a flame of fire" in his service.

Thursday, May 22. In the evening, was in a frame somewhat remarkable. I had apprehended for several days before, that it was the design of providence I should *settle* among my people here, and had in my own mind begun to make provision for it, and to contrive means to hasten it. I also found my heart engaged in it, hoping I might then enjoy more agreeable circumstances of life, in several respects; and yet was never fully determined, never quite

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pleased with the thoughts of being settled and confined to one place. Nevertheless it now appeared more desirable, because the congregation I thought of settling with, was one that God had enabled me to gather from amongst Pagans. For I never since I began to preach, could feel satisfied to "enter into other men's labours," and settle down in the ministry where the "gospel was preached before." I could not make that appear to be my province. When I felt any disposition to consult my ease and worldly comfort, God has never suffered me to feel happy, either before or since I began to preach. But God having succeeded my labours, and made me instrumental in gathering a church for him among the Indians, I was ready to think, it might be his design to give me a quiet settlement and a stated home of my own. And considering the late frequent sinking and failure of my spirits, the need I had of some agreeable society, and my great desire of enjoying conveniences and opportunities for profitable studies, this was not altogether disagreeable to me, although I still wanted to go about far and wide, in order to spread the blessed gospel among benighted Heathen. For more than five years past however, I had not been so willing to settle in any one place, as I was in the foregoing part of this week. But now these thoughts seemed to be wholly dashed to pieces; not by necessity, but of choice; for it appeared to me that God's dealings towards me had fitted me for a life of solitariness and hardship. It appeared also that I had nothing to lose, nothing to do with earth, and consequently nothing to lose by a total renunciation of it; it was therefore 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. At the same time I saw so much of the excellency of Christ's kingdom, and the infinite desirableness of its advancement in the world, that it swallowed up all my other thoughts; and made me willing, yea, even rejoice, to be made a pilgrim or hermit in the wilderness, to my dying moment, if I might thereby promote the blessed interest of the great Redeemer. And if ever my soul presented itself to God for his service, without any reserve of any kind, it did so now. The language of my thoughts and disposition (although I spake no words) now were, 'Here I am, Lord, send me; send me to the ends of

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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 promote thy kingdom.' At the same time I had as quick and lively a sense of the value of worldly comforts as ever I had; but saw them infinitely overmatched by the worth of Christ's kingdom, and the propagation of his blessed gospel. The quiet settlement, the certain place of abode, the tender friendship, which I thought I might be likely to enjoy in consequence of such circumstances, appeared as valuable to me, considered absolutely and in themselves, as ever before; but considered comparatively, they appeared nothing; compared with the value and preciousness of an enlargement of Christ's kingdom, they vanished like the stars before the rising sun. And sure I am, that although the comfortable accommodations of life appeared valuable and dear to me, yet I did surrender and resign myself, soul and body, to the service of God, and the promotion of Christ's kingdom, though it should be in the loss of them all. And I could not do any other, because I could not will or chuse any other. I was constrained, and yet 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 moments, *in caves and dens of the earth*, if the kingdom of Christ may thereby be advanced.' I found extraordinary freedom at this time in pouring out my soul to God for his cause, and especially that his kingdom might be extended among the Indians far remote; and I had great hope that God would do it. I continued wrestling with God in prayer for my dear little flock here, and for the Indians elsewhere, as well as for dear friends in one place and another, till it was bed-time, and I feared I should hinder the family. But oh, with what reluctancy did I find myself obliged to consume time in sleep! I longed to be as a flame of fire, continually glowing in the divine service, preaching and building up Christ's kingdom, to my latest moments.

Friday, May 23. In the morning, was in the same frame of mind as the evening before. The glory of Christ's kingdom so much outshone the pleasure of earthly accommodations and enjoyments, that they appeared comparatively nothing, though in themselves good and desirable. My soul was melted in secret meditation and prayer, and I found

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myself divorced from any part in this world; so that in those affairs that seemed of the greatest importance respecting the present life, and those wherein the tender powers of the mind are most sensibly touched, I could only say, "The will of the Lord be done." What I felt the evening before, I felt now; and found the same freedom in prayer for the people of my charge, for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, for the enlargement and spiritual welfare of Zion in general, and for my dear friends in particular. I longed to burn out in one continued flame for God. Retained much of the same frame through the day. In the evening, was visited by my brother John Brainerd: the first visit I have ever received from any near relative, since I have been a missionary. Felt the same frame of spirit in the evening as in the morning, and found that "it was good for me to draw near to God," and leave all my concerns and burdens with him. Was enlarged and refreshed in pouring out my soul for the propagation of the gospel of the Redeemer among the distant tribes of Indians. Blessed be God. If ever I filled up a day with studies and devotion, I was enabled so to fill up this day.

Saturday, May 24. Enjoyed this day something of the same frame of mind as I felt the day before.

[The former part of this week he was in a very weak state, but seems to have been free from melancholy, which often had attended the failing of his bodily strength. He from time to time speaks of comfort and inward refreshment this week.]

Monday, June 2. In the evening, enjoyed some freedom in secret prayer and meditation.

Tuesday, June 3. My soul rejoiced, early in the morning, to think that all things were at God's disposal. It delighted me to leave them there. Felt afterwards much as I did on Thursday evening, May 22; and continued in this frame for several hours. Walked out into the wilderness, and enjoyed freedom, fervency and comfort, in prayer; and again enjoyed the same in the evening.

Wednesday, June 4. Spent the day in writing, and had some satisfaction and freedom in my work. In the evening I was favoured with a sweet refreshing frame of soul in secret

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prayer and meditation. Prayer was now wholly turned into praise, and I could do little else but try to adore and bless the living God. The wonders of his grace displayed in gathering to himself a church among the poor Indians here, were the subject matter of my meditation, and the occasion of exciting me to praise and bless his holy name. My soul was scarcely ever more disposed to inquire, 'What I should render to God for all his benefits,' than at this time. I was brought into a strait, a sweet and happy strait, to know what to do. I longed to make some returns to God, but found I had nothing to return. I could only rejoice that God had done the work himself, and that none in heaven or earth might pretend to share the honour with him. I could only be glad, that God's declarative glory was advanced by the conversion of these souls, and that it was to the enlargement of his kingdom in the world; but saw I was so poor that I had nothing to offer to him. My soul and body, through grace, I could cheerfully surrender; but this appeared to be rather a cumber than a gift, and nothing could I do to glorify his dear and blessed name. Yet I was glad at heart, that he was unchangeably possessed of glory and blessedness. Oh that he might be adored and praised by all his intelligent creatures, to the utmost of their power and capacities. My soul would have rejoiced to see others praise him, though I could do nothing towards it myself.

Saturday, June 7. Rode to Freehold to assist Mr. Tennent in the administration of the Lord's supper. In the afternoon, preached from Psal. lxxiii. 28. God gave me some freedom and warmth in my discourse; and I trust, his presence was in the assembly. Was comfortably composed, and enjoyed a thankful frame of spirit; but was grieved that I could not render something to God for his benefits bestowed. Oh that I could be swallowed up in his praise.

Lord's day, June 8. Spent much time, in the morning, in secret duties: but between hope and fear, respecting the enjoyment of God in the business of the day then before us. Was agreeably entertained, in the forenoon, by a discourse from Mr. Tennent, and felt somewhat melted and refreshed. In the season of communion, enjoyed some comfort; and especially in serving one of the tables. Blessed be the Lord, it was a time of refreshing to me, and I trust to many others. A number of my dear people sat down by themselves at the

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last table; at which time God seemed to be in the midst of them. The thoughts of what God had done among them were refreshing and melting to me. In the afternoon, the Lord enabled me to preach with uncommon freedom, from 2 Cor. v. 20. Through great goodness, I was favoured with a constant flow of pertinent matter, and proper expressions, from the beginning to the end of my discourse. In the evening I could not but rejoice in God, and bless him for the manifestations of grace in the day past. It was a sweet and solemn day and evening; a season of comfort to the godly, and of awakening to some souls. Oh that I could praise the Lord!

Monday, June 9. Enjoyed some sweetness in secret duties.—Preached the concluding sermon from Gen. v. 24. "And Enoch walked with God." God gave me enlargement and fervency in my discourse, so that I was enabled to speak with plainness and power, and his presence seemed to be in the assembly. Praised be the Lord, it was a most desirable opportunity. I found my strength renewed, and lengthened out, even to a wonder; so that I felt much stronger at the conclusion, than in the beginning of this sacramental solemnity. I have great reason to bless God for this season, in which I have found assistance in addressing others, and sweetness in my own soul.

[On Tuesday he found himself spent, and his spirits exhausted by his late labours; and on Wednesday, complains of dejection of spirit, and enjoying but little comfort or spirituality.]

Thursday, June 12. In the evening, had freedom and nearness in secret prayer. It was a desirable season; my soul was enlarged for my own dear people, for the coming of Christ's kingdom, and especially for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, back in the wilderness. Was refreshed in prayer for dear friends in New-England and elsewhere; and truly I could say with all my heart, "It is good for me to draw near to God."

Friday, June 13. I came away from the meeting of the Indians, rejoicing and blessing God for his grace manifested at this season.

Saturday, June 14. Rode to Kingston, to assist the

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Rev. Mr. Wales in the administration of the Lord's supper. In the afternoon, preached, but almost fainted in the pulpit; yet God strengthened me when I was just gone, and enabled me to speak his word with freedom, fervency, and application to the conscience. Praised be the Lord; "out of weakness I was made strong." I enjoyed some sweetness, in and after public worship, but was extremely tired. How many are the Lord's mercies: "To them that have no might, he increaseth strength."

Lord's day, June 15. Was in a dejected spiritless frame; could not hold up my head, nor look any body in the face. Administered the Lord's supper at Mr. Wales's desire, and found myself in a good measure unburdened and relieved of my pressing load, when I came to ask a blessing on the elements; here God gave me enlargement, and a tender affectionate sense of spiritual things; so that it was a season of comfort in some measure to me, and I trust more so to others. In the afternoon, preached to a vast multitude, from Rev. xxii. 17. God helped me to offer a testimony for himself, and to leave sinners inexcuseable in neglecting his grace. I was enabled to speak with such freedom, fluency and clearness, as commanded the attention of the great. Was extremely tired in the evening, but happily composed.

Monday, June 16. Preached again, and God helped me amazingly, so that this was a refreshing season to myself and others. Blessed be God for help afforded at this time, when my body was so weak, and while there was so large an assembly to hear. Spent the afternoon in a comfortable agreeable manner.

[On Wednesday, he went to a meeting of ministers at Hopewell.

Thursday, June 19, See his public Journal.* On Friday he was very much indisposed, but preached to his people on Saturday. His illness continued on the Sabbath, but he preached notwithstanding, both parts of the day. After public worship, he endeavoured to apply divine truths to the consciences of some, and addressed them personally; several were in tears, and some appeared much affected. He was extremely wearied with the services of the day, and so ill at

* The public Journal that has been so often referred to, concludes with the account of this day.

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night that he could have no bodily rest; but remarks, that "God was his support, and he was not left destitute of comfort in him." On Monday, he continued very ill; but speaks of being calm and composed, resigned to the divine dispensations, and content with his feeble state. And by the account he gives of himself, the remaining part of this week, he continued very feeble, and for the most part dejected in mind, excepting that at intervals he had refreshment and encouragement, which engaged his heart on divine things; and sometimes he was melted with spiritual affection.]

Lord's day, June 29. Preached, both parts of the day, from John xiv. 19. "Yet a little while, and the world seeth me no more," &c. God was pleased to afford me both freedom and power, especially towards the close of my discourses, both forenoon and afternoon. God's power appeared in the assembly, in both exercises. Numbers of God's people were refreshed and melted with divine things, and one or two comforted, who had long been under distress. Convictions in divers instances were powerfully revived; and one man in years much awakened, who had not long frequented our meeting, and appeared before as stupid as a stock. God amazingly renewed and lengthened out my strength. I was so spent at noon that I could scarcely walk, and all my joints trembled; so that I could not sit, nor so much as hold my hand still. Yet the Lord strengthened me to preach with power in the afternoon, although I had given out word to my people, that I did not expect to be able to do it. Spent some time afterwards in conversing, particularly, with several persons, about their spiritual state; and had some satisfaction concerning one or two. Prayed afterwards with a sick child, and gave a word of exhortation. Was assisted in all my work: blessed be God. Returned home with more health than I went out with, although my linen was wringing wet upon me, from a little after ten in the morning till past five in the afternoon. My spirits also were considerably refreshed, and my soul rejoiced in hope, that I had through grace done something for God. In the evening, walked out, and enjoyed a good season in secret prayer and praise. But oh, I found the truth of the Psalmist's words: "My goodness extendeth not to thee." I could not make any returns to God; I longed to live only to him, and to be in tune for his

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praise and service for ever. Oh for spirituality and holy fervency, that I might spend and be spent for God to my latest moment!

Monday, June 30. Employed the day in writing, but under much weakness and disorder. Felt the labours of the preceding day, although my spirits were so refreshed the evening before, that I was not then sensible of my being spent.

Tuesday, July 1. In the afternoon, visited, and preached to my people, from Heb. ix. 27, on occasion of some persons lying at the point of death, in my congregation. God afforded me assistance, and his word made some impressions on the audience in general. This was a comfortable evening; my spirits were refreshed with a small degree of freedom and help enjoyed in my work.

[On Wednesday he went to Newark, to a meeting of the Presbytery; complains of lowness of spirits, and greatly laments his spending his time so unfruitfully. The remaining part of the week he spent there, and at Elisabeth-Town; and speaks of comfort and divine assistance, from day to day; yet greatly complains for want of more spirituality.]

Lord's day, July 6. At Elisabeth-Town. Enjoyed some composure and serenity of mind in the morning; heard Mr. Dickinson preach in the forenoon, and was refreshed and melted with his discourse. Partook of the Lord's supper, and enjoyed some sense of divine things in that ordinance. In the afternoon, I preached from Ezek. xxxiii. 11. "As I live, saith the Lord God," &c. I was favoured with freedom and fervency, and the Lord helped me to plead his cause beyond my own power.

Monday, July 7. My spirits were considerably refreshed and raised in the morning. There is no comfort, I find, in any thing, without enjoying God and being engaged in his service. In the evening, had the most agreeable conversation that I ever remember upon God's being *all in all*, and all enjoyments being just *that* to us which God makes them, and no more. It is good to begin and end with God. Oh how does a sweet solemnity lay the foundation for true pleasure and happiness!

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Tuesday, July 8. Rode home, and enjoyed some agreeable meditations by the way.

Wednesday, July 9. Spent the day in writing, enjoyed some comfort and refreshment in my evening retirement.

Thursday, July 10. Employed most of the day in writing. Towards night, rode to Mr. Tennent's, and had some agreeable conversation. Went home in the evening, in a solemn frame of mind; was refreshed in secret duties, longed to live wholly and only for God, and saw plainly, there was nothing in the world worthy of my affection. My heart was dead to all below, not through dejection, as at some times, but from views of a better inheritance.

Friday, July 11. Was in a calm composed frame in the morning, especially in the season of secret retirement. I think I was well pleased with the will of God, whatever it was or should be, in all respects. Intending to administer the Lord's supper the next Lord's day, I looked to God for his presence and assistance upon that occasion; but felt a disposition to say, "The will of the Lord be done," whether it be to give me assistance or not. Spent some little time in writing; visited the Indians, and engaged in serious conversation with them; thinking it not best to preach, because many of them were absent.

Saturday, July 12. This day was spent in fasting and prayer by my congregation, as preparatory to the sacrament. I discoursed, both parts of the day, from Rom. iv. 25. "Who was delivered for our offences," *&c.* God gave me some assistance in my discourses, and something of divine power attended the word: this was a good season. Afterwards led the people to a solemn renewal of their covenant, and fresh dedication of themselves to God. This was a season of great solemnity, and God seemed to be in the midst of us. Returned to my lodgings in the evening, in a comfortable frame of mind.

Lord's day, July 13. In the forenoon, discoursed on "the bread of life," from John vi. 35. God gave me some assistance, in part of my discourse especially; and there appeared some tender affection in the assembly under divine truths; my soul also was somewhat refreshed. Administered the Lord's supper to thirty-one of the Indians. God seemed to be present in this ordinance; the communicants were most of them melted and refreshed. They were greatly affected when

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the elements were first uncovered; there was scarcely a dry eye among them, when I shewed them the symbols of *Christ's broken body*.—Having rested a little, after the administration of the sacrament, I visited the communicants, and found them generally in a sweet loving frame; not unlike what appeared among them on the former sacramental occasion, on April 27. In the afternoon, discoursed upon coming to Christ, and the satisfaction of those who do so, from the same verse I insisted on in the forenoon. This was likewise a season of much tenderness, affection, and enlargement in divine service: and God, I am persuaded, crowned our assembly with his presence. I returned home much spent, yet rejoicing in the divine goodness.

Monday, July 14. Went to my people, and discoursed to them from Psal. cxix. 106. "I have sworn, and I will perform it," &c. Observed, 1. That all God's judgments or commandments are righteous. 2. That God's people have sworn to keep them; and this they do especially at the Lord's table. There appeared to be a powerful divine influence on the assembly, and considerable melting under the word. Afterwards I led them to a renewal of their covenant before God, that they would watch over themselves and one another, lest they should fall into sin, and dishonour the name of Christ. This transaction, like that of April 28, was attended with great solemnity. God seemed to own it by exciting in them a fear and jealousy of themselves, lest they should sin against him, and his presence seemed to be amongst us in the conclusion of this sacramental solemnity.

[The next day he set out towards Philadelphia; from whence he did not return till Saturday. He went this journey, and spent the week, under a great degree of illness of body, and dejection of mind.]

Lord's day, July 20. Preached twice to my people, from John xvii. 24. "Father, I will that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am, that they may behold my glory, which thou hast given me." Was helped to discourse with great clearness and plainness in the forenoon. In the afternoon, enjoyed some tenderness, and spake with some influence. Divers were in tears: and some, to appearance, in distress.

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Monday, July 21. Preached to the Indians, chiefly for the sake of some strangers. Then proposed my design of taking a journey speedily to Susquahannah; exhorted the people to pray that God would be with me in my journey, and chose divers persons of the congregation to travel with me. Afterwards, spent time in discoursing to the strangers, and felt encouraged. Took care of my people's secular business, and was not a little exercised with it. Had some degree of composure and comfort in secret retirement.

Tuesday, July 22. Was in a dejected frame, most of the day. Wanted to wear out life, and have it at an end; but had some desires of living to God, and wearing out life for him. Oh that I could indeed do so!

[The next day he went to Elisabeth-Town, to a meeting of the Presbytery; and spent his time till the former part of Friday, under a great degree of melancholy; not through any fear of future punishment, but as being distressed with a senselessness of all good, so that the whole world appeared empty and gloomy to him. In the latter part of Friday, he was greatly relieved and comforted.]

Saturday, July 26. Was comfortable in the morning; my countenance and heart were not sad, as in days past; enjoyed some sweetness in lifting up my heart to God. Rode home to my people, and was in a pleasant frame by the way; my spirits were much relieved of their burden, and I felt free to go through all difficulties and labours in my Master's service.

Lord's day, July 27. Discoursed to my people, in the forenoon from Luke xii. 37, on the duty and benefit of watching. God helped me in the latter part of my discourse, and his power appeared in the assembly. In the afternoon, discoursed from Luke xiii. 25. Here also I enjoyed some assistance, and the Spirit of God seemed to attend what was spoken. There was a great solemnity, and some tears among the Indians and others.

Monday, July 28. Was very weak, and scarcely able to perform any business at all; but enjoyed liberty in prayer, both morning and evening, and was composed and comfortable through the day. My mind was intense, and my heart fervent, at least in some degree, in secret duties; and I longed to spend and be spent for God.

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Tuesday, July 29. My mind was cheerful and free from melancholy; had freedom in looking up to God, at sundry times in the day. In the evening I enjoyed a comfortable season in prayer; was helped to plead with God for my own dear people, that he would carry on his blessed work among them; was assisted also in praying for the divine presence to attend me in my journey to Susquahannah, and remembered my dear brethren and friends in New-England. I scarcely knew how to leave the throne of grace, and it grieved me that I was obliged to go to bed. I longed to do something for God, but knew not how. Blessed be God for this freedom from dejection.

Wednesday, July 30. Was unusually comfortable, both in body and mind, in the forenoon especially. I was greatly assisted in my work, and God seemed to be near to me; so that the day was as comfortable as most I have enjoyed for some time. In the evening, was favoured with assistance in secret prayer, and felt much as I did the evening before. Blessed be God for that freedom I then enjoyed at the throne of grace, for myself, my people, and my dear friends. "It is good for me to draw near to God."

Friday, August 1. In the evening, enjoyed a sweet season in secret prayer; clouds of darkness and perplexing care were scattered, and nothing anxious remained. Oh how serene was my mind at this season; how free from that distracting concern I have often felt! "Thy will be done," was a petition sweet to my soul; and if God had bidden me chuse for myself in any affair, I should have chosen rather to refer all to him; for I saw he was infinitely wise, and could not do any thing amiss, as I was in danger of doing. Was assisted in prayer, for my dear flock, that God would promote his own work among them, and that he would go with me in my intended journey to Susquahannah; was helped to remember dear friends in New-England, and my dear brethren in the ministry. I found enough in the duty of prayer to have engaged me to continue in it the whole night, if my bodily state would have admitted. Oh how sweet it is, to be enabled heartily to say, "Lord, not my will, but thine be done!"

Saturday, Aug. 2. Near night, preached from Matt. xi. 29. Was considerably helped, and the presence of God seemed remarkably in the assembly; divine truth made pow-

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erful impressions, both upon saints and sinners. Blessed be God for such a revival amongst us. In the evening, was very weary, but found my spirits supported and refreshed.

Lord's day, Aug. 3. Discoursed to my people in the forenoon, from Col. iii. 4, shewing that *Christ* is the believer's *life*. God helped me, and it was a season of considerable power in the assembly. In the afternoon, preached from Luke xix. 41, 42. I enjoyed some assistance, though not so much as in the forenoon. In the evening, I had great freedom in secret prayer; God enlarged my heart, and gave me satisfaction in drawing near to himself. Oh that my soul could magnify the Lord, for these seasons of composure and resignation to his will!

Monday, Aug. 4. Spent the day in writing; enjoyed much freedom and assistance in my work; was in a composed and comfortable frame most of the day; and in the evening enjoyed some sweetness in prayer. Blessed be God, my spirits were yet up, and I was kept from sinking, as I have been in general ever since I came from Elisabeth-Town. Oh what a mercy is this!

Friday, Aug. 5. Towards night, preached at the funeral of one of my Christian Indians, from Is. lvii. 2. Was oppressed with nervous head ach, and considerably dejected: however, had a little freedom, some part of the time I was discoursing. Was extremely weary in the evening, but notwithstanding enjoyed some liberty and cheerfulness of mind in prayer; and found the dejection that I feared, much removed, and my spirits considerably refreshed.

Thursday, Aug. 7. Rode to my house, where I spent the last winter, in order to bring some things I needed for my Susquahannah journey: was refreshed to see that place, which God so marvellously visited with the showers of his grace. Oh how amazingly did the power of God often appear there! "Bless the Lord, oh my soul, and forget not all his benefits."

Saturday, Aug. 9. In the afternoon, visited my people; set their affairs in order as much as possible, and contrived for them the management of their worldly business; discoursed to them in a solemn manner, and concluded with prayer. Was composed and comfortable in the evening, and somewhat fervent in secret prayer: had a view of the

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eternal world, and felt a serenity of mind. Oh that I could magnify the Lord for any freedom he affords me in prayer!

Lord's day, Aug. 10. Discoursed to my people, both parts of the day, from Acts iii. 19. In treating of *repentance*, in the forenoon, God helped me, so that my discourse was searching; some were in tears, both of the Indians and white people, and the word of God was attended with power. In the interval of worship, I was engaged in discoursing to some in order to their baptism; as well as with one who had then lately met with some comfort, after spiritual trouble and distress. In the afternoon, was somewhat assisted again, though weak and weary. Afterwards *baptized* six persons; three adults, and three children. Was in a comfortable frame in the evening, and enjoyed some satisfaction in secret prayer. I scarcely ever felt myself so full of tenderness as this day.

Monday, Aug. 11. Being about to set out on a journey to Susquahannah the next day, with leave of Providence, I spent some time this day in prayer with my people, that God would bless and succeed my intended journey; that he would send forth his blessed Spirit with his word, and set up his kingdom among the poor Indians in the wilderness. While I was opening and applying part of the 110th and 2nd Psalms, the power of God seemed to descend on the assembly in some measure; and while I was offering the first prayer, numbers were melted. Preached from Acts iv. 31. God helped me, and my interpreter also; there was a shaking and melting among us, and divers I doubt not were in some measure "filled with the Holy Ghost." Afterwards, Mr. Macknight prayed. I then opened the two last stanzas of the 72nd Psalm; at which time God was present with us, especially while I insisted upon the promise of "all nations blessing the great Redeemer." My soul was refreshed in thinking that this day, this blessed glorious season should surely come; and I trust, numbers of my dear people were also refreshed. Afterwards prayed with freedom, but was almost spent. I then walked out, and left my people to carry on religious exercises among themselves: they prayed repeatedly, and sung, while I rested and refreshed myself. Afterwards, went to the meeting; prayed with, and dismissed the assembly. Blessed be God, this has been a day of grace. There were many sighs and tears amongst us this day. In

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the evening, my soul was refreshed in prayer; enjoyed liberty at the throne of grace, in praying for my people and friends, and the church of God in general. Bless the Lord, oh my soul.

[The next day he set out on his journey towards Susquahannah, and six of his Christian Indians with him, whom he had chosen out of his congregation, as those that he judged most fit to assist him in the business he was going upon. He took his way through Philadelphia, intending to go as far as Susquahannah river, where it is settled by the white people, below the country inhabited by the Indians; and so to travel up the river to the Indian habitations. For though this was much farther about, yet hereby he avoided the huge mountains, and hideous wilderness, that must be crossed in the nearer way; which in time past he had found to be extremely difficult and fatiguing. He rode this week as far as Charlestown, a place of that name about thirty miles westward of Philadelphia, where he arrived on Friday; and in his way hither, was for the most part in a comfortable state of mind.]

Saturday, Aug. 16. At Charlestown. It being a day kept by the people of the place where I now was, as preparatory to the celebration of the Lord's supper, I tarried; heard Mr. Treat preach, and then preached myself. God gave me a good degree of freedom, and helped me to discourse with warmth and power to the conscience. Afterwards I was refreshed in spirit, though much tired; and spent the evening agreeably, having some freedom in prayer, as well as Christian conversation.

Lord's day, Aug. 17. Enjoyed liberty, composure and satisfaction, in the secret duties of the morning: had my heart somewhat enlarged in prayer for dear friends, as well as for myself. In the forenoon, attended Mr. Treat's preaching, partook of the Lord's supper, five of my people also communicating in this holy ordinance: I enjoyed some enlargement and outgoing of soul in this season. In the afternoon, preached from Ezek. xxxiii. 11. Enjoyed not so much sensible assistance as the day before; however, was helped to some fervency in addressing immortal souls. Was somewhat confounded in the evening, because I thought I had done little or nothing for God; yet enjoyed some refresh-

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ment of spirit in Christian conversation and prayer. Spent the evening, till near midnight, in religious exercises; and found my bodily strength, which was much spent when I came from the public worship, something renewed before I went to bed.

Monday, Aug. 18. Rode on my way towards Paxton, upon Susquahannah river. Felt my spirits sink towards night, so that I had little comfort.

Tuesday, Aug. 19. Rode forward still; and at night lodged by the side of Susquahannah. Was weak and disordered both this and the preceding day, and found my spirits considerably damped, meeting with none that I thought godly people.

Wednesday, Aug. 20. Having lain in a cold sweat all night, I coughed much bloody matter this morning, and was under great disorder of body, and not a little melancholy; but what gave me some encouragement was, I had a secret hope that I might speedily get a dismission from earth, and all its toils and sorrows. Rode this day to one Chambers's, upon Susquahannah, and there lodged. Was much afflicted in the evening with an ungodly crew, drinking, swearing, *&c.* Oh what a hell would it be, to be numbered with the ungodly! Enjoyed some agreeable conversation with a traveller, who seemed to have a relish of true religion.

Thursday, Aug. 21. Rode up the river about fifteen miles, and there lodged, in a family that appeared quite destitute of God. Laboured to discourse with the man about the life of religion, but found him very artful in evading such conversation. Oh what a death it is to some, to hear of the things of God! Was out of my element, but not so dejected as at some times.

Friday, Aug. 22. Continued my course up the river. My people now being with me, who before were parted from me, we travelled above all the English settlements. At night, lodged in the open woods, and slept with more comfort than while among an ungodly company of white people. Enjoyed some liberty in secret prayer this evening; was helped to remember dear friends, as well as my dear flock, and the church of God in general.

Saturday, Aug. 23. Arrived at the Indian town, called *Shaumoking*, near night. Was not so dejected as formerly, though somewhat exercised. Felt more composed in the

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evening, and enjoyed some freedom in leaving my *all* with God. Through great goodness, I was not distressed with despondency, as frequently heretofore.

Lord's day, Aug. 24. Towards noon, visited some of the Delawares, and discoursed with them about Christianity. In the afternoon, discoursed to the *King*, and others, upon divine things; they seemed disposed to hear. Spent most of the day in these exercises. In the evening, enjoyed some comfort and satisfaction, especially in secret prayer: this duty was made so agreeable to me, that I loved to walk abroad and repeatedly engage in it. Oh how comfortable is a little glimpse of God!

Monday, Aug. 25. Spent most of the day in writing. Sent out my people that were with me, to talk with the Indians, and contract a friendship and familiarity with them, that I might have a better opportunity of treating with them about Christianity. Some good seemed to be done by their visits this day, divers appeared willing to hearken to the gospel. My spirits were a little refreshed this evening, and I found some liberty and satisfaction in prayer.

Tuesday, Aug. 26. About noon, discoursed to a considerable number of Indians. God helped me to speak with much plainness, warmth and power. The discourse had impression upon some, and made them appear very serious. I thought things now appeared as encouraging as they did at Crosweeks. At the time of my first visit to those Indians, I was a little encouraged. I pressed things with all my might, and called out my people, who were then present, to give in *their testimony* for God; which they did. Towards night, was refreshed; felt a heart to pray for the setting up of God's kingdom here, as well as for my dear congregation and friends elsewhere.

Wednesday, Aug. 27. There having been a thick smoke in the house where I lodged all night before, by which I was almost choked, I was this morning distressed with pains in my head and neck, and could have no rest. In the morning, the smoke was still the same; and a cold easterly storm gathering, I could neither live within doors nor without any long time together. I was pierced with the rawness of the air abroad; in the house distressed with the smoke. I was this day very low, and lived in great distress; had not health enough to do any thing to purpose.

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Thursday, Aug. 28. In the forenoon was under great concern of mind about my work. Being visited by some who desired to hear me preach, I discoursed to them in the afternoon with some fervency, and laboured to persuade them to *turn to God*. Was full of concern for the kingdom of Christ, and found some enlargement in prayer, both in secret and in my family. Scarcely ever saw more clearly than this day, that it is God's work to convert souls, and especially poor Heathens. I knew I could not touch them; I saw I could only speak to "dry bones," but could give them no sense of what I said. My eyes were up to God for help: I could say, the *work* was *his;* and if done, the *glory* would be *his*.

Friday, Aug. 29. Felt the same concern of mind as the day before. Enjoyed some freedom in prayer, and a satisfaction to leave all with God. Travelled to the Delawares, found few at home: felt poorly, but was able to spend some time alone in reading God's word and in prayer, and enjoyed some sweetness in these exercises. In the evening, was assisted repeatedly in prayer, and found some comfort in coming to the throne of grace.

Saturday, Aug. 30. Spent the forenoon in visiting a *trader*, who came down the river sick. He appeared as ignorant as any Indian. In the afternoon, spent some time in writing, reading, and prayer.

Lord's day, Aug. 31. Spent much time in the morning in secret duties: found a weight upon my spirits, and could not but cry to God with concern and engagement of soul. Spent some time also in reading and expounding God's word to my family that were with me, as well as in singing and praying with them. Afterwards, spake the word of God to a few of the Susquahannah Indians. In the afternoon felt very weak and feeble. Near night was a little refreshed in mind, with some views relating to my great work. Oh how heavy is my work, when *faith* cannot take hold of an *almighty arm*, for the performance of it. Many times have I been ready to sink in this case. Blessed be God, that I may repair to a full fountain.

Monday, September 1. Set out on a journey towards a place called The Great Island, about fifty miles distant from Shaumoking, in the north-western branch of Susquahannah. Travelled some part of the way, and at night lodged in the woods. Was exceeding feeble this day, and sweat much the night following.

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Tuesday, Sep. 2. Rode forward, but no faster than my people went on foot. On this as well as the preceding days, I was so feeble and faint that I feared it would kill me to lie out in the open air. Some of our company also were parted from us, so that we had now no axe with us; and I had no way left but to climb into a young pine-tree, and with my knife to lop the branches, and so made a shelter from the dew But the evening being cloudy, and very likely for rain, I was still under fears of being extremely exposed. I sweat much in the night, so that my linen was almost wringing wet all night. I scarcely ever was more weak and weary than this evening, when I was able to sit up at all. This was a melancholy situation to be in; but I endeavoured to quiet yself with considerations of the possibility of my being in much worse circumstances, amongst enemies, *&c.*

Wednesday, Sep. 3. Rode to the Delaware town; found several persons drinking and drunken. Discoursed with some of the Indians about Christianity; observed my Interpreter much engaged and assisted in his work; some few seemed to hear with great earnestness. About noon, rode to a small town of Shauwaunoes, about eight miles distant; spent an hour or two there, and returned to the Delaware town, and lodged there. Was seldom more confounded with a sense of my own unfruitfulness and unfitness for my work than now. Oh what a dead, heartless, barren, unprofitable wretch did I now see myself to be! My spirits were so low, and my bodily strength so wasted, that I could do nothing at all. At length, being much overdone, I lay down on a Buffalo-skin; but sweat much the whole night.

Thursday, Sep. 4. Discoursed with the Indians, in the morning about Christianity. My Interpreter afterwards carried on the discourse to a considerable length: some few appeared well-disposed, and somewhat affected. Left this place, and returned towards Shaumoking; and at night lodged in the place as on the Monday night before. Was in very uncomfortable circumstances in the evening, my people being belated, and not coming to me till past ten at night; so that I had no fire to dress any victuals, or to keep me warm, or keep off wild beasts. I was never more weak and worn out in all my life. However, I lay down and slept before my people came up, expecting nothing else but to spend the whole night alone, and without a fire.

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Friday, Sep. 5. Was so weak that I could scarcely ride; it seemed sometimes as if I must fall off from my horse, and lie in the open woods. However, I got to Shaumoking towards night, and felt thankful that God had so far returned me. I was also refreshed to see one of my Christians, whom I left here in my late excursion.

Saturday, Sep. 6. Spent the day in a very weak state, coughing and spitting blood, and having little appetite to any food I had with me. Could do very little, except discourse awhile of divine things to my own people, and to some few I met with. Had by this time very little life or heart to speak for God, through feebleness of body and flatness of spirits. Was much ashamed and confounded in myself. I was sensible that there were numbers of God's people, who knew I was then out upon a design (or at least the pretence) of doing something for God and in his cause, among the poor Indians; and they were ready to suppose that I was "fervent in spirit." But oh the heartless frame of mind that I felt, filled me with confusion. Oh if God's people knew me, as God knows, they would not think so highly of my zeal and resolution for God, as perhaps now they 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 smallness of my courage and resolution for God, they would be ready to shut me out of their doors, as unworthy of the company or friendship of Christians.

Lord's day, Sep. 7. Was much in the same weak state of body, and afflicted frame of mind, as in the preceding day: my soul was grieved, and mourned that I could do nothing for God. Read and expounded some part of God's word to my own dear family, and spent some time in prayer with them. Discoursed also a little to the Pagans, but spent the Sabbath with a little comfort.

Monday, Sep. 8. Spent the forenoon among the Indians; in the afternoon, left Shaumoking, and returned a few miles down the river. Had proposed to tarry a considerable time longer among the Indians upon Susquahannah; but was hindered from pursuing my purpose by the sickness that prevailed there, the weakly circumstances of my own people that were with me, and especially my own extraordinary

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weakness, having been exercised with great nocturnal sweats, and a coughing up of blood, in almost the whole of the journey. Great part of the time I was so feeble and faint, that it seemed as though I never should be able to reach home; and at the same time destitute of the comforts, and even necessaries of life; at least, what was necessary for one in so weak a state. In this journey I was sometimes enabled to speak the word of God with power, and divine truth made some impression on divers that heard me. Several men and women, both old and young, seemed to "cleave to us," and to be well disposed towards Christianity; but others mocked and shouted, which damped some of those who before seemed friendly. Yet God at times was evidently present, assisting me and my Interpreter, and other dear friends who were with me. I sometimes had a good degree of freedom in prayer for the ingathering of souls there, and could not but entertain a strong hope that the journey would not be wholly fruitless. Whether it will issue in the setting up Christ's kingdom *there*, or only the drawing of some few persons down to my congregation in New-Jersey; or whether they were now only preparing for some further attempts that might be made among them, I did not determine; but I was persuaded the journey would not be lost. Blessed be God, that I had any encouragement and hope.

Tuesday, Sep. 9. Rode down the river, near thirty miles. Was extremely weak, much fatigued, and wet with a thunderstorm. Discoursed with some warmth and closeness to a few poor ignorant souls, on the life and power of religion; what were, and what were not the evidences of it. They seemed much astonished when they saw my Indians ask a blessing, and give thanks at dinner, concluding *that* to be a very high evidence of grace in them; but were astonished when I insisted that neither that, nor yet secret prayer, was any sure evidence of grace. Oh the ignorance of men! How are some empty outward *forms*, that may all be entirely *selfish*, mistaken for true religion, and infallible evidences of it! The Lord pity a deluded world.

Wednesday, Sep. 10. Rode near twenty miles homeward. Was much solicited to preach, but utterly unable, through bodily weakness. Was overdone with heat and showers this day, and coughed up much blood.

Thursday, Sep. 11. Rode homeward, but was very weak,

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and sometimes scarcely able to ride. Had a very importunate invitation to preach at a meeting-house I came by, the people being then gathering, but I could not. Was resigned and composed under my weakness, but much exercised with concern for my companions in travel, whom I had left with much regret, some lame, and some sick.

Friday, Sep. 12. Rode about fifty miles, and came just at night to a Christian friend's house, about twenty five miles west of Philadelphia. Was courteously received, and kindly entertained, and found myself much refreshed in the midst of my weakness and fatigues.

Saturday, Sep. 13. Was still agreeably entertained with Christian friendship, and all things suited to my circumstances. In the afternoon, heard Mr. Treat preach, and was refreshed in conversation with him in the evening.

Lord's day, Sep. 14. At the desire of Mr. Treat and the people, I preached both parts of the day, but short, from Luke xiv. 23. God gave me some freedom and warmth in my discourse; and I trust, helped me in some measure to labour "in singleness of heart." Was much tired in the evening, but comforted with the most tender treatment I ever met with. My mind, through the whole of this day, was exceeding calm. I could ask for nothing in prayer, with any encouragement of soul, but that "the will of God might be done."

Monday, Sep. 15. Spent the whole day in concert with Mr. Treat, endeavouring to compose a difference subsisting between certain persons in the congregation where we now were: there seemed to be a blessing on our endeavours. In the evening, baptized a child; was in a calm composed frame, and enjoyed a spiritual sense of divine things, while administering the ordinance. Afterwards, spent the time in religious conversation, till late in the night. This was indeed a pleasant evening.

Tuesday, Sep. 16. Continued still at my friend's house, about twenty five miles west of Philadelphia. Was very weak, unable to perform any business, and scarcely able to sit up.

Wednesday, Sep. 17. Rode in to Philadelphia. Still very weak, and my cough and spitting of blood continued. Enjoyed some agreeable conversation with friends, but wanted more spirituality.

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Thursday, Sep. 18. Went from Philadelphia to Mr. Treat's; was agreeably entertained on the road, and was in a sweet composed frame in the evening.

Friday, Sep. 19. Rode from Mr. Treat's to Mr. Stockston's at Prince Town: was extremely weak, but kindly received and entertained. Spent the evening with some degree of satisfaction.

Saturday, Sep. 20. Arrived among my own people, just at night. Found them praying together: went in and gave them some account of God's dealings with me and my companions in the journey, which seemed affecting to them. I then prayed with them, and thought the divine presence was amongst us; several were melted into tears, and seemed to have a sense of divine things. Being very weak, I was obliged soon to repair to my lodgings and felt much worn out, in the evening. Thus God has carried me through the fatigues and perils of another journey to Susquahannah, and returned me again in safety, though under a great degree of bodily indisposition. Oh that my soul were truly thankful for renewed instances of mercy! Many hardships and distresses I endured in this journey; but the Lord supported me under them all.

PART VIII.

After his return from his last journey to Susquahannah, until his death.

[HITHERTO Mr. Brainerd had kept a constant Diary, giving an account of what passed from day to day, with very little interruption; but henceforward his diary is very much interrupted by his illness. He was often brought so low, as either not to be capable of writing, or not well able to bear the burden of a care so constant as was requisite, to recollect every evening what had passed in the day, and set down an orderly account of it in writing. However, his Diary was not wholly neglected; but he took care, from time to time, to take some notice of the most material things concerning

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himself and the state of his mind, even till within a few days of his death, as the reader will see afterwards.*]

Lord's day, Sep. 21. 1746. I was so weak I could not preach, nor pretend to ride over to my people in the forenoon. In the afternoon, rode out; sat in my chair, and discoursed to my people from Rom. xiv. 7, 8. I was strengthened and helped in my discourse, and there appeared something agreeable in the assembly. I returned to my lodgings extremely tired, but thankful that I had been enabled to speak a word to my poor people, from whom I had been so long absent. Was able to sleep very little this night, through weariness and pain. Oh how blessed should I be, if the little I do were all done with right views! Oh that, "whether I live, I might live to the Lord," &c.

Saturday, Sep. 27. Spent this day, as well as the whole week past, under a great degree of bodily weakness, attended with a violent cough and fever. Had no appetite to any kind of food, and frequently brought up what I eat, as soon as it was down; and oftentimes had little rest in my bed, by reason of pains in my breast and back. I was able however to ride over to my people, about two miles, every day, and take some care of those who were then at work upon a small house for me to reside in amongst the Indians.† I was sometimes hardly able to walk, and never able to sit up the whole day, through the week. Was calm and composed, and but little exercised with melancholy, as in former seasons of weakness. Whether I should ever recover or no, seemed very doubtful; but this was many times a comfort to me, that *life* and *death* did not depend upon *my* choice. I

* Mr. Shepard, in his *Select cases resolved*, under the first *case* says as follows. "I have lately known one very able, wise and godly, put upon the rack, by him that, envying God's people's peace, knows how to change himself into an "angel of light." For it being his usual course, in the time of his health, to make a *diary* of his hourly life, and finding much benefit by it, he was in conscience pressed, by the power and delusion of Satan, to take the same daily survey of his life in the time of his *sickness*; by means of which he spent his enfeebled spirits, and cast on fuel to fire his sickness. Had not a friend of his convinced him of his erroneous conscience misleading him at that time, he had murdered his body, out of conscience to save his soul, and to preserve his grace. And do you think *these* were the motions of God's Spirit, which like those *locusts*, Rev. ix. 9, 10, had faces like *men*, but had tails like *scorpions*, and stings in their tails?"

† This was the *fourth* house he built for his residence among the Indians. Besides that at Kaunaumeek, and that at the Forks of Delaware, and another at Crosweeksung, he built one now at Cranberry.

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was pleased to think that he who is infinitely wise, had the determination of this matter; and that I had no trouble to consider and weigh things upon all sides, in order to make the choice, whether I would live or die. Thus my time was consumed. I had little strength to pray, none to write or read, and scarcely any to meditate; but through divine goodness, I could with great composure look *death* in the face, and frequently with sensible joy. Oh how blessed it is, to be habitually prepared for death. The Lord grant, that I may be actually ready also!

Lord's day, Sep. 28. Rode to my people; and though under much weakness, attempted to preach from 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Discoursed about half an hour; at which season divine power seemed to attend the word; but being extreme weak, I was obliged to desist; and after a turn of faintness, with much difficulty rode to my lodgings; where betaking myself to my bed, I lay in a burning fever, and almost delirious for several hours; till towards morning, my fever went off with a violent sweat. I have often been feverish and unable to rest quietly after preaching; but this was the severest illness that preaching ever brought upon me. Yet I felt perfectly at rest in my own mind, because I had made my utmost attempts to speak for God, and knew I could do no more.

Tuesday, Sep. 30. Yesterday and to-day, was in the same weak state, or rather weaker than in days past, hardly able to sit up half the day. Was in a composed frame of mind, remarkably free from dejection and melancholy. God has been pleased in great measure to deliver me from these unhappy glooms, in the general course of my present weakness hitherto, and also from a peevish froward spirit. Oh how great a mercy is this! Oh that I might always be perfectly quiet in seasons of the greatest weakness, although nature should sink and fail. Oh that I may always be able with the utmost sincerity to say, "Lord, not my will, but thine be done:" This, through grace, I can say at present, with regard to life or death. "The Lord do with me as seems good in his sight;" that whether I live or die, I may glorify him, who is worthy to receive blessing, and "honour, and dominion for ever. Amen."

Saturday, Oct. 4. Spent the former part of this week under great infirmity and disorder, as I had done several

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weeks before. Was able however to ride a little every day, although unable to sit up half the day, till Thursday. Took some care daily of some persons at work upon my house. On Friday afternoon found myself wonderfully revived and strengthened; and having some time before given notice to my people, and those of them at the Forks of Delaware in particular, that I designed, with leave of Providence, to administer the Lord's supper upon the first Sabbath in October, the Sabbath now approaching, on Friday-afternoon I preached, preparatory to the sacrament, from 2 Cor. xiii. 5, finishing what I had proposed to offer upon the subject the Sabbath before. The sermon was blessed to the stirring up religious affection, and a spirit of devotion in the people of God; and to the greatly affecting one who had backslidden from God, which caused him to judge and condemn himself. I was surprisingly strengthened in my work while speaking; but was obliged immediately after to repair to bed, being now removed into my own house among the Indians. This gave me such speedy relief and refreshment, as I could not well have lived without. Spent some time on Friday night in conversing with my people about divine things, as I lay upon my bed; and found my soul refreshed, though my body was weak. This being Saturday, I discoursed particularly with divers of the communicants; and this afternoon preached from Zech. xii. 10. There seemed to be a tender melting, and hearty mourning for sin, in numbers of the congregation. My soul was in a comfortable frame, and I enjoyed freedom and assistance in public service; was myself, as well as most of the congregation, much affected with the humble confession, and apparent broken-heartedness of the forementioned backslider. I could not but rejoice that God had given him such a sense of his sin and unworthiness. Was extremely tired in the evening, but lay on my bed, and discoursed to my people.

Lord's day, Oct. 5. Was still very weak; and in the morning, considerably afraid I should not be able to go through the work of the day; having much to do, both in private and public. Discoursed before the administration of the sacrament, from John i. 29. "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world." Where I considered, I. In what respects Christ is called "the Lamb of God;" and observed that he is so called, (1.) From the purity and

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innocency of his nature. (2.) From his meekness and patience under sufferings. (3.) From his being that *atonement* which was pointed out in the *sacrifice* of lambs, and in particular by the *paschal* lamb. II. Considered how and in what sense he "takes away the sin of the world;" and observed, that the means by which he takes away the sins of men, was his giving himself for them, doing and suffering in their room and stead, &c. And he is said to take away the sin of "the world," not because *all* the world shall actually be redeemed from sin by him; but because, (1.) He has done and suffered sufficient to answer for the sins of the world, and so to redeem all mankind. (2.) He actually does take away the sins of the elect world. And, III. Considered how we are to "*behold* him," in order to have our sins taken away. (1.) Not with our bodily eyes. Nor, (2.) By imagining him on the cross, &c. But by a spiritual view of his glory and goodness, engaging the soul to *rely* on him, &c.—The divine presence attended this discourse, and the assembly was considerably melted with it. After sermon, baptized two persons. Then administered the Lord's supper to near forty communicants, of the Indians, besides several Christians of the white people. It seemed to be a season of divine power and grace, and numbers appeared to rejoice in God. Oh the sweet union and harmony then prevailing among believers. My soul was refreshed, and my religious friends, of the white people, with me. After the sacrament, could scarcely get home, though it was not more than twenty roods; but was supported and led by my friends, and laid on my bed. I lay in pain till some time in the evening, and then was able to sit up and discourse with friends. Oh how was this day spent in prayers and praises among my dear people! One might hear them all the morning, before public worship, and in the evening till near midnight, praying and singing praises to God, in one or other of their houses. My soul was refreshed, though my body was weak.

[This week he went in a very low state to Elisabeth-Town, to attend the meeting of the *Synod* there; but was disappointed by its removal to New-York. He continued in a very composed comfortable frame of mind.]

Saturday, Oct. 11. Towards night was seized with an

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ague, which was followed with a hard fever, and considerable pain. Was treated with great kindness, and was ashamed to see so much concern about so unworthy a creature as I knew myself to be. Was in a comfortable frame of mind, wholly submissive, with regard to *life* or *death*. It was indeed a peculiar satisfaction to me to think, that it was not *my* concern or business to determine whether I should live or die. I likewise felt satisfied while under this uncommon degree of disorder, being fully convinced of my weakness and inability to perform my work; whereas at other times my mind was perplexed with fears, that I was a misimprover of time, by conceiting I was sick when I was not in reality so. Oh how precious is time, and how guilty it makes me feel, when I think I have trifled away and misimproved it, or neglected to fill up each part of it with duty, to the utmost of my ability and capacity.

Lord's day, Oct. 12. Was scarcely able to sit up in the forenoon: in the afternoon, attended public worship, and was in a composed comfortable frame.

Lord's day, Oct. 19. Unable to do any thing the week past, except that on Thursday I rode out about four miles; at which time I took cold. As I was able to do little or nothing, so I did not enjoy much spirituality. I longed indeed to be more fruitful and full of heavenly affection, and was grieved to see the hours slide away, while I could do nothing for God.—Was able this week to attend public worship. Was composed and comfortable, willing either to die or live; but found it hard to be reconciled to the thoughts of living *useless*. Oh that I might never live to be a burden to God's creation; but that I might be allowed to repair *home*, when my *sojourning* work is done!

[This week he went back to his Indians at Cranberry, to take some care of their spiritual and temporal concerns: and was much spent with journeying, though he rode but a little way in a day.]

Thursday, Oct. 23. Went to my own house, and set things in order. Was very weak, and somewhat melancholy: laboured to do something, but had no strength, and was forced to lie down on my bed very solitary.

Friday, Oct. 24. Spent the day in overseeing and di-

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recting my people, about mending their fence and securing their wheat. Found, that all their concerns of a secular nature depended upon me.—Was somewhat refreshed in the evening, having been able to do something valuable in the day-time. Oh how it pains me to see time pass away, when I can do nothing to any purpose.

Saturday, Oct. 25. Visited some of my people; spent time in writing, and felt much better in body than usual. When it was near night, I felt so well that I had thoughts of expounding: but in the evening was much disordered again, and spent the night in coughing and spitting of blood.

Lord's day, Oct. 26. In the morning, was exceeding weak: spent the day, till near night, in pain to see my poor people wandering "*as sheep* having no shepherd," waiting and hoping to see me able to preach to them before night. It could not but distress me to see them in this case, and to find myself unable to attempt any thing for their spiritual benefit. But towards night, finding myself a little better, I called them together to my house, and sat down, and read and expounded Matth. v. 1—16. This discourse, though delivered in much weakness, was attended with power to many of the hearers, especially what was spoken upon the last of these verses; where I insisted on the infinite wrong done to religion, by having our *light* become *darkness*, instead of "shining before men." As many in the congregation were now deeply affected with a sense of their deficiency, in regard to a spiritual conversation that might recommend religion to others, so also a spirit of concern and watchfulness seemed to be excited in them. One in particular, who had fallen into the sin of drunkenness some time before, was now deeply convinced of his sin, and the great dishonour done to religion by his misconduct, and discovered a great degree of grief and concern on that account. My soul was refreshed to see this. And though I had no strength to speak so much as I would have done, but was obliged to lie down on the bed; yet I rejoiced to see such a humble melting in the congregation, and that divine truth, though faintly delivered, was attended with so much efficacy upon the auditory.

Monday, Oct. 27. Spent the day in overseeing and directing the Indians, about mending the fence round their wheat: was able to walk with them, and contrive their busi-

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ness all the forenoon. In the afternoon, was visited by two dear friends, and spent some time in conversation with them. Towards night, was able to walk out, and take care of the Indians again. In the evening, enjoyed a very peaceful frame.

Tuesday, Oct. 28. Rode to Prince-Town in a very weak state; had such a violent fever by the way, that I was forced to alight at a friend's house, and lie down for some time. Near night, was visited by Mr. Treat, Mr. Beaty and his wife, and another friend. My spirits were refreshed to see them; but I was surprized, and even ashamed, that they had taken so much pains as to ride thirty or forty miles to see me. Was able to sit up most of the evening, and spent the time in a very comfortable manner with my friends.

Wednesday, Oct. 29. Rode about ten miles with my friends, who came yesterday to see me: and then parted with them all but one, who stayed on purpose to keep me company and cheer my spirits. Was very weak and feverish, especially towards night; but enjoyed comfort and satisfaction.

Thursday, Oct. 30. Rode three or four miles to visit Mr. Wales; spent some time in agreeable conversation; and though extremely weak, I enjoyed a comfortable frame of mind.

Friday, Oct. 31. Spent the day among friends comfortably, though exceeding weak, and under a considerable fever.

Saturday, November 1. Took leave of friends, after having spent the forenoon with them, and returned home to my own house. Was much disordered in the evening, and oppressed with my cough; which has now been constant for a long time, with a hard pain in my breast, and fever.

Lord's day, Nov. 2. Was unable to preach, and scarcely able to sit up the whole day. Was grieved, and almost sunk, to see my poor people destitute of the means of grace; especially considering they could not read, and so were under great disadvantages for spending the Sabbath comfortably. Oh I thought, I could be contented to be sick, if my poor flock had a faithful pastor to feed them with spiritual knowledge. A view of their want of this was more afflictive to me, than all my bodily illness.

Monday, Nov. 3. Being now in so weak and low a state,

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that I was utterly incapable of performing my work, and having little hope of recovery, unless by much riding, I thought it my duty to take a long journey into New-England, and to divert myself among my friends, whom I had not seen for a long time. Accordingly I took leave of my congregation this day.—Before I left my people, I visited them all in their respective houses, and discoursed to each one, as I thought most proper and suitable to their circumstances, and found great freedom and assistance in so doing. I scarcely left one house but some were in tears; and many were not only affected with my being about to *leave* them, but with the solemn *addresses* I made them upon divine things; for I was helped to be "fervent in spirit," while I discoursed to them. When I had thus gone through my congregation, which took me most of the day, and had taken leave of them and of the school, I left home, and rode about two miles, to the house where I lived in the summer past, and there lodged. Was refreshed this evening, in that I had left my congregation so well disposed and affected, and that I had been so much assisted in making my farewell addresses to them.

Tuesday, Nov. 4. Rode to Woodbridge, and lodged with Mr. Pierson; continuing still in a very weak state.

Wednesday, Nov. 5. Rode to Elisabeth-Town, intending as soon as possible to prosecute my journey into New-England; but was, in an hour or two after my arrival, taken much worse.

After this, for near a week, was confided to my chamber, and most of the time to my bed; and then so far revived as to be able to walk about the house, but still confined within doors.

In the beginning of this extraordinary turn of disorder, after my coming to Elisabeth-Town, I was enabled through mercy to maintain a calm, composed and patient spirit, as I had been before from the beginning of my weakness. After I had been in Elisabeth-Town about a fortnight, and had so far recovered that I was able to walk about the house, upon a day of thanksgiving kept in this place, I was enabled to recal and recount the mercies of God in such a manner as greatly affected me, and filled me with thankfulness and praise. Especially my soul praised God for his work of grace among the Indians, and the enlargement of his own

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kingdom. I blessed God for what he is in himself, and adored him that he ever would display himself to creatures. I rejoiced that he was God, and longed that all should know it, and feel it, and rejoice in it. 'Lord, glorify thyself,' was the cry of my soul. Oh that all people might love and praise the blessed God, that he might have all possible honour and glory from the intelligent world.*

After this comfortable thanksgiving-season, I frequently enjoyed freedom and engagedness of soul in prayer, and was enabled to intercede with God for my dear congregation, very often for every family, and every person in particular. It was also a great comfort to me that I could pray heartily to God for those, to whom I could not speak, and whom I was not allowed to see. At other times my spirits were so flat and low, and my bodily vigour so much wasted, that I had scarcely any affections at all.

In December, I had revived so far as to be able to walk abroad and visit friends, and seemed to be on the gaining hand with regard to my health, until Lord's day, December 21. At which time I went to the public worship; and it being sacrament day, I laboured much at the Lord's table, to bring forth a certain corruption, and have it slain, as being an enemy to God and my own soul; and could not but hope that I had gained some strength against this, as well as other corruptions, and felt some brokenness of heart for sin.

After this, having perhaps taken some cold, I began to decline as to bodily health; and continued to do so, till the latter end of January 1746-7. And having a violent cough, fever and asthma, and no appetite for any manner of food, nor any power of digestion. I was reduced to so low a state that my friends generally despaired of my life; and some of them, for some time together, thought I could scarcely live a day. In this time I could think of nothing with any application of mind, and seemed in a great measure void of all affection, and was exercised with great temptations; yet I was not, ordinarily, afraid of death.

Lord's day, February 1. Though in a very weak and low state, I enjoyed considerable comfort and sweetness in divine things; and was enabled to plead and use arguments

* About this time he wrote the *seventh letter*, published at the end of this account of his life.

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with God in prayer, I think, with a child-like spirit. That passage of scripture occurred to my mind, and gave me great assistance: "If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts to your children, how much more will your heavenly Father give the holy Spirit to them that ask him?" This text I was helped to plead and insist upon, and saw the divine faithfulness engaged to deal with me better than any earthly parent can do with his child. This season so refreshed my soul, that my body seemed also to be a gainer by it; and from this time I began gradually to amend. And as I recovered some strength and spirit, I found at times some freedom and life in the exercises of devotion, and some longings after spirituality and a life of usefulness to the interests of the great Redeemer. At other times I was awfully barren and lifeless, and out of frame for the things of God; so that I was ready often to cry out, "Oh that it were with me as in months past! Oh that God had taken me away in the midst of my usefulness, with a sudden stroke, that I might not have been under a necessity of trifling away time in diversions. Oh that I had never lived to spend so much precious time in so poor a manner, and to so little purpose!" Thus I often reflected, was grieved, ashamed, and even confounded, sunk and discouraged.

Tuesday, Feb. 24. I was able to ride as far as Newark, having been confined within Elisabeth-Town almost four months; and the next day returned to Elisabeth-Town. My spirits were somewhat refreshed with the ride, though my body was weary.

Saturday, Feb. 28. Was visited by an Indian of my own congregation, who brought me letters, and good news of the sober and good behaviour of my people in general. This refreshed my soul; I could not but soon retire, and bless God for his goodness; and found, I trust, a truly thankful frame of spirit, that God seemed to be building up that congregation for himself.

Wednesday, March 4. I met with reproof from a friend, which, although I thought I did not deserve it from him, was I trust blessed of God to make me more tenderly afraid of sin, more jealous over myself, and more concerned to keep both heart and life pure and unblameable. It likewise caused me to reflect on my past deadness and want of spirituality, and to abhor myself, and look on myself as most

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unworthy. This frame of mind continued the next day; and for several days after I grieved to think, that in my necessary diversions I had not maintained more seriousness, solemnity, heavenly affection and conversation. Thus my spirits were often depressed and sunk; and yet, I trust, that reproof was made beneficial to me.

Wednesday, March 11, being kept in Elisabeth-Town as a day of fasting and prayer, I attended public worship; which was the first time I was able so to do since December 21. Oh how much weakness and distress did God carry me through in this space of time. But having obtained help from him, I yet live: oh that I could live more to his glory!

Lord's day, March 15. Was able again to attend public worship, and felt some earnest desires of being restored to the ministerial work.

Wednesday, March 18. Rode out with a design to visit my people, and the next day arrived among them: was under great dejection in my journey.

On Friday morning I rose early, walked about among my people, and inquired into their state and concerns; found an additional weight and burden on my spirits, upon hearing some things disagreeable. I endeavoured to go to God with my distresses, and made some kind of lamentable complaint. In a broken manner I spread my difficulties before him; but my mind still continued very gloomy. About ten o'clock, I called my people together; and after having explained and sung a psalm, I prayed with them. There was a considerable degree of affection among them; I doubt not, in some instances, that which was more than merely natural.

[This was the *last interview* that he ever had with his people. About eleven o'clock the same day he left them, and the next day came to Elisabeth-Town. His melancholy still remained, and he continued for a considerable time under great dejection.]

Saturday, March 28. Was taken this morning with constant violent pains, so that it seemed impossible for me, without a miracle, to live twenty-four hours in such distress. I was confined to my bed the whole day, and in distressing pain all the former part of it; but it pleased God to bless means for my relief. Was exceedingly weakened by this pain, and continued so for several days, attended with a cough and fever. In this distressed case *death* appeared

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agreeable to me; I looked on it as the end of toils, and an entrance into a place "where the weary are at rest." I think also I had some relish of the entertainments of the heavenly state; so that by these I was allured and drawn, as well as driven by the fatigues of life. How happy it is, to be drawn by desires of a state of perfect holiness.

Saturday, April 4. Was sunk and dejected, very restless and uneasy, by reason of the misimprovement of time. Yet I knew not what to do: I longed to spend time in fasting and prayer, that I might be delivered from indolence and coldness in the things of God; but alas, I had not bodily strength for these exercises. Oh how blessed a thing is it, to enjoy peace of conscience; but how dreadful is the want of inward peace and composure. It is impossible I find, to enjoy this happiness without redeeming time and maintaining a spiritual frame of mind.

Lord's day, April 5. It grieved me to find myself so inconceivably barren. My soul thirsted for grace; but alas, how far was I from obtaining what I saw so exceeding excellent. I was ready to despair of ever being holy; yet my soul was desirous of "following hard after God. Never did I see myself so far from "having apprehended, or being already perfect," as at this time. The Lord's supper being this day administered, I attended the ordinance: and though I saw in myself a dreadful emptiness and want of grace, and saw myself as it were at an infinite distance from that purity which is becoming the gospel; yet in the season of communion, especially in the time of the distribution of the bread, I enjoyed some warmth of affection, and felt a tender love to the brethren; and I think, to the glorious Redeemer, the 'first-born' among them. I endeavoured then to bring forth mine and his enemies, and slay them before him; and found great freedom in begging deliverance from this spiritual death, as well as in asking divine favours for my friends, and congregation, and the church of Christ in general.

Tuesday, April 7. In the afternoon, rode to Newark, in order to marry the Rev. Mr. Dickinson;* and in the even-

* The late learned and very excellent Mr. Jonathan Dickinson, pastor of a church in Elisabeth-Town, president of the college of New-Jersey, and one of the correspondents of the honourable society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge. He had a great esteem for Mr. Brainerd, and had kindly entertained him in his house during his sickness in the winter past; and after a short illness, died in the next ensuing October, two days before Mr. Brainerd.

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ing, performed the ceremony. Afterwards, rode home to Elisabeth-Town, in a pleasant frame, full of composure and sweetness.

Thursday, April 9. Attended the ordination of Mr. Tucker,* and afterwards the examination of Mr. Smith: was in a comfortable frame of mind this day, and enjoyed a degree of spirituality.

Friday, April 10. Spent the forenoon in Presbyterial business. In the afternoon, rode to Elisabeth Town; found my brother John there,† and spent some time in conversation with him; but was extremely weak, and my mind dejected.

Monday, April 13. Assisted in examining my brother. In the evening, was in a solemn devout frame; but much overdone and oppressed with a violent head-ach.

Tuesday, April 14. Was able to do very little: spent some time with Mr. Byram and other friends. This day my brother went to my people.

Wednesday, April 15. Found some freedom at the throne of grace, several times this day. In the afternoon, was very weak, and spent the time to very little purpose; but in the evening, had some warmth and spiritual desires in prayer; my soul seemed to go forth after God, and take complacence in his divine perfections. But alas afterwards, awfully let down my watch, and grew careless and secure.

Thursday, April 16. Was in bitter anguish of soul in the morning, such as I have seldom felt, with a sense of sin and guilt. I continued in distress the whole day, attempting to pray wherever I went, and indeed could not help so doing; but appeared to myself so vile, that I dared not look any body in the face. I was even grieved that any body should shew

* A worthy pious young gentleman, who lived in the ministry but a very short time. He died at Stratfield in Connecticut, the December following his ordination, being a little while after Mr. Brainerd's death at Northampton. He was taken ill on a journey, returning from a visit to his friends at Milton in Massachussets, which was probably his native place, and Harvard-college the place of his education.

† This brother of his had been sent for by the *correspondents*, to take care of and instruct Mr. Brainerd's congregation of Indians; he being obliged by his illness to be absent from them. And he continued to take care of them till Mr. Brainerd's death: since then, he has been ordained his *successor* in the mission, and to the charge of his congregation; which continues much to flourish under his pastoral care.

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me any respect, at least that they should be so deceived as to think I deserved it.

Friday, April 17. In the evening, could not but think that God helped me to draw near to the throne of grace, though most unworthy, and gave me a sense of his favour. This afforded me inexpressible support and encouragement, though I scarcely dared to hope the mercy was real, it appeared so great; yet could not but rejoice, that ever God should discover his reconciled face to such a vile sinner: Shame and confusion covered me, then hope and joy, and admiration of divine goodness gained the ascendant. Sometimes I could not but admire that the Lord had not let me fall into all the grossest acts of sin and open scandal that could be thought of, and felt myself so necessitated to praise God, that this was ready for a little while to swallow up my shame and pressure of spirit on account of my sins.

Monday, April 20. Was in a very disordered state, and kept my bed most of the day; but enjoyed a little more comfort than in several of the preceding days. This day I arrived at the age of twenty-nine years.

Tuesday, April 21. I set out on my journey for New-England, in order (if it might be the will of God) to recover my health by riding: travelled to New-York, and there lodged.

[This proved his final departure from New-Jersey. He travelled slowly, and arrived among his friends at East-Haddam, about the beginning of May. There is very little account in his diary, of the time that passed from his setting out on this journey to May 10. He speaks of his sometimes rejoicing in the glorious perfections of God, and longing to live to him; but complains of the unfixedness of his thoughts, and their being easily diverted from divine subjects; and cries out of his leanness, as testifying against him, in the loudest manner. Concerning those diversions he was obliged to use for his health, he says that he sometimes found he could use them with "singleness of heart," aiming at the glory of God; but that he also found there was need of great care and watchfulness, lest he should lose that spiritual temper of mind in his diversions, and lest they should degenerate into what was merely selfish, without any supreme aim at the glory of God in them.]

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Lord's day, May 10. At Had-Lime. I could not but feel some measure of gratitude to God at this time, (wherein I was much exercised,) that he had always disposed me, in my ministry, to insist on the great doctrines of *regeneration, the new creature, faith in Christ, progressive sanctification, supreme love to God, living entirely to the glory of God, being not our own*, and the like. God has helped me to see in the surest manner, from time to time, that these, and other doctrines necessarily connected with them, are the *only foundation* of safety for perishing sinners; and that those dispositions which correspond with them, are that *holiness*, "without which no man shall see the Lord." The exercise of these heavenly tempers, wherein the soul acts in a kind of concert with God, and would be and do every thing that is pleasing to him; this I saw would stand by the soul in a dying hour; for God must, I think, deny myself, if he cast away his own image, even the soul that is one in desires with himself.

Lord's day, May 17. At Millington. Spent the forenoon at home, being unable to attend public worship. At this time, God gave me some affecting sense of my own vileness, and the exceeding sinfulness of my heart; that there seemed to be nothing but sin and corruption within me. "Innumerable evils compassed me about;" my want of spirituality and holy living, my neglect of God, and living to myself. All the abominations of my heart and life seemed to be open to my view; and I had nothing to say, but "God be merciful to me a sinner."——Towards noon, I saw that the grace of God in Christ is infinitely free towards sinners, and such sinners as I was; I also saw that God is the supreme good, that in his presence is life; and I began to long to die that I might be with him, in a state of freedom from all sin. Oh how a small glimpse of his excellency refreshed my soul. Oh how worthy is the blessed God to be loved, adored, and delighted in, for himself, for his own divine excellencies!

Though I felt much dulness, and want of a spirit in prayer this week; yet I had some glimpses of the excellency of divine things. Especially one morning, in secret meditation and prayer, the excellency and beauty of holiness, as a likeness to the glorious God, was so discovered to me, that I began to long earnestly to be in that world where holiness dwells in perfection; and I seemed to long for this perfect holiness, not so much for the sake of my own happiness,

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(although I saw clearly that this was the greatest, yea, the only happiness of the soul,) as that I might please God, live entirely to him, and glorify him to the utmost stretch of my rational powers and capacities.

Lord's day, May 24. At Long-Meadow in Springfield. Could not but think, as I have often remarked to others, that much more of *true religion* consists in *deep humility, brokenness of heart, and an abasing sense of barrenness and want of grace and holiness*, than most who are called *Christians*, imagine; especially those who have been esteemed the converts of the *late* day, many of whom seem to know of no other religion but elevated *joys* and *affections*, arising only from some flights of imagination, or some suggestion made to their mind, of Christ's being *their's*, God's loving *them*, and the like.

[Thursday, May 28. He came from Long-Meadow to Northampton, appearing much better than by his own account he had been in the winter; indeed so well that he was able to ride twenty-five miles in a day, and to walk half a mile. He also appeared cheerful, and free from melancholy; yet undoubtedly at that time in a confirmed, incurable consumption.

I had had much opportunity, before this, of particular information concerning him, from many who were well acquainted with him; and had myself once an opportunity of considerable conversation and some acquaintance with him at New-Haven, near four years before, in the time of the Commencement, when he offered his confession to the rector of the college, already mentioned in this history. He was pleased indeed several times to consult me on that affair, but now I became more fully acquainted with him. I found him remarkably sociable, pleasant and entertaining in his conversation; yet solid, savoury, spiritual, and very profitable; appearing meek, modest and humble, far from any stiffness, moroseness, superstitious demureness, or affected singularity in speech or behaviour, and seeming to nauseate all such things. We enjoyed not only the benefit of his conversation, but had the comfort and advantage of hearing him pray in the family from time to time. His manner of praying was very agreeable, most becoming a worm of the dust, and a disciple of Christ; addressing an infinitely great and holy God and

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the Father of mercies, not with florid expressions or a studied eloquence, not with any intemperate vehemence or indecent boldness; at the greatest distance from any appearance of ostentation, and from every thing that might look as though he meant to recommend himself to those who were about him, or set himself off to their acceptance; free too from vain repetitions, without impertinent excursions, or needless multiplying of words. He expressed himself with the strictest propriety, with weight and pungency; and yet what his lips uttered seemed to flow from the fulness of his heart, as deeply impressed with a great and solemn sense of our necessities, unworthiness and dependance, and of God's infinite greatness, excellency and sufficiency, rather than merely from a warm and fruitful brain, pouring out good expressions. And I know not that ever I heard him so much as ask a blessing or return thanks at table, but there was something remarkable to be observed both in the matter and manner of the performance. In his prayers, he dwelt much on the prosperity of Zion, the advancement of Christ's kingdom in the world, and the propagation of religion among the Indians. He generally made it one petition in his prayer, "that we might not outlive our usefulness."]

Lord's day, May 31. At Northampton. I had little inward sweetness in religion, during the week past; not realising and beholding spiritually the glory of God, and the blessed Redeemer, from whence always arise my comforts and joys in religion, if I have any at all; and if I cannot so behold the excellencies and perfections of God, as to cause me to rejoice in him for what he is *in himself*, I have no solid foundation for joy. To rejoice, only because I apprehend I have an *interest in Christ*, and shall be finally saved, is a poor mean business indeed.

[This week he consulted Dr. Mather at my house, concerning his illness; who plainly told him that there were great evidences of his being in a confirmed *consumption*, and that he could give him no encouragement that he should ever recover. But it seemed not to occasion the least discomposure in him, nor to make any manner of alteration as to the cheerfulness and serenity of his mind, or the freedom and pleasantness of his conversation.]

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Lord's day, June 7. My attention was greatly engaged, and my soul so drawn forth this day, by what I heard of the "exceeding preciousness of the saving grace of God's Spirit," that it almost overcame me in my weak state. I saw that true grace is exceeding precious indeed, that it is very rare, and that there is but a small degree of it, even where the reality of it is to be found; at least, I saw this to be *my* case.

In the preceding week, I enjoyed some comfortable seasons of meditation. One morning, the cause of God appeared exceeding precious to me. The Redeemer's kingdom is all that is valuable on earth, and I could not but long for its promotion. I saw also that this cause is God's, that he has an infinitely greater regard and concern for it than I could possibly have; that if I have any true love to this blessed interest, it is only a drop derived from that ocean; hence I was ready to lift up my head with joy, and conclude, 'Well, if God's cause be so dear and precious to him, he will promote it.' Thus I rested as it were on God, that surely he would promote what was so agreeable to his own will, though the time when must still be left to his sovereign pleasure.

[He was advised by physicians still to continue riding, as what would tend above any other means to prolong his life. He was at a loss for some time which way to bend his course, but finally determined to ride from hence to Boston; we having concluded that one of this family should go with him, and be helpful to him in his weak and low state.]

Tuesday, June 9. I set out on a journey from Northampton to Boston. Travelled slowly, and got acquainted with some ministers on the road. Having continued to ride for some considerable time, I felt myself much better than I had formely done; and found that in proportion to the prospect I had of being restored to a state of usefulness, so I desired the continuance of life. *Death* however appeared inconceivably more desirable to me than a *useless life;* yet blessed be God, I found my heart at times fully resigned and reconciled to this greatest of afflictions, if God saw fit thus to deal with me.

Friday, July 12. I arrived in Boston this day, somewhat

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fatigued with my journey. Observed that there is no *rest*, but in God. Fatigues of body and anxieties of mind attend us, both in town and country; no place is exempted.

Lord's day, June 14. I enjoyed some enlargement and sweetness in family-prayer, as well as in secret exercises. God appeared excellent, his ways full of pleasure and peace, and all I wanted was a spirit of holy fervency to live to him.

Wednesday, June 17. This and the two preceding days I spent chiefly in visiting the ministers of the town, and was treated with great respect by them.

Thursday, June 18. I was taken very ill, and brought to the gates of death, by the breaking of small ulcers in my lungs, as my physician supposed. In this extreme weak state I continued for several weeks, and was frequently reduced so low as to be utterly speechless, and not able so much as to whisper a word; and even after I had so far revived as to walk about the house, and to step out of doors, I had every day a fainting fit, which continued usually four or five hours. Though I was not utterly speechless at those times, but could say yes or no, yet I could not converse at all, nor speak one sentence without making stops for breath. My friends often gathered round my bed to see me breathe my last, which they looked for every moment, as I myself also did.

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 stiled 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*

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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 those who are truly possessed of it have 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 employments 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, 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 shewing 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

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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. I did not now want any of the *sudden suggestions* which many are so pleased with, 'That Christ and his benefits are mine, that God loves me,' in order to give me satisfaction about my state. No, my soul now abhorred those delusions of Satan, which are thought to be the *immediate witness of the Spirit*, while there is nothing but an empty suggestion of a certain fact, without any gracious discovery of the divine glory, or of the Spirit's work in their own hearts. I saw the awful delusion of this kind of confidence, as well as of the whole of *that* religion which they usually spring from, or at least are the attendants of,—the *false* religion of the late day, though a day of wondrous grace; the imaginations and impressions made only on the animal affections, together with the sudden suggestions made to the mind by Satan, transformed into an angel of light, of certain facts not revealed in scripture. These and many like things, I fear, have made up the greater part of the religious appearance in many places.

These things I saw with great clearness, when I was thought to be dying. And God gave me great concern for his church and interest in the world at this time, not so much because the late remarkable influence upon the minds of people was abated, and almost wholly gone, as because that false religion, those heats of imagination and wild and selfish commotions of the animal affections, which attended the work of grace, had prevailed so far. *This* was what my mind dwelt upon almost day and night; and *this* to me was the darkest appearance, respecting religion, in the land; for it was *this* chiefly that had prejudiced the world against true religion. I observed, the great misery of all was, that so few saw any manner of *difference* between those exercises that were spiritual and holy, and those which have *self-love* only for their beginning, centre, and end.

As God was pleased to afford me clearness of thought and composure of mind, almost continually, for several weeks together, under my great weakness; so he enabled me in

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some measure to improve my time (as I hope) to valuable purposes. I was enabled to write a number of important *letters* to friends in remote places;* and sometimes I wrote when I was speechless, or unable to maintain conversation with any body, though perhaps I was able to speak a word or two so as to be heard.—At this season also, while I was confined at Boston, I read with care and attention some papers of old Mr. Shepard's, lately come to light, and designed for the press; and being desired and greatly urged, I made some corrections, where the sense was left dark for want of a word or two.—Besides this, I had many *visitants;* with whom, when I was able to speak, I always conversed of the things of religion; and was peculiarly disposed and assisted in distinguishing between the *true* and *false* religion of the times. There was scarcely any subject that has been lately a matter of debate, but what I was at one time or other brought to a sort of necessity to discourse upon, and to shew my opinion, and that frequently before numbers of people; and especially, I discoursed repeatedly on the nature and necessity of that humiliation, self-emptiness, or full conviction of a person's being utterly undone in himself, which is necessary in order to a saving *faith;* and the extreme *difficulty* of being brought to this, as well as the great danger there is of persons taking up with some self-righteous appearances of it. The danger of this I especially dwelt upon, being persuaded that multitudes perish in this hidden way, and because so little is said from most pulpits to discover any danger here; so that persons being never effectually brought to die in themselves, are never truly united to Christ, and so perish. I also discoursed much on what I take to be the essence of true religion, endeavouring plainly to describe that God-like temper and disposition, that holy conversation and behaviour, which may justly claim the honour of having God for its original and patron. And I have reason to hope that my way of discoursing and distinguishing was blessed to some, both ministers and people; so that my time was not wholly lost.

[He was visited, while in Boston, by many eminent characters, and by some of the first rank; who shewed him

* Among these are the eighth, ninth, and tenth letters, at the end of this history.

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uncommon respect, and appeared highly pleased and entertained with his conversation. Besides being honoured with the company and respect of ministers of the town, he was visited by several ministers from various parts of the country; and as he took all opportunities to discourse on the peculiar nature and distinguishing characters of true vital religion, and to bear his testimony against the various false appearances of it, consisting in or arising from impressions on the imagination, and sudden and supposed immediate suggestions of truths, not contained in the scripture, and that faith which consists primarily in a person's 'believing that Christ died for him in particular;' so what he said was for the most part heard with uncommon attention and regard. His discourses and reasonings appeared manifestly to have great weight and influence, with many that he conversed with, both ministers and others.*

Also the honourable Commissioners in Boston, of the incorporated society in London for propagating the gospel in New-England and parts adjacent, having newly had committed to them a legacy of the late reverend and famous Dr. Daniel Williams of London, for the support of Two Missionaries to the Heathen, were pleased, while he was in Boston, to consult him about a mission to those Indians called the Six Nations, particularly about the qualifications requisite in a missionary to those Indians; and were so satisfied with his sentiments on this head, and had that confidence in his judgment and discretion in things of this nature, that they desired him to undertake to find and recommend two persons fit to be employed in this business; and very much left the matter with him.

Likewise certain pious and generously disposed gentlemen in Boston, being moved by the wonderful narrative of his labours and success among the Indians, in New-Jersey, and more especially by their conversation with him on the same subject, took opportunity to inquire more particularly into the state and necessities of his congregation, and the school among the Indians, with a charitable intention of contributing to the excellent design of advancing the interests of Chris-

* I have had the advantage of a more full information of his conduct and conversation, the entertainment he met with, and what passed relating to him while in Boston; as he was constantly attended, during his continuance there, by one of my children, in order to assist him in his illness.

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tianity among the Indians; and understanding that there was a want of Bibles for the school, three dozen were immediately procured, and 14*l.* in bills of the old tenor given over and above. Large benefactions were made afterwards, which I shall have occasion to mention in their proper place.

Mr. Brainerd's restoration from his extremely low state in Boston, so as to go abroad again and to travel, was very unexpected to him and his friends. My daughter who was with him, writes thus in a letter dated June 23. "On Thursday he was ill with a violent fever, and extreme pain in his head and breast, and at times delirious. So he remained till Saturday evening, when he seemed to be in the agonies of death; the family was up with him till one or two o'clock, expecting every hour would be his last. On Sabbath day he was a little revived, his head was better, but very full of pain, and exceeding sore at his breast, much put to it for breath, *&c.* Yesterday he was better; last night he slept but little, and this morning he is much worse. Dr. Pynchon says, he has no hopes of his life, nor does he think it likely he will ever come out of the chamber; though he says, he may possibly be able to come to Northampton."

In another letter dated June 29, she says as follows. "Mr. Brainerd has not so much pain nor fever, since I last wrote, as before; yet he is extremely weak and low, and very faint, expecting every day will be his last. He says, It is impossible for him to live, for want of life. He has hardly vigour enough to draw his breath. I went this morning into town, and when I came home, Mr. Bromfield said, he never expected I should see him alive; for he lay two hours, as they thought, dying. One could scarcely tell whether he was alive or not; he was not able to speak for some time, but now is much as he was before. The Doctor thinks he will drop away in one of these fainting fits. Mr. Brainerd says he never felt any thing so much like *dissolution*, as what he felt to-day; and that he never had any conception of its being possible for any creature to be alive, and yet so weak as he is from day to day. Dr. Pynchon says he should not be surprised, if he should so far recover as to live half a year; nor would it surprise him, if he should die in half a day. Since I began to write, he is not so well, having had a fainting again: yet patient and resigned, having no distressing fears, but the contrary."

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When his physician, the honourable Joseph Pynchon, Esq. visited him in his extreme illness at Boston, he attributed his sinking so suddenly into a state so extremely low, and nigh unto death, to the breaking of ulcers, which had been long gathering in his lungs, (as Mr. Brainerd himself intimates in a forementioned passage in his diary,) and there discharging and diffusing their purulent matter; which, while nature was labouring and struggling to throw off, by a gradual straining of it through the smaller vessels, occasioned a high fever and violent coughing, and threw the whole frame into the utmost disorder, and brought it near to dissolution. The doctor supposed, if the strength of nature held till the lungs had in this way gradually cleared themselves of the putrid matter, he might revive, and continue better, till new ulcers gathered and broke; but then he would sink again, and there was no hope of his recovery.

So it was ordered in divine providence; the strength of nature held out through this great conflict, so as just to escape the grave at that time; and then he revived, to the astonishment of all that knew his case. After he began to revive, he was visited by his youngest brother, Mr. Israel Brainerd, a student at Yale-College; who having heard of his extreme illness, went from thence to Boston in order to see him, if he might find him alive, which he but little expected.

This visit was attended with a mixture of joy and sorrow to Mr. Brainerd. He greatly rejoiced to see his brother, especially because he had desired an opportunity of some religious conversation with him before he died. But this meeting was attended with sorrow, as his brother brought him the sorrowful tidings of his sister Spencer's death at Haddam. A peculiarly tender affection and much religious intimacy had long subsisted between Mr. Brainerd and his Sister, and he used to make her house his home, whenever he went to Haddam, his native place. He had heard nothing of her sickness till this report of her death. But he had these comforts, together with the tidings, *viz.* a confidence of her being gone to heaven, and an expectation of his soon meeting her there.—His brother continued with him till he left the town, and came with him from thence to Northampton.

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Concerning the last Sabbath Mr. Brainerd spent in Boston, he writes in his Diary as follows.]

Lord's day, July 19. I was just able to attend public worship, being carried to the house of God in a chaise. Heard Dr. Sewall preach in the forenoon, and partook of the Lord's supper. In this sacrament I saw astonishing divine wisdom displayed, such wisdom as required the tongues of angels and glorified saints to celebrate. It seemed to me that I never should do any thing in adoring the infinite wisdom of God, discovered in the contrivance of man's redemption, until I arrived at a world of perfection. Yet I could not help striving to "call upon my soul, and all within me to bless his holy name." In the afternoon heard Mr. Prince preach. I saw more of God, in the wisdom discovered in the plan of man's redemption, than I saw of any other of his perfections, through the whole day.

[He left Boston the next day. But before he came away, he had occasion to bear a full and open testimony against that opinion, that the *essence* of saving *faith* lies in *believing that Christ died for me in particular*, and that this is the *first* act of faith in a true believer's closing with Christ. He did it in a long conference with a gentleman, who has very publicly and strenuously appeared to defend that tenet. He had this discourse with him in the presence of a number of considerable persons, who came to visit Mr. Brainerd before he left the town, and to take their leave of him. In this debate he made this plain declaration, at the same time confirming what he said by many arguments,—That the *essence* of saving faith was wholly left out of the definition which that gentleman has published; that the faith which he had defined, had nothing of God in it, nothing above nature, nor indeed above the power of the devils; and that all such as had *this* faith, and had *no better*, though they might have this to never so high a degree, would surely perish. He declared also, that he never had greater assurance of the falseness of the principles of those that maintained such a faith, and of their dangerous and destructive tendency, or a more affecting sense of the great delusion and misery of those who depended on getting to heaven by *such* a faith, (while they had *no better*,) than he lately had when he was

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supposed to be at the point to die, and expected every minute to pass into eternity.—Mr. Brainerd's discourse at this time, and the forcible reasonings by which he confirmed what he asserted, appeared to be greatly to the satisfaction of those present. This several of them expressed, before they took their leave of him.

When this conversation was ended, having bid an affectionate farewel to his friends, he set out in the cool of the afternoon, on his journey to Northampton, attended by his brother, and my daughter that went with him to Boston. He would have been accompanied out of the town by a number of gentlemen, besides that honourable person who gave him his company for some miles on that occasion, as a testimony of their esteem and respect, had not his aversion to any thing of pomp and shew prevented it.]

Saturday, July 25. I arrived here at Northampton; having set out from Boston on Monday, about four o'clock P. M. In this journey I rode about sixteen miles a day, one day with another. Was sometimes extremely tired and faint on the road, so that it seemed impossible for me to proceed any further: at other times I was considerably better, and felt some freedom both of body and mind.

Lord's day, July 26. This day I saw clearly that I should never be happy; yea, that God himself could not make me so, unless I could be in a capacity to "please and glorify him for ever." Take away this, and admit me into all the fine heavens that can be conceived of by men or angels, and I should still be miserable for ever.

[Though he was so revived as to be able to travel thus far, yet he manifested no expectation of recovery: he supposed, as his physician did, that his being brought so near to death at Boston, was owing to the breaking of ulcers in his lungs. He told me that he had had several such attacks before, only not to an equal degree, but as he supposed, owing to the same cause, *viz.* the breaking of ulcers; and that he was brought lower and lower every time. It appeared to him, that in his last sickness in Boston he was brought as low as it was possible, and yet live; and that he had not the least expectation of surviving the next return of this breaking of ulcers; but still appeared perfectly calm in the prospect of death.

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On Wednesday morning, the week after he came to Northampton, he took leave of his brother Israel, not expecting to see him again in this world. He now set out from hence on his journey to New-Haven.

When Mr. Brainerd came hither, he had so much strength as to be able, from day to day, to ride out two or three miles and to return; and sometimes to pray in the family. But form this time he gradually but sensibly decayed, and became weaker and weaker.

While he was here, his conversation from first to last was much on the same subjects as it had been when in Boston. He spoke much of the nature of true religion in heart and practice, as distinguished from its various counterfeits; expressing his great concern that the latter so much prevailed in many places. He often manifested his great abhorrence of all such doctrines and principles as savoured in any degree, or had only a remote tendency to Antinomianism; of all such notions as seemed to diminish the necessity of holiness of life, or to abate men's regard to the commands of God, and a strict, diligent, and universal practice of virtue and piety, under a pretence of depreciating our works, and magnifying God's free grace. He spake often, with much detestation, of such *experiences* and pretended discoveries and joys, as have nothing of the nature of *sanctification* in them, and do not tend to strictness, tenderness, and diligence in religion, and meekness and benevolence towards mankind, and a humble behaviour. He also declared that he looked on such pretended humility as worthy of no regard, that was not manifested by modesty of conduct and conversation. He spake often, with abhorrence, of the spirit and practice that appears among the greater part of separatists at this day in the land, particularly those in the Eastern parts of Connecticut; in their condemning and separating from the standing ministry and churches, their crying down learning and a learned ministry, their notion of an immediate call to the work of the ministry, and the forwardness of laymen to set up themselves as public teachers. He had been much conversant in the Eastern part of Connecticut, (his native place being near to it,) when the same principles and spirit began to operate, which have since prevailed to a greater degree; and had acquaintance with some of those persons who are become heads and leaders of the separatists. He had also been con-

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versant with persons of the same way elsewhere; and I heard him say, once and again, he knew by his acquaintance with this sort of people, that what was chiefly and most generally in repute among them as the power of godliness, was an entirely different thing from that true vital piety recommended in the scriptures, and had nothing in it of that nature. He manifested a great dislike of a disposition in persons to much *noise* and *show* in religion, and affecting to be abundant in proclaiming and publishing their own *experiences;* though at the same time he did not condemn, but approved of Christians speaking of their own experiences on some occasions, and to some persons, with due modesty and discretion. He himself sometimes, while at my house, spake of his own experiences; but it was always with apparent *reserve,* and in the exercise of care and judgment with respect to occasions, persons, and circumstances. He mentioned some remarkable things of his own religious experience to two young gentlemen, candidates for the ministry, who watched with him, each at a different time, when he was very low, and not far from his end; but he desired both of them not to speak of what he had told them till *after his death.*

The things which were the subject of the debate before mentioned, with a certain gentleman the day he left Boston, seemed to lie with much weight on his mind after he came hither; and he began to write a letter to that gentleman, expressing his sentiments concerning the dangerous tendency of some of the tenets he had expressed in conversation, and in the writings he had published; but he had not strength to finish his letter.

After he came hither, he spoke much of the future prosperity of Zion, so often foretold and promised in the scripture. This was a theme he delighted to dwell upon; and his mind seemed to be carried forth with earnest concern and intense desire, that religion might speedily and abundantly revive and flourish, though he had not the least expectation of recovery; yea, the nearer death advanced, and the more the symptoms of its approach increased, still the more did his mind seem to be taken up with this subject. He told me, when near his end, that "he never in all his life had his mind so led forth in desires and earnest prayers for the flourishing of Christ's kingdom on earth, as since he was brought so exceeding low at Boston." He seemed much to

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wonder, that there appeared no more of a disposition in ministers and people to pray for the spread of the gospel through the world; that so little of their *prayers* was generally taken up about it, in their families and elsewhere. In particular, he several times expressed his wonder, that there appeared no more forwardness to comply with the *proposal* lately made, in a memorial from a number of ministers in Scotland, and sent over into America, for *united extraordinary prayer* among Christ's ministers and people, for the coming of Christ's kingdom; and he sent it as his dying advice to his own congregation, that they should practise agreeably to that proposal.*

Though he was constantly exceeding weak, yet there appeared in him a continual desire to improve time, and fill it up with something that might be for the glory of God or the good of men; either profitable conversation, or writing letters to absent friends, or noting something in his diary, or looking over his former writings, correcting them, and preparing them to be left in the hands of others at his death, or giving some directions concerning a future conducting and management of his people, or employment in secret devotions. He seemed never to be easy, however ill, if he was not doing something for God or in his service.

After he came hither, he wrote a Preface to a Diary of the famous Mr. Shepard's, (in those papers before mentioned as lately found,) having been much urged to it by those gentlemen in Boston who had the care of the publication. This Diary, with his Preface, has since been published.†

In his diary for Lord's day, August 9, he speaks of longing desires after death, through a sense of the excellency of a state of perfection.

In his diary for Lord's day, August 16, he speaks of his having so much refreshment of *soul* in the house of God, that it seemed also to refresh his *body*. And this is not only noted in his diary, but was very observable to others; it was apparent, not only that his mind was exhilarated with in-

* His congregation have since with great cheerfulness and unanimity fallen in with this advice, and adopted the proposal from Scotland; and have at times appeared with uncommon engagedness and fervency of spirit in their meetings and united devotions. The Presbyteries of New-York and New-Brunswick have since with one consent, fallen in with the proposal, as likewise some others of God's people in those parts.

† A part of this Preface is inserted in the Appendix to this history.

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ward consolation, but also that his animal spirits and bodily strength seemed to be remarkably restored, as though he had forgot his illness. This however was the last time that ever he attended public worship on the sabbath.

On Tuesday morning that week, while I was absent on a journey, he prayed with my family, but not without much difficulty, for want of bodily strength. This was the last family prayer that he ever offered.

He had been wont, till now, frequently to ride out two or three miles: but this week, on Thursday, was the last time he ever did so.]

Lord's day, Aug. 23. This morning I was considerably refreshed with the thought, yea, the hope and expectation of the enlargement of Christ's kingdom; and I could not but hope, the time was at hand, when Babylon the great would *fall*, and *rise no more*: This led me to some spiritual meditations, that were very refreshing to me. I was unable to attend public worship, either part of the day; but God was pleased to afford me fixedness and satisfaction in divine thoughts. Nothing so refreshes my soul, as when I can go to God, yea, "to God my exceeding joy." When he is so, sensibly, to my soul, oh how unspeakably delightful is this!

In the week past I had various seasons of inward refreshing, though my body was inexpressibly weak, followed continually with agues and fevers: Sometimes my soul centred in God as my only portion; and I felt that I should be for ever unhappy, if *he* did not *reign*. I saw the glory and happiness of being *his* subject, at *his* disposal. This made all my difficulties quickly vanish.

From Lord's day, Aug. 23, I was troubled very much with lowness of spirit; could neither write nor read, and could scarcely live. Yet through mercy, I was not so much oppressed with heaviness and gloom as at many other times.

[Till this week he had been used to lodge in a room above stairs; but he now grew so weak, that he was no longer able to go up stairs and down. Friday, Aug. 28, was the last time he ever went above stairs; henceforward he betook himself to a lower room.

Wednesday, Sep. 2, being the day of our public lecture, he seemed to be refreshed with seeing the neighbouring minis-

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ters who came hither to the lecture, and expressed a great desire once more to go to the house of God on that day. He accordingly rode to the meeting, and attended divine service, while the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge of Hatfield preached. He signified that he supposed it to be the last time that ever he should attend the public worship, and so it proved. Indeed it was the last time that ever he went out at our gate alive.

On the Saturday-evening following, he was visited by his brother Mr. John Brainerd, who came to see him from New-Jersey. He was much refreshed by this unexpected visit, this brother being peculiarly dear to him; and he seemed to rejoice in a devout and solemn manner to see him, and to hear the comfortable tidings he brought concerning the state of his dear congregation of Christian Indians. A circumstance of this visit, which he was exceeding glad of, was, that his brother brought him some of his private writings from New-Jersey, and particularly his Diary that he had kept for many years past.]

Lord's day, Sep. 6. I began to read some of my private writings, which my brother brought me; and was considerably refreshed with what I found in them.

Monday, Sep. 7. I proceeded further in reading my old private writings, and found they had the same effect upon me as before. I could not but rejoice and bless God for what passed long ago, which without writing had been entirely lost.—This evening, when I was in great distress of body, my soul longed that God should be glorified: I saw there was no heaven but this. I could not but speak to the bystanders, of the only happiness, that of *pleasing* God. Oh that I could for ever live to him! The day I trust is at hand, the perfect day; oh the day of deliverance from all sin!

Lord's day, Sep. 13. I was much refreshed and engaged in meditation and writing, and found a heart to act for God. My spirits were refreshed, and my soul delighted to do something for his name.

[On the evening following that Lord's day, his feet began to swell, and thenceforward swelled more and more—a sympton of his approaching dissolution.

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The next day, his brother John left him, being obliged to return to New-Jersey on some business of great importance and necessity; intending to return again with all possible speed, hoping to see his brother yet once more in the land of the living.

Mr. Brainerd having now with much deliberation considered of the important affair forementioned, which had been left with him by the honourable Commissioners in Boston, of the corporation in London for the propagation of the gospel in New-England and parts adjacent, *viz.* the fixing upon and recommending two persons proper to be employed as missionaries to the Six Nations, he about this time wrote a letter, recommending two young gentlemen of his acquaintance to those Commissioners; namely, Mr. Elihu Spencer of East-Haddam, and Mr. Job Strong of Northampton. The Commissioners, on the receipt of this letter, cheerfully and unanimously agreed to accept of and employ the persons he had recommended; who accordingly have since waited on the Commissioners to receive their instructions; and pursuant to their instructions, have applied themselves to a preparation for the business of their mission, in the manner to which they directed them. One of them, Mr. Spencer, has been solemnly ordained to that work, by several of the ministers of Boston, in the presence of an ecclesiastical council convened for that purpose; and he is now gone forth to the nation of the Oncidaes, about one hundred and seventy miles beyond Albany.

He also this week, on Wednesday, Sep. 16, wrote a letter to a particular gentleman in Boston (one of those charitable persons forementioned, who appeared so forward to contribute of their substance for the promoting Christianity among the Indians) relative to the growth of the Indian school, and the need of another schoolmaster, or some person to assist the schoolmaster in instructing the Indian children. These gentlemen, on the receipt of this letter, agreed with great cheerfulness to give £200 (in bills of the old tenor) for the support of another schoolmaster; and desired the Rev. Mr. Pemberton of New-York, (who was then at Boston, and also at their desire, present at their meeting,) as soon as possible to procure a suitable person for that service. They also agreed to allow £75 to defray some special charges that were requisite to encourage the mission to the Six Nations,

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besides the salary allowed by the commissioners, which was also done on some intimations given by Mr. Brainerd.

Mr. Brainerd spent himself much in writing those letters, being exceeding weak; but it seemed to be much to his satisfaction that he had been enabled to do it, hoping that it was something done for God, and which might be for the advancement of Christ's kingdom and glory. In writing the last of these letters, he was obliged to use the hand of another, not being able to write himself.

On the Thursday of this week, Sep. 17, was the last time that ever he went out of his lodging-room. That day he was again visited by his brother Israel, who continued with him till his death. That evening he was taken with something of a diarrhea, which he looked upon as another sign of his approaching death. On this occasion he expressed himself thus: "Oh, the glorious time is now coming. I have longed to serve God perfectly: now God will gratify those desires!" And from time to time, at the several steps and new symptoms of the sensible approach of his dissolution, he was so far from being sunk or damped, that he seemed to be animated and more cheerful, as being glad at the appearances of death's approach. He often used the epithet, *glorious*, when speaking of the day of his death, calling it "that glorious day." And as he saw his dissolution gradually approaching, he talked much about it, dwelling with perfect calmness on the subject of a future state. He also settled all his affairs, very particularly and minutely giving directions concerning what he would have done in one respect and another after he was dead. The nearer death approached, the more desirous he seemed to be of it. He several times spake of the different kinds of *willingness to die*; and spoke of it as an ignoble mean kind of willingness to die, to be willing to leave the body, only to get rid of pain; or to go to heaven, only to get honour and advancement there.]

Saturday, Sep. 19. Near night, while I attempted to walk a little, my thoughts turned thus; 'How infinitely sweet it is to love God, and be all for him!' Upon this it was suggested to me, 'You are not an angel, not lively and active.' To which my whole soul immediately replied, 'I as sincerely desire to love and glorify God, as any angel in heaven.' It was then suggested again, 'But you are filthy, not

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fit for heaven.' Instantly appeared the blessed robes of Christ's righteousness, which I could not but exult and triumph in. I viewed the infinite excellency of God, till my soul even broke with longings that he should be glorified. I thought of dignity in heaven; but instantly the thought returned, 'I do not go to heaven to get honour, but to give all possible glory and praise.' Oh how I longed that God should be glorified on *earth* also! Oh I was made, for eternity, if God might be glorified! Bodily pains I regarded not. Though I was then in extremity, I never felt easier. I felt willing to glorify God in that state of bodily distress, as long as he pleased I should continue in it. The *grave* appeared really sweet, and I longed to lodge my weary bones in it. But oh that God might be glorified: this was the burden of all my cry. I knew, I should be active as an angel in heaven; and that I should be stripped of my "filthy garments;" so that there was no objection. But oh to love and praise God more, to please him for ever—this my soul panted after, and even now pants for while I write. Oh that God might be glorified in the whole earth; "Lord let thy kingdom come." I longed for a spirit of preaching to descend and rest on ministers, that they might address the consciences of men with closeness and power. I saw that God "had the residue of the Spirit;" and my soul longed it should be "poured from on high." I could not but plead with God for my dear congregation, that he would preserve it, and not suffer his great name to lose its glory in that work; my soul still longing that God might be glorified.

[The extraordinary frame he was in that evening, could not be hid. "His mouth spake out of the abundance of his heart," expressing in a very affecting manner much the same things as are written in his Diary. Among very many other extraordinary expressions which he then uttered, were such as these; "My heaven is to please God, and glorify him; to give all to him, and to be wholly devoted to his glory; that is the heaven I long for, that is my *religion*, and that is my *happiness*, and always was ever since I suppose I had any true religion; and all those that are of *that* religion shall meet *me* in heaven.—I do not go to heaven to be advanced, but to give honour to God. It is no matter where I shall be stationed in heaven, whether I have a high or low seat there;

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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 God; but I have nothing to give, when all is done. It is impossible for any rational creature to be happy without acting all for God: God himself could not make him happy any other way.——I long to be in heaven, praising and glorifying God with the holy angels: all my desire is to glorify God.——My heart goes out to the burying-place; 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. It is but a very small matter; yet I have done a little; and I lament it, that I have not done more for him. There is nothing in the world worth living for, but doing good, and finishing God's work, doing the work that Christ did. I see nothing else in the world that can yield any satisfaction, besides living to God, pleasing him, and doing his whole will. —My greatest joy and comfort has been, to do something for promoting the interest of religion, and the souls of particular persons: and *now*, in my illness, while I am full of pain and distress from day to day, all the comfort I have is in being able to do some little *char* (or small piece of work) *for God;* either by something that I say, or by writing, or some other way."

He intermingled with these and other like expressions, many pathetical *counsels* to those about him; particularly to my children and servants. He applied himself to some of my younger children at this time, calling them to him, and speaking to them one by one; setting before them in a very plain manner, the nature and essence of true piety, and its great importance and necessity; earnestly warning them not to rest in any thing short of that true and thorough change of heart, and a life devoted to God; counselling them not to be slack in the great business of religion, nor in the least to delay it; enforcing his counsels with this, that his words were the words of a *dying man*. "I shall die here, (said he) and here I shall be buried; here you will see my grave, and do you remember what I have said to you. I am going into eternity, and it is sweet to me to think of eternity; the endlessness of it makes it sweet. But oh, what shall I say to the eternity of the *wicked!* I cannot mention it, nor think of it; the thought is too dreadful. When you see my grave, then

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remember what I said to you while I was alive; then think with yourself, how that man who lies in that grave, counselled and warned me to prepare for death."

His *body* seemed to be marvellously strengthened, through the inward vigour and refreshment of his *mind;* for though before he was so weak that he could hardly utter a sentence, yet now he continued his most affecting and profitable discourse to us for more than an hour, with scarcely any intermission; and said of it when he had done, "it was the last sermon that ever he should preach."

This extraordinary frame of mind continued the next day; of which he says in his Diary as follows.]

Lord's day, Sep. 20. Was still in a sweet and comfortable frame; again melted with desires that God might be glorified, and with longings to love and live to him. Longed for the influences of the divine Spirit to descend on ministers, in a special manner. And oh I longed to be with God, to behold his glory, and to bow in his presence!

[It appears from his Diary, both of this day and the evening preceding, that his mind at this time was much impressed with a sense of the importance of the work of the *ministry;* of the need of the grace of God, and his special spiritual assistance in this work. This also appeared in what he expressed in conversation, particularly in his discourse to his brother Israel, who was then a member of Yale college at New-Haven, and had been prosecuting his studies and academical exercises there, in order that he might be fitted for the work of the ministry.* He now, and from time to time in this his dying state, recommended to his brother a life of self-denial, of weanedness from the world and devotedness to God, and an earnest endeavour to obtain much of the grace of God's Spirit, and of his gracious influences on his heart; representing the great need which ministers have of them, and the unspeakable benefit of them from his own experience. Among many other expressions, he said thus; "When minis-

* This young gentleman was an ingenious, serious, studious, and hopefully truly pious person: there appeared in him many qualities giving hope of his being a great blessing in his day. But it has pleased God, since the death of his brother, to take him away also. He died that winter, at New-Haven, on January 6, 1747-8, of a nervous fever, after about a fortnight's illness.

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ters feel these special influences on their hearts, it wonderfully assists them to come at the consciences of men, and as it were to handle them with hands; whereas, without them, whatever reason and oratory we make use of, we do but make use of stumps, instead of hands."

Monday, Sep. 21. I began to correct a little volume of my private writings. God, I believe, remarkably helped me in it; my strength was surprisingly lengthened out, and my thoughts quick and lively, and my soul refreshed, hoping it might be a work for God. Oh how good, how sweet it is to labour for God.

Tuesday, Sep. 22. Was again employed in reading and correcting, and had the same success as the day before. I was exceeding weak; but it seemed to refresh my soul, thus to spend time.

Wednesday, Sep. 23. I finished my corrections of the little piece forementioned, and felt uncommonly peaceful. It seemed as if I had now done all my work in this world, and stood ready for my call to a better. As long as I see any thing to be done for God, life is worth having: but oh how vain and unworthy it is, to live for any lower end!—This day, I indited a letter, I think, of great importance, to the Rev. Mr. Byram in New-Jersey: oh that God would bless and succeed what was written for the benefit of his church.* Oh that he would "purify the sons of Levi," that his glory may be advanced!——This night I had a dreadful attack; my life was expected scarcely an hour or minute together. But blessed be God, I have enjoyed considerable sweetness in divine things this week, both by night and day.

Thursday, Sep. 24. My strength began to fail exceedingly; this looked further as if I had done all my work.—However, I had strength to fold and superscribe my letter. About two I went to bed, being weak and much disordered, and lay in a burning fever till night, without any proper rest. In the evening I got up, having lain down in some of my cloaths; but was in the greatest distress, having an uncommon kind of hiccough, which either strangled me, or threw me into a straining to vomit. Oh the distress of this evening! I had little expectation of living the night

* It was concerning the qualifications of Ministers, and the examination and licensing of Candidates for the work of the ministry.

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through, nor indeed had any about me; and I longed for the *finishing* moment.—I was obliged to repair to bed by six o'clock; and through mercy enjoyed some rest, but was grievously distressed at turns with the hiccough.—My soul breathed after God, while the watcher was with me. When shall I come to God, even to God my exceeding joy? Oh for his blessed likeness!

Friday, Sep. 25. I was unspeakably weak, and little better than speechless all the day: however, I was able to write a little, and felt comfortably some part of the day. It refreshed my soul to think of former things, of desires to glorify God, of the pleasures of living to him. "Oh my dear God, I am speedily coming to thee, I hope. Hasten the day, oh Lord, if it be thy blessed will. Oh come, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen.*"

Saturday, Sep. 26. I felt the sweetness of divine things this forenoon, and had a consciousness that I was doing something for God.

Lord's day, Sep. 27. This was a very comfortable day to my soul; I think, I awoke with God. I was enabled to lift up my soul to him, early this morning; and while I had little bodily strength, I found freedom to lift up my heart to God for myself and others. Afterwards, was pleased with the thoughts of speedily entering into the unseen world.

[Early this morning, as one of the family came into the room, he expressed himself thus: "I have had more pleasure this morning, than all the *drunkards* in the world enjoy, if it were all extracted." So much did he esteem the joy of faith above the pleasures of sin.

He felt that morning an unusual appetite to food, with which his mind seemed to be exhilarated, looking on it as a sign of the very near approach of death. He remarked "I was born on a *Sabbath day*, and have reason to think I was new-born on a *Sabbath day*, and hope I shall die on this *Sabbath day*. I shall look upon it as a favour, if it may be the will of God that it should be so: I long for the time. Oh 'why is his chariot so long in coming; why tarry the wheels of his chariot?' I am very willing to part with all: I am

* This was the last that he ever wrote in his Diary with his own hand; though it is continued a little farther in a broken manner; written by his brother Israel, but indited by his mouth in this weak and dying state.

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willing to part with my dear brother John, and never to see him again, to go to be for ever with the Lord.* Oh when I go there, how will God's dear church on earth be upon my mind!"

Afterwards, the same morning, being asked how he did; he answered, "I am almost in eternity: I long to be there. My work is done: I have done with all my friends: all the world is nothing to me. I long to be in heaven, praising and glorifying God with the holy angels: all my desire is to glorify God."

During the whole of the last two weeks of his life, he seemed to continue in this frame; loose from all the world, as having done his work, and done with all things here below; having nothing to do but to die, and abiding in an earnest desire and expectation of the happy moment, when his soul should take its flight, and go to a state of absolute perfection. He said, "That the consideration of the day of death, and the day of judgment, had a long time been peculiarly sweet to him. He frequently spake of his being willing to leave the body and the world *immediately*, that day, that night, and that moment, if it was the will of God. He also expressed his longings that the church of Christ on *earth* might flourish, and that his kingdom might be advanced, notwithstanding he was about to leave the earth, and should not with his eyes behold the desirable event, nor be instrumental in promoting it. He said to me one morning as I came into the room, "My thoughts have been employed on the old dear theme, the prosperity of God's church on earth. As I waked out of sleep, I was led to cry for the pouring out of God's Spirit, and the advancement of Christ's kingdom, which the dear Redeemer did and suffered so much for. It is that especially makes me long for it." He expressed much hope that a glorious advancement of Christ's kingdom was *near* at hand.

He once told me that "he had formerly longed for the outpouring of the Spirit of God, and the glorious times of the church, and hoped they were coming; and should have

* He had before this expressed a desire, if it might be the will of God, to live till his brother returned from New-Jersey; who, when he went away, intended if possible to perform his journey, and return in a fortnight; hoping once more to meet his brother in the land of the living. The fortnight was now nearly expired, it ended the next day.

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been willing to have lived to promote religion at that time, if that had been the will of God; but (says he) I am willing it should be as it is. I would not have the choice to make for myself, for ten thousand worlds." He expressed on his death-bed a full persuasion that he should in *heaven* see the prosperity of the church on *earth*, and should rejoice with Christ therein; and the consideration of it seemed to be highly pleasing and satisfying to his mind.

He also still dwelt much on the great importance of the work of *ministers* of the gospel; and expressed his longings, that they might be *filled with the Spirit of God*. He manifested much desire to see some of the neighbouring ministers, with whom he was acquainted, and whose sincere friendship he enjoyed, that he might converse freely with them on that subject before he died. And it so happened that he had opportunity with some of them, according to his desire.

Another thing that lay much on his heart, and which he often mentioned in these near approaches of death, was, the spiritual prosperity of his own congregation of Christian Indians in New-Jersey. When he spake of them, it was with peculiar tenderness; so that his speech would be presently interrupted and drowned with tears.

He also expressed much satisfaction in the disposals of Providence, with regard to the circumstances of his *death*; particularly that God had before his death given him the opportunity he had had at Boston, with so many considerable persons, ministers and others, to give in *his testimony* for God, and against false religion, and many mistakes that lead to it and promote it; and there to lay before pious and charitable gentlemen, the state of the Indians, and their necessities, to so good effect. Also that God had since given him opportunity to write to them further concerning these affairs, and to write other letters of importance, which he hoped might have some influence on the state of religion among the Indians and elsewhere, after his death. He expressed great thankfulness to God for his mercy in these things. He also mentioned it as what he accounted a merciful circumstance of his death, that he should die *here*.* Speaking of

* The Editor takes leave to make the remark, that when Mr. Brainerd was at Boston, sick nigh unto death, it was with reluctance he thought of dying in a place where *funerals* are often attended with *pomp* and *show*, which (especially on occasion of his own) he was very averse to. And though it was with some difficulty he got his mind reconciled to the prospect then before him, yet at

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these things, he said, "God had granted him all his desire;" and signified that now he could with the greater alacrity leave the world.]

Monday, Sep. 28. I was able to read, and make some few corrections in my private writings; but found I could not write as I had done. I felt myself sensibly declined in all respects. It has been only from a little while before noon till about one or two o'clock, that I have been able to do any thing for some time past: yet it refreshed me that I could do any thing, either public or private, that I hoped was for God.

[This evening he was supposed to be dying: he thought so himself, and was thought so by those who were about him. He seemed glad at the appearance of the near approach of death. He was almost speechless, but his lips appeared to move. One that sat very near him, heard him utter such expressions as these: "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly.—Oh, why is his chariot so long in coming!"—After he revived, he blamed himself for having been too eager to be gone. And in expressing the state of his mind at that time, he said, he then found an inexpressible love to those whom he looked upon as *belonging to Christ*, beyond almost all that he ever felt before. To use his own words, "it seemed like a little piece of *heaven* to have one of them near him." Being asked whether he heard the prayer that was offered at his desire, he said, "Yes, he heard every word, and had an uncommon sense of the things that were uttered in that prayer, and that every word reached his heart."

On the evening of Tuesday, Sep. 29, as he lay in his bed, he seemed to be in an extraordinary frame; his mind greatly engaged in meditations concerning the prosperity of Zion. Two young gentlemen of his acquaintance being present at that time, who were Candidates for the Ministry, he desired us all to unite in singing a Psalm on that subject, even Zion's prosperity. At his desire we sung a part of the 102nd

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last he was brought to acquiesce in the divine will, with respect to this circumstance of his departure. However, it pleased God to order the event so as to gratify his desire, which he had expressed of getting back to Northampton with a view particularly to a more silent and private burial.

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Psalm. This seemed much to refresh and revive him, and gave him new strength. Though before he could scarcely speak at all, he now proceeded, with some freedom of speech, to give his dying counsels to those two young gentlemen forementioned, relative to their preparation for, and prosecution of the work of the ministry for which they were designed; and in particular, earnestly recommended to them frequent secret fasting and prayer. He enforced his counsel with regard to this, from his own experience of the great comfort and benefit of it; which (said he) I should not mention, were it not that I am a *dying* person. After he had finished his counsel, he prayed in the audience of us all; making supplication for this family, for his brethren, and those candidates for the ministry, and for his own congregation, more especially for the reviving and flourishing of religion in the world.

Till now, he had sat up part of every day; but after this he never rose from his bed.]

Wednesday, Sep. 30. I was obliged to keep my bed the whole day, through weakness. However, I redeemed a little time, and with the help of my brother, read and corrected about a dozen pages in my manuscript, giving an account of my conversion.

Thursday, Oct. 1. I endeavoured again to do something by way of writing, but soon found my powers of body and mind utterly fail. Did not feel so happy as when I was able to do something that I hoped would do some good. In the evening, was discomposed and wholly delirious; but it was not long before God was pleased to give me some sleep, and fully composed my mind.* Blessed be God for his great goodness to me, since I was so low at Mr. Bromfield's, on Thursday, June 18. He has, except those few minutes, given me the clear exercise of my reason, and enabled me to labour much for him, in things both of a public and private nature, and perhaps to do more good than I should have done if I had been well. He has also been pleased to refresh my soul with the comfortable influences of his blessed Spirit. May his name have all the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

* From this time forward, he had the free use of his reason till the day before his death; excepting that at times he appeared a little lost for a moment, at first waking out of sleep.

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Friday, Oct. 2. My soul was this day sweetly set on God. I longed to be with him, that I might behold his glory. I could commit all to him, even my dearest friends, my dearest flock, my absent brother, and all my concerns for time and eternity. Oh that his kingdom might come, that all might love and glorify him, for what he is in himself; and that the blessed Redeemer might see of the travail of his soul, and be satisfied! Oh, come, Lord Jesus, come quickly; Amen.*

[The next evening, we very much expected his brother John from New-Jersey, it being about a week after the time he proposed to return. And though our expectations were still disappointed, yet Mr. Brainerd seemed to continue unmoved, in the same calm and peaceful frame before manifested; as having resigned all to God, and having done with his friends, and with all things here below.

On the morning of the next day, being Lord's day, October 4, as my daughter Jerusha (who chiefly tended him) came into the room, he looked on her very pleasantly, and said, "Dear Jerusha, are you willing to part with me?—I am quite willing to part with you: I am willing to part with all my friends: I am willing to part with my dear brother John, although I love him the best of any creature living. I have committed him and all my friends to God, and can leave them with him. Though, if I thought I should not see you, and be happy with you in another world, I could not bear to part with you. But we shall spend a happy eternity together.†" In the evening, as one came into the

* Here ends his *Diary*: these are the *last words* that are written in it, either by his own hand, or by any other from his mouth.

† Since this, it has pleased a holy and sovereign God to take away this my dear child by death, on the 14th of February, next following; after a short illness of five days, in the eighteenth year of her age. She was a person of much the same spirit with Mr. Brainerd. She had constantly taken care of, and attended him in his sickness, for nineteen weeks before his death; devoting herself to it with great delight, because she considered him as an eminent servant of Jesus Christ. In this time he had much conversation with her on things of religion; and in his dying state, often expressed to us, her parents, his great satisfaction concerning her true piety, and his confidence that he should meet her in heaven; and his high opinion of her, not only as a true Christian, but a very eminent saint; one whose soul was uncommonly fed and entertained with things that appertain to the most spiritual, experimental, and distinguishing parts of religion; and one who, by the temper of her mind, was fitted to deny herself for God, and to do good, beyond any young woman

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room with a Bible in her hand, he expressed himself thus; "Oh that dear book; that lovely book! I shall soon see it opened: the mysteries that are in it, and the mysteries of God's providence, will be all unfolded."

His distemper now very apparently preyed on his vitals; not by a sudden breaking of ulcers in his lungs, as at Boston, but by a constant discharge of purulent matter in great quantities; so that what he brought up by expectoration seemed to be as it were mouthfuls of almost clear *pus*, attended with great inward pain and distress.

On Thursday, Oct. 6, he lay for a considerable time as if he were dying. He was then heard to utter in broken whispers, such expressions as these: "He will come, he will not tarry—I shall soon be in glory—I shall soon glorify God with the angels."——But after some time he revived.

The next day, Wednesday, Oct. 7, his brother John arrived, being returned from New-Jersey; where he had been detained much longer than he intended, by a mortal sickness prevailing among the Christian Indians, and by some other things in their circumstances that made his stay with them necessary. Mr. Brainerd was affected and refreshed with seeing him, and appeared fully satisfied with the reasons of his delay; seeing the interest of religion and of the souls of his people required it.

The next day, Thursday, Oct. 8, he was in great distress and agonies of body; and for the greater part of the day, was much disordered as to the exercise of his reason. In the evening he was more composed, and had the use of his reason well; but the pain of his body continued and increased. He told me it was impossible for any one to conceive of the distress he felt in his breast. He manifested much concern lest he should dishonour God by impatience, under his extreme agony; which was such, that he said, the thought of enduring it one minute longer was almost insupportable. He desired that others would be much in lifting up their hearts continually to God for him, that he would support him and give him patience. He signified that he expected

whatsoever that he knew of. She had manifested a heart uncommonly devoted to God, many years before her death; and said on her death-bed, that "she had not seen one minute for several years, wherein she desired to live one minute longer, for the sake of any other good in life but doing good, living to God, and doing what might be for his glory."

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to die that night, but seemed to fear a longer delay; and the disposition of his mind with regard to death appeared still the same as it had been all along. And notwithstanding his bodily agonies, yet the interest of Zion lay still with great weight on his mind; as appeared by some considerable discourse he had that evening with the Rev. Mr. Billing, one of the neighbouring ministers, (who was then present,) concerning the great importance of the work of the ministry, &c. Afterwards, very late at night, he had much profitable discourse with his brother John, concerning his congregation in New-Jersey, and the interest of religion among the Indians. In the latter part of the night, his bodily distress seemed to rise to a greater height than ever; and he said to those then about him, that "it was another thing to die, than people imagined;" explaining himself to mean that they were not aware what *bodily* pain and anguish is undergone before death. Towards day, his eyes fixed; and he continued lying immoveable, till about six o'clock in the morning, and then expired, on Friday, October 9, 1747, when his soul, as we may well conclude, was received by his dear Lord and Master, as an eminently faithful servant, into that state of perfection of holinesss and fruition of God, which he had so often and so ardently longed for; and was welcomed by the glorious assembly in the upper world, as one peculiarly fitted to join them in their blessed employments and enjoyments.

Much respect was shewn to his memory at his *funeral;* which was on the Monday following, after a sermon preached the same day, on that solemn occasion. His funeral was attended by eight of the neighbouring ministers, and seventeen other gentlemen of liberal education, and a great concourse of people.]

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REMAINS OF THE REV. D. BRAINERD.

I.

Scheme of a Dialogue between the various powers and affections of the pious mind. [*Mentioned in his Diary, Feb.* 3. 1744.]

1. THE *understanding* introduced, (1.) As discovering its own excellency, and capacity of enjoying the most sublime pleasure and happiness. (2.) As observing its desire equal to its capacity, and incapable of being satisfied with any thing that will not fill it in the utmost extent of its exercise. (3.) As finding itself dependent, not self-sufficient; and consequently unable to spin happiness (as the spider spins its web) out of its own bowels. This self-sufficiency observed to be the property and prerogative of God alone, and not belonging to any created being. (4.) As in vain seeking sublime pleasure, satisfaction, and happiness adequate to its nature, amongst created beings. The search and knowledge of the truth in the natural world allowed indeed to be refreshing to the mind, but still failing to afford complete happiness. (5.) As discovering the excellency and glory of God, that he is the fountain of goodness, and well-spring of happiness, and every way fit to answer the enlarged desires and cravings of our immortal souls.

2. The *will* introduced, as necessarily, yet freely chusing this God for its supreme happiness and only portion, fully complying with the dictates of the understanding, acquiescing in God as the best good, his will as the best rule for intelligent creatures, and rejoicing that he is in every respect just what he is; and withal chusing and delighting to be a dependent creature, always subject to this God, not aspiring after self-sufficiency and supremacy, but acquiescing in the contrary.

3. Ardent *love* or *desire* introduced, as passionately longing to please and glorify the divine Being, to be in every respect conformed to him, and in that way to enjoy him. This love or desire represented as most genuine; not induced by mean and mercenary views; not primarily springing from selfish hopes of salvation, whereby the divine glories would be sacrificed to the idol self; not arising from a slavish fear of divine anger in case of neglect, nor yet from hopes of feeling the

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sweetness of that tender and pleasant passion of love in one's own breast, but from a just esteem of the beauteous object beloved. This *love* further represented, as attended with vehement longings after the enjoyment of its object, but unable to find by what means.

4. The *understanding* again introduced, as informing, (1.) How God might have been enjoyed, yea, how he must necessarily have been enjoyed, had not man sinned against him; that as there was *knowledge*, *likeness*, and *love*, so there must needs be enjoyment, while there was no impediment. (2.) How he may be enjoyed in some measure now, viz. by the same knowledge, begetting likeness and love, which will be answered with returns of love, and the smiles of God's countenance, which are better than life. (3.) How God may be perfectly enjoyed, viz. by the soul's perfect freedom from sin. This perfect freedom never obtained till death; and then not by any unaccountable means, or in any unheard-of manner; but the same by which it has obtained some likeness to and fruition of God in this world, *viz.* a clear manifestation of him.

5. *Holy desire* appears, and inquires why the soul may not be perfectly holy; and so perfect in the enjoyment of God here; and expresses most insatiable thirstings after such a temper, and such fruition, and most consummate blessedness.

6. *Understanding* again appears, and informs, that God designs that those whom he sanctifies in part here, and intends for immortal glory, shall tarry a while in this present evil world, that their own experience of temptations, *&c.* may teach them how great the deliverance is which God has wrought for them, that they may be swallowed up in thankfulness and admiration to eternity; as also that they may be instrumental of doing good to their fellow-men. Now if they were perfectly holy, a world of sin would not be a fit habitation for them; and further, such manifestations of God as are necessary completely to sanctify the soul, would be insupportable to the body, so that we cannot see God and live.

7. *Holy impatience* is next introduced, complaining of the sins and sorrows of life, and almost repining at the distance of a state of perfection, uneasy to see and feel the hours hang so dull and heavy, and almost concluding that the temptations, hardships, disappointments, imperfections, and tedious employments of life will never come to a happy period.

8. *Tender conscience* comes in, and meekly reproves the

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complaints of impatience; urging how careful and watchful we ought to be, lest we should offend the divine Being with complaints; alledging also the fitness of our waiting patiently upon God for all we want, and that in a way of doing and suffering; and at the same time mentioning the barrenness of the soul, how much precious time is misimproved, and how little it has enjoyed of God, compared with what it might have done; as also suggesting how frequently impatient complaints spring from nothing better than self-love, want of resignation, and a greater reverence of the divine Being.

9. *Judgment* or *sound mind* next appears, and duly weighs the complaints of impatience, and the gentle admonitions of tender conscience, and impartially determines between them. On the one hand it concludes, that we may always be impatient with sin; and supposes that we may also with such sorrow, pain and discouragement, as hinder our pursuit of holiness, though they arise from the weakness of nature. It allows us to be impatient of the distance at which we stand from a state of perfection and blessedness. It further indulges impatience at the delay of time, when we desire the period of it for no other end than that we may with angels be employed in the most lively spiritual acts of devotion, and in giving all possible glory to him that lives for ever. Temptations and sinful imperfections, it thinks we may justly be uneasy with; and disappointments, at least those that relate to our hopes of communion with God, and growing conformity to him. And as to the tedious employments and hardships of life, it supposes some longing for the end of them not inconsistent with a spirit of faithfulness, and a cheerful disposition to perform the one and endure the other: it supposes that a faithful servant, who fully designs to do all he possibly can, may still justly long for the evening; and that no rational man would blame his kind and tender spouse, if he perceived her longing to be with him, while yet faithfulnesss and duty to him might still induce her to yield, for the present, to remain at a painful distance from him.—On the other hand, it approves of the caution, care and watchfulness of *tender conscience*, lest the divine Being should be offended with impatient complaints: it acknowledges the fitness of our "waiting upon God," in a way of patient doing and suffering; but supposes this very consistent with ardent desires to "depart, and to be with Christ." It owns it fit

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that we should always remember our own barrenness, and thinks also that we should be impatient of it, and consequently long for a state of freedom from it; and this, not so much that we may feel the happiness of it, but that God may have the glory. It grants that impatient complaints often spring from self-love, and want of resignation and humility. Such as these it disapproves; and determines, we should be impatient only of absence from God, and distance from that state and temper wherein we may most glorify him.

10. *Godly sorrow* introduced, as making her sad moan, not so much that she is kept from the free possession and full enjoyment of happiness, but that God must be dishonoured; the soul being still in a world of sin, and itself imperfect. She here, with grief, counts over past faults, present temptations, and fears for the future.

11. *Hope* or *holy confidence* appears, and seems persuaded that "nothing shall ever separate the soul from the love of God in Christ Jesus." It expects divine assistance and grace sufficient for all the doing and suffering work of time, and that death will ere long put a happy period to all sin and sorrow; and so takes occasion to rejoice.

12. *Godly fear*, or *holy jealousy* here steps in, and suggests some timorous apprehensions of the danger of deception; mentions the deceitfulness of the heart, the great influence of irregular self-love in a fallen creature; inquires whether itself is not likely to have fallen in with delusion, since the mind is so dark, and so little of God appears to the soul; and queries whether all its hopes of persevering grace may not be presumption, and whether its confident expectations of meeting death as a friend, may not issue in disappointment.

13. Hereupon *reflection* appears, and reminds the person of his past experiences; as to the preparatory work of conviction and humiliation; the view he then had of the impossibility of salvation, from himself, or any created arm; the manifestation he has likewise had of the glory of God in Jesus Christ: how he then admired that glory, and chose that God for his only portion, because of the excellency and amiableness he discovered in him; not from slavish fear of being damned, if he did not, nor from base and mercenary hopes of saving himself; but from a just esteem of that

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beauteous and glorious object: as also how he had from time to time rejoiced and acquiesced in God, for what he is in himself; being delighted that he is infinite in holiness, justice, power, sovereignty, as well as in mercy, goodness and love: how he has likewise, scores of times, felt his soul mourn for sin, for this very reason, because it is contrary and grievous to God; yea, how he has mourned over one vain and impertinent thought, when he has been so far from fear of the divine vindictive wrath for it, that on the contrary he has enjoyed the highest assurance of the divine everlasting love: how he has, from time to time, delighted in the commands of God, for their own purity and perfection, and longed exceedingly to be conformed to them, and even to be "holy, as God is holy;" and counted it present heaven, to be of a heavenly temper: how he has frequently rejoiced, to think of being for ever subject to, and dependent on God; accounting it infinitely greater happiness to glorify God in a state of subjection to and dependence on him, than to be a *god* himself: and how heaven itself would be no heaven to him, if he could not there be every thing that God would have him be.

14. Upon this, *spiritual sensation* being awaked, comes in, and declares that she now feels and "tastes that the Lord is gracious;" that he is the only supreme good, the only soul-satisfying happiness; that he is a complete, self-sufficient, and almighty portion. She whispers, "Whom have I in heaven," but this God, this dear and blessed portion; "and there is none upon earth I desire besides him." Oh, it is heaven to please him, and to be just what he would have me be! Oh that my soul were "holy, as God is holy; pure, as Christ is pure; and perfect, as my Father in heaven is perfect!" These are the sweetest commands in God's book, comprising all others; and shall I break them? must I break them? am I under a fatal necessity of it, as long as I live in this world? Oh my soul! wo, wo is me, that I am a sinner; because I now necessarily grieve and offend this blessed God, who is infinite in goodness and grace. Oh, methinks, should he punish me for my sins, it would not wound my heart so deep to offend him; but, though I sin continually, he continually repeats his kindness towards me! I could bear any suffering; but how can I bear to grieve and dishonour this blessed God! How shall I give ten thousand

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times more honour to him? What shall I do to glorify and worship this best of beings? O that I could consecrate myself, soul and body, to his service for ever! Oh that I could give up myself to him, so as never more to attempt to be my own, or to have any will or affections that are not perfectly conformed to his! But alas, I cannot, I feel I cannot, be thus entirely devoted to God: I cannot live and sin not. Oh ye *angels*, do ye glorify him incessantly: if possible, exert yourselves still more in lively and ardent devotion: if possible, prostrate yourselves still lower before the throne of the blessed King of heaven. I long to bear a part with you, and if it were possible, to help you. Yet when we have done, we shall not be able to offer the ten thousandth part of the homage he is worthy of. While *spiritual sensation* whispered these things, *fear* and *jealousy* were greatly overcome; and the soul replied, "Now I know, and am assured," *&c.* and again it welcomed death as a friend, saying, "Oh death, where is thy sting!"

15. Finally, *holy resolution* concludes the discourse, fixedly determining to "follow hard after God," and continually to pursue a life of conformity to him. And the better to pursue this, enjoining it on the soul always to remember, that God is the only source of happiness, that his will is the only rule of rectitude to an intelligent creature, that earth has nothing in it desirable for itself, or any further than God is seen in it; and that the knowledge of God in Christ, begetting and maintaining love, and mortifying sensual and fleshly appetites, is the way to be holy on earth, and so to be attempered to the complete holiness of the heavenly world.

II.

Some gloomy and desponding thoughts of a soul under convictions of sin, and concern for its eternal salvation.

1. I BELIEVE my case is *singular*, that none ever had so many strange and different thoughts and feelings as I.

2. I have been concerned much longer than many others, that I have known or read of, who have been savingly converted, and yet I am left.

3. I have withstood the power of convictions a long time; and therefore I fear, I shall be finally left of God.

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4. I never shall be converted, without stronger convictions, and greater terrors of conscience.

5. I do not aim at the glory of God in any thing I do, and therefore I cannot hope for mercy.

6. I do not see the evil nature of sin, nor the sin of my nature; and therefore I am discouraged.

7. The more I strive, the more blind and hard my heart is, and the worse I grow continually.

8. I fear that God never shewed mercy to one so vile as I.

9. I fear I am not elected, and therefore must perish.

10. I fear the day of grace is past with me.

11. I fear I have committed the unpardonable sin.

12. I am an old sinner; and if God had designed mercy for me, he would have called me home to himself before now.

III.

Signs of Godliness.

The distinguishing marks of a true Christian, taken from one of my old manuscripts; where I wrote as I felt and experienced, and not from any considerable degree of doctrinal knowledge, or acquaintance with the sentiments of others in this point.

1. HE has a true knowledge of the glory and excellency of God, that he is most worthy to be loved and praised for his own divine perfections. Psal. cxlv. 3.

2. God is his portion, Psal. lxxiii. 25. And God's glory, his great concern, Mat. vi. 22.

3. *Holiness* is his *delight*; nothing he so much longs for as to be holy, as God is holy. Phil. iii. 9——12.

4. *Sin* is his greatest enemy. This he hates for its own nature, for what it is in itself, being contrary to a holy God, Jer. ii. 1. Consequently he hates all sin, Rom. vii. 24. 1 John iii. 9.

5. The laws of God also are his delight, Psal. cxix. 97. Rom. vii. 22. These he observes, not out of constraint, from a servile fear of hell; but they are his choice, Psal. cxix. 30. The strict observance of them is not his bondage, but his greatest liberty, ver. 45.

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LETTERS

Written by Mr. Brainerd to his Friends.

MR. BRAINERD had a large acquaintance and correspondence, especially in the latter part of his life, and he did much at writing Letters to his absent friends; but the most of his acquaintance living at a great distance from me, I have not been able to obtain copies of many that he wrote. However, the greater part of those which I have seen, are such as appear to me of profitable tendency, and worthy of the public view: I have therefore here added a few of his letters.

N. B. Several of these which follow, are not published at large, because some parts of them related to affairs of a private nature.

LETTER I.

To his brother John, then a student at Yale-college in New-Haven

Dear brother, Kaunaumeek, April 30. 1743.

I SHOULD tell you, "I long to see you," but that my own experience has taught me there is no happiness and plenary satisfaction to be enjoyed in earthly friends, though ever so near and dear, or in any other enjoyment that is not God himself. Therefore, if the God of all grace, would be pleased to afford us each his presence and grace, that we may perform the work and endure the trials he calls us to, in a most distressing tiresome wilderness, till we arrive at our journey's end; the distance at which we are held from each other at the present, is a matter of no great moment or importance to either of us. But alas, the presence of God is what I want.

I live in the most lonely melancholy desert, about eighteen miles from Albany; for it was not thought best that I should go to Delaware-river, as I beleive I hinted to you in a letter from New-York. I board with a poor Scotchman: his wife can talk scarcely any English. My diet consists mostly of hasty-pudding, boiled corn, and bread baked in the ashes, and sometimes a little meat and butter. My *lodging* is a little heap of straw, laid upon some boards, a little way

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from the ground; for it is a log-room, without any floor, that I lodge in. My *work* is exceeding hard and difficult: I travel on foot a mile and half in the worst of roads almost daily, and back again; for I live so far from my Indians.—I have not seen an English person this month. These and many other uncomfortable circumstances attend me; and yet my *spiritual conflicts* and *distresses* so far *exceed* all these, that I scarce think of them, but feel as if I were entertained in the most sumptuous manner. The Lord grant that I may learn to "endure hardness, as a good soldier of Jesus Christ!"

As to my *success* here, I cannot say much as yet. The Indians seem generally kind and well disposed towards me, and are mostly very attentive to my instructions, and seem willing to be taught. Two or three, I hope, are under some convictions; but there seems to be little of the special workings of the divine Spirit among them yet; which gives me many a heart-sinking hour. Sometimes I hope, God has abundant blessings in store for them and me; at other times I am so overwhelmed with distress, that I cannot see how his dealings with me are consistent with covenant love and faithfulness; and I say, "Surely his tender mercies are clean gone for ever."——But I see, I needed all this chastisement already. "It is good for me" that I have endured these trials, and have hitherto little or no apparent success. Do not be discouraged on my account. I was under great distress at Mr. Pomroy's, when I saw your last; but "God has been with me of a truth" since that: at Long-Island and elsewhere.

Let us always remember, that we must "through much tribulation" enter into God's eternal kingdom of rest and peace. The righteous are "scarcely" saved: it is an infinite wonder that we have well-grounded hopes of being saved at all. For my part, I feel the most vile of any creature living; and I am sure sometimes, there is not such another existing on this side *hell*.——Now all you can do for me is to pray incessantly, that God would make me humble, holy, resigned, and heavenly-minded, by all my trials.———"Be strong in the Lord and in the power of his might." Let us run, wrestle, and fight, that we may win the prize, and obtain that complete happiness, to be holy as God is holy. Wishing and praying that you may advance in learning and grace, and be fit for special service for God, I remain your affectionate brother,

D. B.

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LETTER II.

To his brother John, at Yale-college in New-Haven.

Dear brother, Kaunaumeek, Dec. 27. 1743.

I LONG to see you, and to know how you fare in your journey through a world of inexpressible sorrow, where we are compassed about with vanity, confusion, and vexation of spirit. I am more weary of life, I think, than ever I was. The whole world appears to me like a huge vacuum, a vast empty space, whence nothing desirable or satisfactory can possibly be derived; and I long daily to die more and more to it, even though I obtain not that comfort from spiritual things which I earnestly desire. *Worldly* pleasures, such as flow from greatness, riches, honours, and sensual gratifications, are infinitely *worse* than none. May the Lord deliver us more and more from these vanities! I have spent most of the fall and winter hitherto in a very weak state of body, and sometimes under pressing inward trials and spiritual conflicts; but "having obtained help from God, I continue to this day;" and am now something better in health, than I was sometime ago. I find nothing more conducive to a life of Christianity than a diligent, industrious, and faithful improvement of precious time. Let us then faithfully perform that business which is allotted to us by divine providence, to the utmost of our bodily strength and mental vigour. Why should we sink and grow discouraged with any particular trials and perplexities which we are called to encounter in the world: Death and eternity are just before us; a few tossing billows more will waft us into the world of spirits, and we hope (through infinite grace) into endless pleasures and uninterrupted rest and peace. Let us then "run with patience the race set before us," Heb. xii. 1, 2. And oh that we could depend more upon the living God, and less upon our own wisdom and strength!—Dear brother, may the God of all grace comfort your heart, suceeed your studies, and make you an instrument of good to his people in your day. This is the constant prayer of your affectionate brother,

D. B.

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LETTER III.

To his brother Israel, at Haddam.

My dear brother, Kaunaumeek, January 21. 1743-4.

THERE is but *one* thing that deserves our highest care and most ardent desires; and that is, that we may answer the great end for which we were made, viz. to glorify that God who has given us our being and all our comforts; and to do all the good we possibly can to our fellow-men, while we live in the world. Verily, life is not worth having, if it be not improved for this noble end and purpose. Yet alas, how little is this thought of among mankind! Most men seem to *live to themselves*, without much regard to the glory of God, or the good of their fellow-creatures. They earnestly desire and eagerly pursue after the riches, the honours and the pleasures of life, as if they really supposed that wealth or greatness or merriment could make their immortal souls happy. What false and delusive dreams are these; and how miserable will those ere long be, who are not awaked out of them, to see that all their happiness consists in *living to God*, and becoming "holy as he is holy!" Oh, may you never fall into the tempers and vanities, the sensuality and folly of the present world! You are, by divine providence, left as it were alone in a wide world, to act for yourself: be sure then to remember, it is a world of temptation. You have no earthly parents to be the means of forming your youth to piety and virtue, by their pious examples and seasonable counsels; let this then excite you with greater diligence and fervency to look up to the Father of mercies for grace and assistance against all the vanities of the world. And if you would glorify God, answer his just expectations from you, and make your own soul happy in this and the coming world, observe these few directions, though not from a father, yet from a brother who is touched with a tender concern for your present and future happiness.

First, Resolve upon and daily endeavour to practise a life of seriousness and strict sobriety. The wise man will tell you the great advantage of such a life, Eccles. vii. 3. Think of the life of Christ; and when you can find that *he* was pleased with jesting and vain merriment, then you may indulge it in yourself.

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Again, Be careful to make a good improvemt of precious time. When you cease from labour, fill up your time in reading, meditation and prayer; and while your hands are labouring, let your heart be employed, as much as possible, in divine thoughts.

Further, Take heed that you faithfully perform the business you have to do in the world, from a regard to the commands of God; and not from an ambitious desire of being esteemed better than others. We should always look upon ourselves as God's servants, placed in God's world, to do *his* work; and accordingly labour faithfully for *him;* not with a design to grow rich and great, but to glorify God, and do all the good we possibly can.

Again, Never expect any satisfaction or happiness from the world. If you hope for happiness *in* the world, hope for it from God, and not *from* the world. Do not think you shall be more happy, if you live to such or such a state of life, if you live for yourself; but look upon it that you shall then be happy, when you can be constantly employed for God, and not for yourself; and desire to live in this world, only to do and suffer what God allots to you. When you can be of the spirit and temper of angels, who are willing to come down into this lower world, to perform what God commands them, though their desires are heavenly, and not in the least set on earthly things, then you will be of that temper that you ought to have, Col. iii. 2.

Once more, Never think that you can live to God by your own power or strength; but always look to and rely on him for assistance, yea, for all strength and grace. There is no greater truth than this, that "we can do nothing of ourselves," John xv. 5. 2 Cor. iii. 5.; yet nothing but our own experience can effectually teach it to us. Indeed we are a long time in learning, that *all* our strength and salvation is in God. This is a life that I think no unconverted man can possibly live; and yet it is a life that every godly soul is pressing after. Let it then be your great concern, thus to devote yourself and your all to God.

I long to see you, that I may say much more to you than I now can, for your benefit and welfare; but I desire to commit you to, and leave you with the Father of mercies, and God of all grace; praying that you may be directed safely through an evil world, to God's heavenly kingdom.

D. B.

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LETTER IV.

To a special friend.

The Forks of Delaware, July 31, 1744.

CERTAINLY the greatest, the noblest pleasure of intelligent creatures must result from their acquaintance with the blessed God, and with their own rational and immortal souls. And oh how divinely pleasant and entertaining is it to look into our own souls, when we can find all our powers and passions united and engaged in pursuit after God, our whole souls longing and passionately breathing after a conformity to him, and the full enjoyment of him! Verily, no hours pass away with so much divine pleasure, as those that are spent in communing with God and our own hearts. How sweet is a spirit of devotion, of seriousness and solemnity; a spirit of gospel simplicity, love and tenderness! Oh how desirable and profitable is a spirit of holy watchfulness, and godly jealousy over ourselves; when our souls are afraid of nothing so much as that we shall grieve and offend the blessed God, whom at such times we apprehend, or at least hope, to be a father and friend; whom we then love and long to please, rather than to be happy ourselves, or at least we delight to derive our happiness from pleasing and glorifying him. Surely this is a pious temper, worthy of the highest ambition and closest pursuit of intelligent creatures. Oh how vastly superior is the pleasure, peace and satisfaction derived from these divine frames, to that which we sometimes seek in things impertinent and trifling! Bitter experience teaches us that "in the midst of such laughter the heart is sorrowful," and there is no true satisfaction but in God. But alas, how shall we obtain and preserve this spirit of religion and devotion? Let us follow the apostle's direction, Phil. ii. 12, and labour upon the encouragement he there mentions, ver. 13, for it is God only can afford us this favour; and he will be sought to, and it is fit we should wait upon him for so rich a mercy. May the God of all grace afford us the influences of his holy Spirit, and help us that we may from our hearts esteem it our greatest liberty and happiness, that "whether we live, we may live to the Lord, or whether we die, we may die to the Lord;" that in life and death we may be his.

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I am in a very poor state of health; but through divine goodness, I am not discontented under my weakness, and confinement to this wilderness. I bless God for this retirement. I never was more thankful for any thing than I have been of late, for the necessity I am under of self-denial in many respects. I love to be a pilgrim and stranger in this wilderness: it seems most fit for such a poor ignorant and worthless creature. I would not change my present *mission* for any other business in the whole world. I may tell you freely, without vanity and ostentation, God has of late given me great freedom and fervency in prayer, when I have been so weak and feeble that my nature seemed as if it would speedily dissolve. I feel as if my *all* was lost, and I was undone for this world, if the poor Heathen may not be converted. In general I feel different from what I did when I saw you last; at least more crucified to all the enjoyments of life. It would be very refreshing to me to see you here in this desart, especially in my weak disconsolate hours; but think I could be content never to see you, or any of my friends again in this world, if God would bless my labours here to the conversion of the poor Indians.

I have much that I could willingly communicate to you, which I must omit, till Providence gives us leave to see each other. In the mean time I remain, &c.

D. B.

LETTER V.

To a special friend a Minister of the gospel in New Jersey.

Rev. and dear brother, The Forks of Delaware, Dec. 24, 1744.

I HAVE little to say to you about spiritual joys, and those blessed refreshments and divine consolations, with which I have been much favoured in times past: but this I can tell you, that if I gain experience in no other point, yet I am sure I do in this, viz. that the present world has nothing in it to satisfy an immortal soul: and hence that it is not to be desired for itself, but only because God may be seen and served in it: and I wish I could be more patient and willing to live in it for this end, than I can usually find myself to be. It is no virtue I know to desire death, only to be freed from the miseries of life; but I want that divine hope which you

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observed when I saw you last, was the very sinews of vital religion. Earth can do us no good, and if there be no hope of our doing good on earth, how can we desire to live in it? Yet we ought to desire, or at least to be resigned, to tarry in it; because it is the will of our all-wise Sovereign. But perhaps these thoughts will appear melancholy and gloomy, and consequently will be very undesirable to you; and therefore I forbear to add. I wish you may not read them in the same circumstances in which I write them. I have a little more to do and suffer in a dark disconsolate world; and then I hope to be as happy as you are.——I should ask you to pray for me, were I worth your concern. May the Lord enable us both to "endure hardness as good soldiers of Jesus Christ;" and may we "obtain mercy of God to be faithful to the death," in the discharge of our respective trusts. I am, &c.

D. B.

LETTER VI.

To his brother John at College.

Very dear brother, New-Jersey, Dec. 28, 1745.

I AM in one continued and uninterrupted hurry; and divine providence throws so much upon me, that I do not see it will ever be otherwise. May I obtain mercy to be found faithful. I cannot say I am weary of my hurry; I only want strength and grace to do more for God than I have ever yet done.

My dear brother; The Lord of heaven who has carried me through many trials, bless you; bless you for time and eternity; and fit you to serve him in his church below, and to enjoy his blissful presence in his church triumphant. My brother, "the time is short." Oh let us fill it up for God; let us "count the sufferings of this present time" as nothing, if we can but run our race, and finish our course with joy." Let us strive to live to God. I bless his name that I have nothing to do with earth, but only to labour honestly in it for God, till I shall "accomplish as a hireling my day." I think I do not desire to live one minute for any thing that earth can afford. Oh that I could live for none but God, till my dying moment!

D. B.

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LETTER VII.

To his brother Israel, then a student at Yale-college in New-Haven.

Dear brother, Elisabeth-Town, New-Jersey, Nov. 24, 1746.

I HAD determined to make you and my other friends in New-England a visit this fall; partly from an earnest desire I had to see you and them, and partly with a view to the recovery of my health, which has for more than three months past been much impaired. And in order to prosecute this design, I set out from my own people about three weeks ago, and came as far as to this place; where, my disorder greatly increasing, I have been obliged to keep house until the day before yesterday, when I was able to ride about half a mile, but found myself much tired. I have now no hopes of prosecuting my journey into New-England this winter, supposing my present state of health will by no means admit of it. I am through divine goodness much better than I was some days ago, yet I have not strength now to ride more than ten miles a day, if the season were warm, and fit for me to travel in. My disorder has been attended with several symptoms of a *consumption;* and I have been at times apprehensive that my great change was at hand. Yet blessed be God, I have never been affrighted; but on the contrary, at times much delighted with a view of its approach. Oh the blessedness of being delivered from the clogs of flesh and sense, from a body of sin and spiritual death, and of being translated into a state of complete purity and perfection! Believe me, my brother, a lively view and hope of these things will make the king of terrors himself appear agreeable. Let me intreat you to keep eternity in view, and behave yourself as becomes one that must shortly "give an account of all things done in the body." That God may be *your* God, and prepare you for his service here and his kingdom of glory hereafter, is the desire and daily prayer of Your affectionate loving brother,

D. B.

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LETTER VIII.

To his brother Israel at College; written in the time of his extreme illness in Boston, a few months before his death.

My dear brother, Boston, June 30. 1747.

IT is from the sides of eternity I now address you. I am heartily sorry that I have so little strength to write what I long so much to communicate to you. But let me tell you, my brother, *eternity* is another thing than we ordinarily take it to be in a healthful state. Oh how vast and boundless; how fixed and unalterable! Of what infinite importance is it, that we be prepared for eternity! I have been just a dying, now for more than a week, and all around me have thought me so; but in this time I have had clear views of eternity. I have seen the blessedness of the godly in some measure, and longed to share their happy state. I have also been comfortably satisfied that through grace I shall do so: but oh what anguish is raised in my mind, to think of an eternity for those who are *Christless*; for those who are mistaken, and who bring their false hopes to the grave with them! The sight was so dreadful that I could by no means bear it. My thoughts recoiled, and I said, (but under a more affecting sense than ever before) "Who can dwell with everlasting burnings!" Oh, if I could but now see my friends, that I might warn them to lay their foundation for eternity sure. And you, my dear brother, I have been particularly concerned for; and have wondered that I so much neglected conversing with you about your spiritual state at our last meeting. Oh let me then beseech you now to examine, whether you are indeed a new creature; whether you have ever acted above self; whether the glory of God has ever been your highest concern; whether you have ever been reconciled to all the perfections of God; in a word, whether God has been your *portion*, and a holy *conformity* to him your chief delight? If you cannot answer positively, consider seriously the frequent breathings of your soul; but do not put yourself off with a slight answer. If you have reason to think you are graceless, oh give yourself and the throne of grace no rest, till God arise and save. But if the

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case should be otherwise, bless God for his grace, and press after holiness.*

My soul longs that you should be fitted for, and in due time go into the work of the *ministry*. I cannot bear to think of your going into any other business in life. Do not be discouraged, because you see your elder brothers in the ministry *die early*, one after another. I declare, now I am dying, I would not have spent my life *otherwise* for the whole world. But I must leave this with God.

If this line should come to your hands soon after the date, I should be almost desirous you should set out on a journey to me: it may be you may see me alive, which I should much rejoice in. But if you cannot come, I must commit you to the grace of God, where you are. May he be your guide and counsellor, your sanctifier and eternal portion!

Oh, my dear brother, flee fleshly lusts, and the inchanting amusements, as well as corrupt doctrines of the present day; and strive to live to God. Take this as the *last* line from Your affectionate dying brother.

D. B.

* Mr. Brainerd afterwards had greater satisfaction concerning the state of his brother's soul, by much opportunity of conversation with him before his death.

LETTER IX.

To a young gentleman, a candidate for the work of the Ministry, for whom he had a special friendship; also written at the same time of his great illness and nearness to death in Boston.

Very dear Sir,

HOW amazing it is that "the living who know that they must die," should notwithstanding put far away the evil day, in a season of health and prosperity; and live at such an awful distance from a familiarity with the grave, and the great concerns beyond it. Especially it may justly fill us with surprise, that any whose minds have been divinely enlightened, to behold the important things of eternity as they are, I say, that such should live in this manner. And yet, Sir, how frequently is this the case. How rare are the instances of those who live and act, from day to day, as on

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the verge of eternity; striving to fill up all their remaining moments in the service and to the honour of their great Master. We insensibly trifle away time, while we seem to have enough of it; and are so strangely amused as in great measure to lose a sense of the holiness and blessed qualifications necessary to prepare us to be inhabitants of the heavenly paradise. But oh, dear Sir, a *dying bed*, if we enjoy our reason clearly, will give another view of things. I have now for more than three weeks lain under the greatest degree of weakness, the greater part of the time expecting daily and hourly to enter into the eternal world. Sometimes I have been so far gone as to be wholly speechless for some hours together; and oh, of what vast importance has a holy spiritual life appeared to me to be in this season! I have longed to call upon all my friends to make it their business to *live to God;* and especially all that are designed for, or engaged in the service of the sanctuary. Oh dear Sir, do not think it enough to live at the rate of *common Christians.* Alas, to how little purpose do they often converse, when they meet together. The visits, even of those who are called Christians indeed, are frequently very barren; and conscience cannot but condemn us for the misimprovement of time while we have been conversant with them. But the way to enjoy the divine presence, and be fitted for distinguishing service for God, is to live a life of great devotion and constant self-dedication to him; observing the motions and dispositions of our own hearts, whence we may learn the corruptions that lodge there, and our constant need of help from God for the performance of the least duty. And oh, dear Sir, let me beseech you frequently to attend the great and precious duties of secret fasting and prayer.

I have a secret thought, from some things I have observed, that God may perhaps design you for some singular service in the world. Oh then labour to be prepared and qualified to do much for God. Read Mr. Edwards's piece on the *Affections*, again and again; and labour to distinguish clearly upon experiences and affections in religion, that you may make a difference between the gold and the shining dross. Labour here, if ever you would be a useful minister of Christ: for nothing has put such a stop to the work of God in the late day as the false religion, the wild affections that attended it. Suffer me therefore, finally, to intreat you earnestly to

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"give yourself to prayer, to reading and meditation;" strive to penetrate to the bottom of divine truths, and never be content with a superficial knowledge. By this means, your thoughts will gradually grow weighty and judicious, and you will possess a valuable *treasure*, out of which you may produce "things new and old," to the glory of God.

And now I commend you to the grace of God, earnestly desiring that a plentiful portion of the divine Spirit may rest upon you; that you may live to God in every capacity of life, and do abundant service for him; and that you may be richly qualified for the inheritance of the saints in light.

I scarcely expect to see your face any more in the body, and therefore intreat you to accept this as the last token of love, from

Your sincerely affectionate dying friend, D. B.

P. S. I am now, at the dating of this letter, considerably recovered from what I was when I wrote it; it having lain by me some time, for want of an opportunity of conveyance; it was written in Boston.——I am now able to ride a little, and so am removed into the country; but I have no more expectation of recovering than when I wrote.

LETTER X.

To his brother John, at Bethel, the town of Christian Indians in New Jersey; written likewise at Boston, when he was there on the brink of the grave, in the summer before his death.

I AM now just on the verge of eternity, expecting very speedily to appear in the unseen world. I feel myself no more an inhabitant of earth, and sometimes earnestly long to "depart and be with Christ." I bless God, he has for some years given me an abiding conviction, that it is impossible for any rational creature to enjoy true happiness without being entirely devoted to him. Under the influence of this conviction I have in some measure acted: oh that I had done more so! I saw both the excellency and necessity of holiness in life; but never in such a manner as now, when I am just brought to the sides of the grave. Oh, my brother, pursue after holiness; press towards this blessed mark; and

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let your thirsty soul continually say, 'I shall never be satisfied till I awake in thy likeness.' Although there has been a great deal of selfishness in my views, of which I am ashamed, and for which my soul is humbled; yet blessed be God, I find I have really had for the most part, such a concern for his glory, and the advancement of his kingdom in the world, that it is a satisfaction to me to reflect upon these years.

And now, my dear brother, as I must press you to pursue after personal holiness, to be as much in fasting and prayer as your health will allow, and to live above the rate of *common Christians;* so I must intreat you solemnly to attend to your public work. Labour to distinguish between true and false religion; and to that end, watch the motions of God's Spirit upon your own heart; look to him for help, and impartially compare your experiences with his word. Read Mr. Edwards on the *Affections,* where the essence and soul of religion is clearly distinguished from false affections.* Value religious joys according to the subject-matter of them. There are many who rejoice in their supposed *justification;* but what do these joys argue, except that they *love themselves?* Whereas, in true spiritual joys, the soul rejoices in God for what he is in himself; blesses God for his holiness, sovereignty, power, faithfulness, and all his perfections; adores

* I had at first fully intended, in publishing this and the foregoing letters, to have suppressed these passages wherein *my name* is mentioned, and my *discourse on religious affections* recommended: and am sensible, that by my doing otherwise, I shall bring upon me the reproach of some. But how much soever I may be pleased with the commendation of any performance of mine, (and I confess, I esteem the judgment and approbation of such a person as Mr. Brainerd, worthy to be valued, and look on myself as highly honoured by it) yet I can truly say, the things that governed me in altering my forementioned determination, with respect to these passages, were these two. (1.) What Mr. Brainerd here says of that discourse, shews very fully and particularly what *his notions* were of experimental religion, and the nature of true piety, and how far *he* was from placing it in impressions on the imagination, or any enthusiastical impulses, and how essential in religion he esteemed holy practice, *&c.* For all that have read that discourse, know what sentiments are there expressed concerning these things. (2.) I judged, that the approbation of so apparent and eminent a friend and example of inward vital religion, and evangelical piety in the height of it, would probably tend to make that book more serviceable; especially among some kinds of zealous persons, whose benefit was especially aimed at in the book; some of which are prejudiced against it, as written in too legal a strain, and opposing some things wherein the height of Christian experience consists, and tending to build men up on their own works.

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God, that he is what he is, that he is unchangeably possessed of infinite glory and happiness. Now when men thus rejoice in the perfections of God, in the infinite excellency of the way of salvation by Christ, and in the holy commands of God, which are a transcript of his holy nature, these joys are divine and spiritual. Our joys will stand by us at the hour of death, if we can then be satisfied that we have thus acted above self, and in a disinterested manner (if I may so express it) rejoiced in the glory of the blessed God.

I fear you are not sufficiently aware how much false religion there is in the world: many serious Christians and valuable ministers are too easily imposed upon by this false blaze. I likewise fear, you are not sensible of the dreadful effects and consequences of this false religion. Let me tell you, it is the devil transformed into an angel of light; it is the offspring of hell, that always springs up with every revival of religion, to the injury of the cause of God, while it passes current with multitudes of well-meaning people for the height of religion. Seriously endeavour to crush all appearances of this nature among the Indians, and never encourage any degrees of heat without light. Charge my people in the name of their *dying minister*, yea, in the name of "him who was dead and is alive," to live and walk as becomes the gospel. Tell them how great the expectations of God and his people are from them, and how awfully they will wound God's cause if they fall into vice, as well as fatally prejudice other poor Indians. Always insist that their experiences are rotten, that their joys are delusive, although they may have been rapt up into the third heavens in their own conceit, unless the main tenour of their lives be spiritual, watchful and holy. In pressing these things, "thou shalt both save thyself, and those that hear thee."

God knows, I was heartily willing to have served him longer in the work of the ministry, although it had still been attended with all the labours and hardships of past years, if he had seen fit that it should be so: but as his will now appears otherwise, I am fully content, and can with the utmost freedom say, "The will of the Lord be done." It affects me to think of leaving you in a world of sin: my heart pities you, that those storms and tempests are yet before you which I trust through grace I am almost delivered from.

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But "God lives, and blessed be my Rock." He is the same almighty Friend; and will I trust be your Guide and Helper, as he has been mine.

And now, my dear brother, "I commend you to God and to the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified." May you enjoy the divine presence, both in private and public; and may "the arms of your hands be made strong by the mighty God of Jacob!" Which are the passionate desires and prayers of your affectionate dying brother,

D. B.

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REFLECTIONS

ON THE PRECEDING MEMOIRS.

I. WE have here an opportunity of seeing the nature of true religion, and the manner of its operation exemplified in a high degree. Particularly it may be worthy to observe,

1. How greatly Mr. Brainerd's religion *differed* from that of some pretenders to the experience of a clear work of saving conversion wrought on their hearts; who depending and living on that, settle in a cold, careless and carnal frame of mind, and in a neglect of thorough, earnest religion, in the stated practice of it. Although his convictions and conversion were in all respects very clear and remarkable; yet how far was he from acting as though he thought he had got through his work, when once he had obtained comfort, and satisfaction of his interest in Christ and title to heaven. On the contrary, that work on his heart by which he was brought to this, was with him evidently but the *beginning* of his work, his first entering on the great business of religion and the service of God, his first setting out in his race. After earnest striving to enter in at the strait gate, and being violent to take the kingdom of heaven, he did not look upon his obtaining rest in Christ as putting an end to any further occasion for striving and violence in religion; but these were continued still, and maintained constantly, through all changes, to the very end of life. His work was not finished, nor his race ended till life was ended; agreeable to frequent scripture-representations of the Christian life. He continued pressing forward in a constant manner, forgetting the things that were behind, and reaching forth towards the things that were before. His pains and earnestness in the business of religion were rather increased than diminished, after he had received comfort and satisfaction concerning the safety of his state. Those divine principles of love to God, and longings and thirstings after holiness, seemed more effectually to engage him in the duties of religion, than the fear of hell had done before.

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And as his conversion was not the end of *his work*, or of the course of his diligence and strivings in religion; so neither was it the end of the *work of the Spirit* of God on his heart. On the contrary, it was the beginning of that work; the beginning of his spiritual discoveries, and holy views; the first dawning of the light, which thenceforward increased more and more; the beginning of his holy affections, his sorrow for sin, his love to God, his rejoicing in Christ Jesus, his longings after holiness. And the powerful operations of the Spirit of God in these things were carried on, from the day of his conversion, in a continued course to his dying day. His religious experiences, his admiration, his joy and praise, his flowing affections, did not only hold up to a considerable height for a few days, weeks or months, at first, while hope and comfort were new to him; and then gradually dwindle and die away, till they came to almost nothing, and so leave him without any sensible or remarkable experience of spiritual discoveries, or holy and divine affections, for months together; as it is with many, who after the newness of things is over, soon come to that pass, that it is again with them very much as it used to be before their supposed conversion, with respect to any present views of God's glory, of Christ's excellency, or of the beauty of divine things; and with respect to any present thirstings for God, or ardent outgoings of their souls after divine objects. Only now and then they have a comfortable reflection on things they have met with in times past, and are something affected with them; and so rest easy, thinking all things are well; they have had a good *clear work*, and their state is safe, and they doubt not but they shall go to heaven when they die. How far otherwise was it with Mr. Brainerd! His experiences, instead of dying away, were evidently of an increasing nature. His first love and other holy affections, even at the beginning were very great; but after months and years, they became much greater and more remarkable; and the spiritual exercises of his mind were most ardent, (though not equally so at all times, yet usually so) without indulged remissness, and without habitual dwindling and dying away, even till his decease. They began in a time of general deadness all over the land, and were greatly increased in a time of general reviving of religion. And when religion decayed again, and a general deadness re-

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turned, his experiences were still kept up in their height, and his holy exercises maintained in their life and vigour; and so continued to be, in a general course, wherever he was, and whatever his circumstances were, among English and Indians, in company and alone, in towns and cities, and in the howling wilderness, in sickness and in health, living and dying. This is agreeable to scripture descriptions of true religion, and of the Christian life. The change wrought in him at his conversion, was agreeable to scripture representations of that change which is wrought in true conversion; a great and an abiding change, rendering him a new man, a new creature: not only a change as to hope and comfort, and an apprehension of his own good estate; and a transient change, consisting in high flights of passing affections; but a change of *nature*, a change of the abiding habit and temper of his mind. Nor a partial change merely in point of opinion, or outward reformation; much less a change from one error to another, or from one sin to another; but a universal change, both internal and external; from corrupt and dangerous principles in religion to the belief of the truth, from both the habits and ways of sin to universal holiness of heart and practice, from the power and service of Satan unto God.

2. His religion greatly differed from that of many high pretenders to religion, who are frequently actuated by *vehement emotions* of mind, and are carried on in a course of *sudden* and *strong impressions*, and supposed high illuminations and immediate discoveries, and at the same time are persons of a virulent "zeal, not according to knowledge."

His convictions, preceding his conversion, did not arise from any frightful *impressions on his imagination*, or any external images and ideas of fire and brimstone, a sword of vengeance drawn, a dark pit open, or such things strongly fixed in his mind. His sight of his own sinfulness did not consist in any imagination of a heap of lothsomeness within him; nor did his sense of the hardness of his heart consist in any bodily feeling, nor in any imaginations whatever of such a nature.

His first discovery of God or Christ, at his conversion, was not any strong idea of some external glory or brightness; or majesty and beauty of countenance, or pleasant voice; nor was it any supposed immediate manifestation of God's

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love to *him* in particular; nor any imagination of Christ's smiling face, arms open, or words immediately spoken to him as by name, revealing Christ's love to *him*; either words of scripture, or any other: but a manifestation of God's glory, and the beauty of his nature, as supremely excellent in itself; powerfully drawing and sweetly captivating his heart; bringing him to a sincere desire to exalt God, to set him on the throne, and give him supreme honour and glory, as the King and Sovereign of the universe; and also a new sense of the infinite wisdom, suitableness, and excellency of the way of salvation by Christ; powerfully engaging his whole soul to embrace this way of salvation, and to delight in it. His first faith did not consist in believing that Christ loved him, and died for him in particular. His first comfort was not from any secret suggestion of God's eternal love to him, or that God was reconciled to him, or intended great mercy for him; by any such texts as these, "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee. Fear not, I am thy God," *&c.* or in any such way. On the contrary, when God's glory was first discovered to him, it was without any thought of salvation as his own. His first experience of the sanctifying and comforting power of God's Spirit did not begin in some bodily sensation, or pleasant feeling in his breast, which he (as some others) called the feeling the love of Christ in him, and being full of the Spirit. His experiences at his first conversion were far from things of such a nature.

If we look through the whole series of his experiences, from his conversion to his death, we shall find nothing of this kind. I have had occasion to read his Diary over and over, and very particularly and critically to review every passage in it; and I find no one instance of a strong impression on his imagination, through his whole life: no instance of a strongly impressed idea of any external glory and brightness of any bodily form or shape, any beautiful majestic countenance; no imaginary sight of Christ hanging on the cross, with his blood streaming from his wounds; or seated in heaven on a bright throne, with angels and saints bowing before him; or with a countenance smiling on him, or arms open to embrace him; no sight of heaven in his imagination, with gates of pearl and golden streets, and vast multitudes of glorious inhabitants with shining garments; no sight of

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the book of life opened, with his name written in it; no hearing of the sweet music made by the songs of heavenly hosts; no hearing God or Christ immediately speaking to him; nor any sudden suggestions of words or sentences, either words of scripture or any other, as then immediately spoken or sent to him; no new objective revelations, no sudden strong suggestions of secret facts. Nor do I find any one instance in all the records he has left of his own life, from beginning to end, of joy excited from a supposed *immediate* witness of the Spirit; or inward immediate suggestion, that his state was surely good, that God loved him with an everlasting love, that Christ died for him in particular, and that heaven was his, either with or without a text of scripture; no instance of comfort by a sudden bearing in upon his mind, as though at that very time directed by God to him in particular, nof any such kind of texts as these: "Fear not I am with thee—It is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom—You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you—I have called thee by thy name, thou art mine."—No supposed communion and conversation with God carried on in this way; no such supposed tasting of the love of Christ. But the way he was satisfied of his own good estate, even to the entire abolishing of fear, was by feeling within himself the lively actings of a holy temper and heavenly disposition, the vigorous exercises of that divine love which cast out fear. This was the way he had full satisfaction soon after his conversion, (see his diary on October 18, 1740.) And we find no other way of satisfaction through his whole life afterwards; and this he abundantly declared to be the way, the only way that he had complete satisfaction, when he looked death in the face in its near approaches.

Some of the pretenders to an *immediate* witness by suggestion, with an assuming confidence would persuade us, that there is no full assurance without it; and that the way of being satisfied by signs, and arguing an interest in Christ from sanctification, if it will keep men quiet in life and health, yet will never do when they come to *die*. Then they say, men must have *immediate* witness, or else be in a dreadful uncertainty. But Mr. Brainerd's experience is a confutation of this; for in him we have an instance of one that possessed as constant and unshaken an assurance, through the course of his life after conversion, as perhaps can be produced in

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this age; which yet he obtained and enjoyed without any such sort of *testimony*, and without all manner of appearance of it, or even pretence to it; yea, while utterly disclaiming any such thing, and declaring against it. Yet he was one whose assurance we need not scruple to affirm, has as fair a claim and as just a pretension to truth and genuineness, as any that the pretenders to an immediate witness can produce. He was not only an instance of one who had such assurance in life, but had it in a constant manner in his last illness; and particularly in the latter stages of it, through those last months of his life wherein death was more sensibly approaching, without the least hope of life; and had it too in its fulness, and in the height of its exercise, under those repeated trials which he endured, when brought from time to time to the very brink of the grave, expecting in a few minutes to be in eternity. He "had the full assurance of hope unto the end." On the verge of eternity he declares his assurance to be such as perfectly secluded all fear; and not only so, but it manifestly filled his soul with exceeding joy. He declared at the same time, that this his consolation and good hope through grace arose wholly from the evidence he had of his good estate, by what he found of his sanctification, or the exercise of a holy heavenly temper of mind, and supreme love to God; and not in the least from any *immediate* witness by suggestion. Yea, he declares that at these very times he saw the awful delusion of that confidence which is built on such a foundation, as well as of the whole of that religion from which it usually springs, or at least is the attendant of, and that his soul abhorred those delusions. He continued in this mind, often expressing it with much solemnity, even till death.

Mr. Brainerd's religion was not *selfish* and *mercenary*. His love to God was primarily and principally for the supreme excellency of his *own nature*, and not built on a preconceived notion that God loved *him*, had received *him* into favour, and had done great things *for him*, or promised great things *to him*: so his joy was joy in God, and not in himself. We see by his Diary how from time to time, through the course of his life, his soul was filled with ineffable sweetness and comfort. But what was the spring of this strong and abiding consolation? Not so much the consideration of the sure grounds he had to think that his state was good, that God

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had delivered him from hell, and that heaven was *his*; or any thoughts concerning his own distinguished and exalted circumstances, as a high favourite of heaven: but the sweet meditations and entertaining views he had of divine things *without himself*; the affecting considerations and lively ideas of God's infinite glory, his unchangeable blessedness, his sovereignty and universal dominion; together with the exercises of love to God, giving himself up to him, abasing himself before him, denying himself for him, depending upon him, acting for his glory, diligently serving him; and the pleasing prospects or hopes he had of a future advancement of the kingdom of Christ.

It appears plainly all along, from his conversion to his death, that that beauty, that sort of good which was the great object of the new sense of his mind, the new relish and appetite given him in conversion, and thenceforward maintained and increased in his heart, was HOLINESS, conformity to God, living to God, and glorifying him. This was what drew his heart; this was the centre of his soul; this was the ocean to which all the streams of his religious affections tended; this was the object that engaged his eager thirsting desires and earnest pursuits. He knew no true excellency or happiness but this: this was what he longed for most vehemently and constantly on *earth*, and this was with him the beauty and blessedness of *heaven*. This made him so often long for that world of glory; it was to be perfectly holy, and perfectly exercised in the holy employments of heaven; thus to glorify God, and enjoy him for ever.

His religious illuminations, affections and comfort, seemed in a great degree to be attended with *evangelical humiliation*; consisting in a sense of his own utter insufficiency, despicableness and odiousness; with an answerable disposition and frame of heart. How deeply affected was he almost continually with his great defects in religion; with his vast distance from that spirituality and holy frame of mind which became him; with his ignorance, pride, deadness, unsteadiness, barrenness? He was not only affected with the remembrance of his former sinfulness, before his conversion, but with the sense of his present vileness and pollution. He was not only disposed to think meanly of himself as *before God*, and in comparison of him; but *amongst men*, and as

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compared with them. He was apt to think other saints better than he; yea, to look on himself as the meanest and least of saints; yea, very often, as the vilest and worst of mankind. And notwithstanding his great attainments in spiritual knowledge, yet we find there is scarce any thing that he is more frequently affected and abased with a sense of than his ignorance.

How eminently did he appear to be of a *meek* and *quiet* spirit, resembling the lamb-like, dove-like Spirit of Jesus Christ. How full of love, meekness, quietness, forgiveness and mercy! His love was not merely a fondness and zeal for a party, but a universal benevolence; very often exercised in the most sensible and ardent love to his greatest opposers and enemies. His love and meekness were not a mere pretence, and outward profession and shew; they were effectual things, manifested in expensive and painful deeds of love and kindness; and in a meek behaviour, readily confessing faults under the greatest trials, and humbling himself even at the feet of those from whom he supposed he had suffered most: and from time to time very frequently praying for his enemies, abhorring the thoughts of bitterness or resentment towards them. I scarcely know where to look for any parallel instance of self-denial in these respects, in the present age. He was a person of great zeal; but how did he abhor a bitter zeal, and lament it where he saw it! And though he was once drawn into some degrees of it, by the force of prevailing example, as it were in his childhood; yet how did he go about with a heart bruised and broken in pieces for it all his life after!

Of how *soft* and *tender* a spirit was he! How far were his experiences, hopes and joys, from a tendency finally to stupify and harden him, to lessen convictions and tenderness of conscience, to cause him to be less affected with present and past sins, and less conscientious with respect to future sins, more easy in the neglect of duties that are troublesome and inconvenient, more slow and partial in complying with difficult commands, less apt to be alarmed at the appearance of his own defects and transgressions, more easily induced to a compliance with carnal appetites. On the contrary, how tender was his conscience: how apt was his heart to smite him; how easily and greatly was he alarmed at the appearance of moral evil; how great and constant was his jealousy.

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over his own heart; how strict his care and watchfulness against sin; how deep and sensible were the wounds that sin made in his conscience! Those evils that are generally accounted small, were almost an insupportable burden to him; such as his inward deficiencies, his having no more love to God, finding within himself any slackness or dulness in religion, any unsteadiness or wandering frame of mind. How did the consideration of such things as these oppress and abase him, and fill him with inward shame and confusion. His love and hope, though they were such as cast out a servile fear of hell, yet they were such as were attended with, and abundantly cherished and promoted a reverential filial fear of God, a dread of sin and of God's holy displeasure. His joy seemed truly to be a rejoicing with trembling. His assurance and comfort differed greatly from a false enthusiastic confidence and joy, in that it promoted and maintained mourning for sin. Holy mourning was not only the work of an hour or a day, at his first conversion; but sorrow for sin was like a wound constantly running; he was a mourner for sin all his days. After he received comfort and full satisfaction of the forgiveness of all his sins, and the safety of his state, he did not forget his past sins, the sins of his youth, that were committed before his conversion; but the remembrance of them, from time to time, revived in his heart with renewed grief. That in Ezek. xvi. 63, was evidently fulfilled in him: "That thou mayst remember, and be confounded, and never open thy mouth any more, because of thy shame; when I am pacified toward thee for all that thou hast done." And how lastingly did the sins that he committed after his conversion, affect and break his heart. If he did any thing whereby he thought he had in any respect dishonoured God, and wounded the interest of religion, he had never done with calling it to mind with sorrow and bitterness; though he was assured that God had forgiven it, yet he never forgave himself. His past sorrows and fears made no satisfaction with him; but still the wound renews and bleeds afresh, again and again. And his present sins, that he daily found in himself were an occasion of daily sensible and deep sorrow of heart.

His religion did not consist in unaccountable *flights* and vehement *pangs*, suddenly rising and suddenly falling; sometimes exalted almost to the third heavens, and then at others

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negligent, vain, carnal, and swallowed up of the world for days and weeks if not months together. His religion was not like a blazing meteor, or like a flaming comet, (or a wandering star, as the apostle Jude calls it, ver. 13.) flying through the firmament with a bright train, and then quickly going out in perfect darkness; but more like the steady lights of heaven that are constant principles of light, though sometimes hid with clouds. Nor like a land-flood, which flows far and wide with a rapid stream, bearing down all before it, and then dried up; but more like a stream fed by living springs; which though sometimes increased by showers, and at other times diminished by drought, yet is a constant stream.

His religious affections and joys were not like those of some, who have rapture and mighty emotions from time to time in *company*, but have very little affection in *retirement* and secret places. Though he was of a very sociable temper, loved the company of saints, and delighted very much in religious conversation and in social worship; yet his warmest affections, and their greatest effects on animal nature, and his sweetest joys, were in his closet devotions and solitary transactions between God and his own soul; as is very observable through his whole course, from his conversion to his death. He delighted greatly in sacred retirement; and loved to get quite away from all the world, to converse with God alone in secret duties.

Mr. Brainerd's experiences and comforts were very far from being like those of some persons, which are attended with a spiritual *satiety*, and put an end to their religious desires and longings, at least to the edge and ardency of them; resting satisfied in their own attainments and comforts, as having obtained their chief end, which is to extinguish their fears of hell, and give them confidence of the favour of God. How far were his religious affections, refreshments and satisfactions, from such an operation and influence as this. On the contrary, how were they always attended with longings and thirstings after greater degrees of *conformity* to God. The greater his comforts were, the more vehement were his desires after *holiness*. For it is to be observed, that his longings were not so much after joyful discoveries of God's love, and clear views of his title to future advancement and eternal honours in heaven; as after more of present

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holiness, greater spirituality, a heart more engaged for God, to love and exalt and depend on him; an ability better to serve him, to do more for his glory, and to do all that he did with more of a regard to Christ as his righteousness and strength; and after the enlargement and advancement of Christ's kingdom in the earth. And his desires were not idle wishings and wouldings, but such as were powerful and effectual, to animate him to the earnest eager pursuit of these things, with the utmost diligence, unfainting labour and self-denial. His comforts never put an end to his seeking after God, and striving to obtain his grace; but on the contrary, greatly engaged and enlarged him therein.

His religion did not consist only in *experience*, without *practice*. All his inward illuminations, affections and comforts, seemed to have a direct tendency to practice, and to issue in it: and this, not merely a practice *negatively* good, free from gross acts of irreligion and immorality; but a practice *positively* holy and Christian, in a serious, devout, humble, meek, merciful, charitable, and beneficent conversation; making the service of God and our Lord Jesus Christ the great business of life, which he pursued with the greatest earnestness and diligence to the end of his days, through all trials. In him was to be seen the right way of being *lively in religion*. His liveliness did not consist merely or mainly in his being lively with the *tongue*, but in *deed*; not in being forward in profession and outward shew, and abundant in declaring his own experiences; but chiefly in being active and abundant in the labours and duties of religion; "not slothful in business, but fervent in spirit, serving the Lord; and serving his generation according to the will of God."

By these things many high pretenders to religion, and professors of extraordinary spiritual experience, may be sensible that Mr. Brainerd did greatly condemn *their* kind of religion; and that not only in word, but by example, both living and dying. The whole series of his Christian experience and practice, from his conversion to his death, was a constant condemnation of it.

It cannot be objected, that the reason why he so much disliked the religion of these pretenders, and why his own so much differed from it, was, that his experiences were not "clear." There is no room to say they were otherwise, in

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any respect in which clearness of experience has been wont to be insisted on; whether it be the clearness of their nature or of their order, and the method his soul was at first brought to rest and comfort in his conversion. I am far from thinking (and so was he) that clearness in the *order* of experiences is, in any measure, of equal importance with the clearness of their *nature*. I have sufficiently declared in my discourse on *Religious Affections*, (which he expressly approved of and recommended,) that I do not suppose a sensible distinctness of the steps of the Spirit's operation and method of successive convictions and illuminations, is a necessary requisite to persons being received in full charity as true saints; provided the *nature* of the things they profess be right, and their practice agreeable. Nevertheless, it is observable, (which cuts off all objection from such as would be most unreasonably disposed to object and cavil in the present case,) so it was, that Mr. Brainerd's experiences were not only clear in the latter respect, but remarkably so in the former: so that there is not perhaps one instance in five hundred true converts, that on this account can be paralleled with him.

It cannot be pretended, that the reason why he so much abhorred and condemned the notions and experiences of those whose *first faith* consists in believing that Christ *is theirs*, and that Christ *died for them*; without any previous experience of union of heart to him for his own excellency, and not for his supposed love to them; and who judge of their interest in Christ, their justification, and God's love to them, not by their sanctification and the exercises and fruits of grace, but by a supposed *immediate* witness of the Spirit by inward suggestion. I say it cannot be pretended, that the reason why he so much detested and condemned such opinions and experiences was, that he was of too *legal* a spirit; either that he never was dead to the law, never experienced a thorough work of conviction, was never fully brought off from his own righteousness, and weaned from the old covenant, by a thorough legal humiliation; or that afterwards, he had no great degree of evangelical humiliation, not living in a deep sense of his own emptiness, wretchedness, poverty, and absolute dependance on the mere grace of God through Christ. For his convictions of sin, preceding his first consolations in Christ, were exceeding

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deep and thorough; his trouble and exercise of mind, by a sense of sin and misery, very great and long continued. The light let into his mind at his conversion, and in progressive sanctification, appears to have had its genuine humbling influence upon him, to have kept him low in his own eyes, not confiding in himself, but in Christ, "living by the faith of the Son of God, and looking for the mercy of the Lord Jesus to eternal life."

Nor can it be pretended, that the reason why he condemned these and other things, which this sort of people call the very height of vital religion and the power of godliness, was, that he was a "dead Christian," and lived "in the dark," (as they express themselves;) that his experiences, though they might be true, were not great; that he did not live near to God, had but a small acquaintance with him, and had but a dim sight of spiritual things. If any, after they have read the preceding account of Mr. Brainerd's life, will venture to pretend this, they will only shew that *they themselves* are in the *dark*, and do indeed "put darkness for light, and light for darkness."

It is common with this sort of people, if there is any one whom they cannot deny to exhibit good evidences of true godliness, who yet appears to dislike their notions, and condemn those things wherein they place the height of religion, to insinuate, that "they are afraid of the cross," and have a mind "to curry favour with the world," and the like. But I presume this will not be pretended concerning Mr. Brainerd, by any one person that has read the preceding account of his life. It must needs appear a thing notorious to such, that he was an extraordinary, and almost unparalleled instance (in these times and these parts of the world) of the contrary disposition; and that, whether we consider what he has recorded of his inward experience, from time to time; or his practise, how he in fact took up and embraced the cross, and bore it constantly, in his great self denials, labours and sufferings for the name of Jesus, and went on without fainting, without repenting or repining, to his dying illness; how he did not only from time to time relinquish and renounce the world secretly in his heart, with the full and fervent consent of all the powers of his soul; but openly and actually forsook the world, with its possessions, delights and common comforts, to dwell as it were with wild beasts in a howling

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wilderness; with constant cheerfulness complying with the numerous hardships of a life of toil and travel there, to promote the kingdom of his dear Redeemer. And besides, it appears by the preceding history, that he never did more condemn the things forementioned, never had a greater sense of their delusion, pernicious nature and ill tendency, and never was more full of pity to those that are led away with them, than in his last illness, and at times when he had the nearest prospect of death, supposed himself to be on the very brink of eternity, and looked on all this lower world as what he never should have any thing more to do with. Surely he did not condemn those things at these seasons, only to "curry favour with the world."

Besides what has been already related of Mr. Brainerd's sentiments in his dying state concerning true and false religion, we have his deliberate and solemn thoughts on this subject, further appearing by his *Preface* to Mr. Shepard's Diary before mentioned; which, when he wrote it, he supposed to be (as it proved) one of the *last* things he should ever write. I shall here insert a part of that Preface as follows.

"How much stress is laid by many upon some things as being effects and evidences of exalted degrees of religion, when they are so far from being of any importance in it, that they are really irreligious, a mixture of self-love, imagination and spiritual pride, or perhaps the influence of Satan transformed into an angel of light. How much stress is laid on these things by many, I shall not determine: but it is much to be feared, that while God was carrying on a glorious work of grace, and undoubtedly gathering a harvest of souls to himself, (which we should always remember with thankfulness) numbers of others have at the same time been fatally deluded by the devices of the devil, and their own corrupt hearts. It is to be feared that the conversions of some have no better foundation than this; viz. that after they have been under some concern for their souls for awhile, and it may be, manifested some very great and uncommon distress and agonies, they have on a sudden imagined they saw Christ, in some posture or other, perhaps on the cross, bleeding and dying for their sins; or it may be, smiling on them, and thereby signifying his love to them: and that these and the like things, though mere imaginations, which have nothing

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spiritual in them, have instantly removed all their fears and distresses, filled them with raptures of joy, and made them imagine that they loved Christ with all their hearts; when the bottom of all was nothing but *self-love*. For when they imagined that Christ had been so good to them as to save them, and as it were to single them out of all the world, they could not but feel some kind of natural gratitude to him; although they never had any spiritual view of his divine glory, excellency and beauty, and consequently never had any love to him for himself. Or that instead of having some such imaginary view of Christ as has been mentioned, in order to remove their distress and give them joy, some having had a passage or perhaps many passages of scripture brought to their minds "with power," as they express it, they have immediately applied these passages to *themselves*, supposing that God hereby manifested his peculiar favour to *them*, as if mentioned by name: never considering, that they are now giving heed to new revelations, their being no such thing revealed in the word of God as that *this* or *that* particular person has or ever shall have his sins forgiven; nor yet remembering that Satan can, with a great deal of seeming pertinency, (and perhaps also with considerable power) bring scripture to the minds of men as he did to Christ himself. Thus they rejoice in having some scripture suddenly suggested to them, or impressed upon their minds, supposing they are now the children of God, just as did the other upon their imaginary views of Christ. And it is said that some speak of seeing a great *light* which filled all the place where they were, and dispelled all their darkness, fears and distresses, and almost ravished their souls. While others have had it warmly suggested to their minds, not by any passage of scripture, but as it were by a *whisper* or voice from heaven, "That God loves them, that Christ is theirs," &c. which groundless imaginations and suggestions of Satan have had the same effect upon them, that the delusions before mentioned had on the others.——And as is the conversion of this sort of persons, so are their *after-experiences;* the whole being built upon imagination, strong impresions, and sudden suggestions made to their minds; whence they are usually very confident (as if immediately informed from God) not only of the goodness of their own state, but of their infallible knowledge and absolute certainty of the truth of every

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thing they pretend to under the notion of religion; and thus all reasoning with some of them is utterly excluded.

"But it is remarkable of these, that they are extremely deficient in regard of true poverty of spirit, a sense of exceeding vileness in themselves, such as frequently makes truly gracious souls to "*groan, being burdened;*" as also in regard of meekness, love and gentleness towards mankind, and tenderness of conscience in their ordinary affairs and dealings in the world. It is also rare to see them deeply concerned about the principles and ends of their actions, and apprehensive lest they should not eye the glory of God chiefly, but live to themselves. This at least is the case in their ordinary conduct, whether civil or religious. But if any one of their particular *notions*, which their zeal has espoused, be attacked, they are then so conscientious that they must *burn*, if called to it, for the defence of it. Yet while they are so extremely deficient in regard of those divine tempers which have been mentioned, they are usually full of zeal, concern and fervency in the things of religion, and often discourse of them with much warmth and earnestness: and to those who do not know or do not consider wherein the essence of true religion consists, viz. in being *conformed to the image of Christ*, not in point of zeal and fervency only, but in all divine tempers and practises; I say, to those who do not duly observe and distinguish, they often appear like the best of men."

It is common with this sort of people to say, that "God is amongst them, his Spirit accompanies their exhortations and other administrations, and they are sealed by the Holy Ghost," in the remarkable success they have, in the great affections that are stirred up in God's people, &c. They are equally disposed on the contrary to insinuate, that "he is not with their opponents;" and particularly, "that God has forsaken the standing ministry; and that the time is come when it is the will of God that they should be put down, and that God's people should forsake them; and that no more success is to be expected to attend their administrations." —But where can they find an instance, among all their most flaming exhorters, who has been sealed with so incontestible and wonderful success of his labours as Mr. BRAINERD, not only in quickening and comforting God's children, but also in a work of conviction and conversion, (which they own has

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in a great measure ceased for a long time among themselves,) with a most visible and astonishing manifestation of God's power on subjects so unprepared, and who had been brought up and lived, some of them to old age, in the deepest prejudices against the very first principles of Christianity; the divine power accompanying his labours, producing the most remarkable and abiding change, turning the wilderness into a fruitful field, and causing that which was a desart indeed to bud and blossom as the rose? And this although he was not only one of their greatest opponents in their errors; but also one of those they call the standing ministry; first examined and licensed to preach by such ministers, and sent forth among the Heathen by such ministers; and afterwards ordained by such ministers; always directed by them and united with them in their consistories and administrations; and even abhorring the practice of those who give out that they ought to be renounced and separated from, and that teachers may be ordained by laymen.

It cannot be pretended by these persons that Mr. Brainerd condemned their religion, only because he was *not acquainted with them*, and had not opportunity for full observation of the nature, operation and tendency of their experiences: for he had abundant and peculiar opportunities of such observation and acquaintance. He lived through the late extraordinary time of religious commotion, and saw the beginning and end, the good and the bad of it. He had opportunity to see the various operations and effects that were wrought in this season, more extensively than any person I know of. His native place was about the middle of Connecticut, and he was much conversant in all parts of that colony. He was conversant in the eastern parts of it, after the religion which he condemned had began to prevail there. He was conversant with the zealous people on Long-Island, from one end of the island to the other; and also in New-Jersey and Pensylvania, with people of various nations. He had some special opportunities in some places in this province, (Massachusets Bay,) where there has been much of this sort of religion, and at a time when it greatly prevailed. He had conversed and disputed with abundance of this kind of people in various parts, as he told me; and also that he had seen something of the same appearances in some of the Indians to whom he preached,

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and had opportunity to see the beginning and end of them. Besides, Mr. Brainerd could speak more feelingly and understandingly concerning these things, because there was once a time when he was drawn away into an esteem of them, and for a short season had united himself to this kind of people, and partook in some respects of their spirit and behaviour.

But I proceed to another observation on the foregoing memoirs.

II. This history of Mr. Brainerd's may help us to make distinctions among the high religious affections, and remarkable impressions made on the minds of persons, *in a time of great awakening and revival of religion;* and may convince us that there are not only distinctions in theory, invented to save the credit of pretended revivals of religion, and what is called the experience of the operations of the Spirit; but distinctions that do actually take place in the course of events, and have a real and evident foundation in fact.

Many do and will confound things, blend all together, and say, "It is all alike; it is all of the same sort." So there are many that say concerning the religion most generally prevailing among the Separatists, and the affections they manifest, "It is the same that was all over the land seven years ago." And some that have read Mr. Brainerd's Journal, giving an account of the extraordinary things that have come to pass among the Indians in New-Jersey, say, "It is evidently the same thing that appeared in many places amongst the English, which has now proved naught, and come to that which is worse than nothing." And all the reason they have thus to determine all to be the *same work,* and the *same spirit,* is, that the one manifested high affections, and so do the other; the great affections of the one had some influence on their bodies, and so have the other; the one use the terms "conviction, conversion, humiliation, coming to Christ, discoveries, experiences," &c. and so do the other; the impressions on the one are attended with a great deal of zeal, and so it is with the other; the affections of the one dispose them to speak much about things of religion, and so do the other; the one delight much in religious meetings, and so do the other.——The agreement that appears in these and such like things, make them

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conclude that surely all is alike, all is the same work. Whereas, on a closer inspection and critical examination, it would appear, that notwithstanding an agreement in such circumstances, yet indeed there is a vast difference, both in *essence* and *fruits*. A considerable part of the religious operations that were six or seven years ago, especially towards the latter part of that extraordinary season, was doubtless of the same sort with the religion of the Separatists, but not all. There were many whose experiences were, like Mr. Brainerd's, in a judgment of charity, genuine and incontestable.

Not only do the opposers of all religion consisting in powerful operations and affections, thus confound things; but many of the pretenders to such religion do so. They that have been the subjects of some sort of vehement, but vain operations on their mind, when they hear the relation of the experiences of some real and eminent Christians, they say, their experiences are of the same sort: so they say, they are just like the experiences of eminent Christians in former times, which we have printed accounts of. So, I doubt not, but there are many deluded people, if they should read the preceding account of Mr. Brainerd's life, who reading without much understanding or careful observation, would say, without hesitation, that some things which they have met with are of the very same kind with what he expresses; when the agreement is only in some general circumstances, or some particular things that are superficial, and belonging as it were to the profession and outside of religion; but the inward temper of mind, and the fruits in practice, are as opposite and distant as east and west.

Many honest good people also, and true Christians, do not very well know how to make a difference. The glittering appearance and glaring show of false religion dazzles their eyes; and they sometimes are so deluded by it, that they look on some of these impressions, which hypocrites tell of, as the brightest experiences. And though they have experienced no such things themselves, they think it is because they are vastly lower in attainments, and but babes in comparison of these flaming Christians. Yea, sometimes from their differing so much from those who make so great a show, they doubt whether they have any grace at all. And it is a hard thing to bring many well-meaning people to

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make proper distinctions in this case; and especially to maintain and stand by them, through a certain weakness they unhappily labour under, whereby they are liable to be overcome with the glare of outward appearances. Thus, if in a sedate hour they are by reasoning brought to allow such and such distinctions, yet the next time they come in the way of the great show of false religion, the dazzling appearance swallows them up, and they are carried away. Thus the devil by his cunning artifices, easily dazzles the feeble sight of men, and puts them beyond the capacity of a proper exercise of consideration, or hearkening to the dictates of calm thought and cool understanding. When they perceive the great affection, earnest talk, strong voice, assured looks, vast confidence, and bold assertions, of these empty assuming pretenders, they are overborne, lose the possession of their judgment, and say, "Surely these men are in the right, God is with them of a truth:" and so they are carried away, not with light and reason, but like children, as it were with a strong wind.

This confounding all things together which have a fair shew, is but acting the part of a child, that going into a shop, where a variety of wares are exposed to sale, (all of a shining appearance; some vessels of gold and silver, and some diamonds and other precious stones; and other things that are toys of little value, which are of some base metal gilt, or glass polished, and painted with curious colours, or cut like diamonds,) should esteem all alike, and give as great a price for the vile as for the precious: or it is like the conduct of some unskilful rash person, who finding himself deceived by some of the wares he had bought at that shop, should at once conclude, all he there saw was of no value; and pursuant to such a conclusion, when afterwards he has true gold and diamonds offered him, enough to enrich him and enable him to live like a prince all his days, he should throw it all into the sea.

But we *must* get into another way. The want of distinguishing in things that appertain to experimental religion, is one of the chief miseries of the professing world. It is attended with many dismal consequences: multitudes of souls are fatally deluded about themselves, and their own state, and so are eternally undone. Hypocrites are confirmed in their delusions, and exceedingly puffed up with

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pride; many sincere Christians are dreadfully perplexed, darkened, tempted, and drawn aside from the way of duty; and sometimes sadly tainted with false religion, to the great dishonour of Christianity and hurt of their own souls. Some of the most dangerous and pernicious enemies of religion in the world, though called bright Christians, are encouraged and honoured, who ought to be discountenanced and shunned by every body; and prejudices are begotten and confirmed in vast multitudes, against every thing wherein the power and essence of godliness consists; and in the end Deism and Atheism are promoted.

III. The foregoing account of Mr. Brainerd's life may afford matter of conviction, that there is indeed such a thing as true *experimental religion*, arising from immediate divine influences, supernaturally enlightening and convincing the mind, and powerfully impressing, quickening, sanctifying, and governing the heart; which religion is indeed an amiable thing, of happy tendency, and of no hurtful consequence to human society; notwithstanding there having been so many pretences and appearances of what is called experimental vital religion, that have proved to be nothing but vain, pernicious enthusiasm.

If any insist that Mr. Brainerd's religion was *enthusiasm*, and nothing but a strange heat and blind fervour of mind, arising from the strong fancies and dreams of a notional whimsical brain; I would ask, if it be so, that such things as these are the fruits of enthusiasm, viz. a great degree of honesty and simplicity, sincere and earnest desires and endeavours to know and do whatever is right, and to avoid every thing that is wrong; a high degree of love to God, delight in the perfections of his nature, placing the happiness of life in him; not only in contemplating him, but in being active in pleasing, and serving him; a firm and undoubting belief in the Messiah, as the Saviour of the world, the great Prophet of God, and King of God's church; together with great love to him, delight and complacence in the way of salvation by him, and longing for the enlargement of his kingdom; earnest desires that God may be glorified and the Messiah's kingdom advanced, whatever instruments are made use of; uncommon resignation to the will of God, and that under vast trials; great and universal

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benevolence to mankind, reaching all sorts of persons without distinction, manifested in sweetness of speech and behaviour, kind treatment, mercy, liberality, and earnest seeking the good of the souls and bodies of men; attended with extraordinary humility, meekness, forgiveness of injuries, and love to enemies; and a great abhorrence of a contrary spirit and practice; not only as appearing in others but wherein-soever it had appeared in himself; causing the most bitter repentance, and brokenness of heart on account of any past instances of such a conduct; a modest, discreet, and decent deportment, among superiors, inferiors, and equals; a most diligent improvement of time, and earnest care to lose no part of it; great watchfulness against all sorts of sin, of heart, speech, and action: and this example and these endeavours attended with most happy fruits, and blessed effects on others, in humanizing, civilizing, and wonderfully reforming and transforming some of the most brutish savages; idle, immoral, drunkards, murderers, gross idolaters, and wizards; bringing them to permanent sobriety, diligence, devotion, honesty, conscientiousness, and charity: and the foregoing amiable virtues and successful labours all ending at last in a marvellous peace, unmoveable stability, calmness, and resignation, in the sensible approaches of death, with longing for the heavenly state; not only for the honours and circumstantial advantages of it, but above all for the moral perfection and holy and blessed employments of it; and these things in a person indisputably of good understanding and judgment: I say, if all these things are the fruits of *enthusiasm*, why should not *enthusiasm* be thought a desirable and excellent thing? for what can true religion, what can the best philosophy do more? If vapours and whimsy will bring men to the most thorough virtue, to the most benign and fruitful morality; and will maintain it through a course of life (attended with many trials) without affectation or self-exaltation, and with an earnest constant bearing testimony against the wildness, the extravagances, the bitter zeal, assuming behaviour, and separating spirit of enthusiasts; and will do all this more effectually, than any thing else has ever done in any plain known instance that can be produced; if it be so, I say, what cause then has the world to prize and pray for this blessed whimsicalness, and these benign sort of vapours?

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It would perhaps be a prejudice with some against the whole of Mr. Brainerd's religion, if it had begun in the time of the *late religious commotion*; being ready to conclude, however unreasonably, that nothing good could take its rise from those times. But it was not so; his conversion was *before* those times, in a time of general deadness, (as has been before observed;) and therefore at a season when it was impossible that he should receive a taint from any corrupt notions, examples, or customs, that had birth in those times.

And whereas there are many who are not professed opposers of what is called *experimental religion*, who yet doubt of the reality of it, from the bad lives of some professors; and are ready to determine that there is nothing in all the talk about being born again, being emptied of self, brought to a saving close with Christ, &c. because many that pretend to these things, and are thought by others to have been the subjects of them, manifest no abiding alteration in their moral disposition and behaviour; are as careless, carnal and covetous as ever; yea, some much worse than ever: it is to be acknowledged and lamented, that this is the case with some; but by the preceding account they may be sensible, that it is not so with all. There are some indisputable instances of such a change as the scripture speaks of; an abiding great change, a "renovation of the spirit of the mind," and a "walking in newness of life." In the foregoing instance particularly, they may see the abiding influence of such a work of conversion, as they have heard of from the word of God: the fruits of such experiences through a course of years; under a great variety of circumstances, many changes of state, place, and company; and may see the blessed issue and event of it in life and death.

IV. The preceding history serves to confirm those doctrines usually called *the doctrines of grace*. For if it be allowed that there is truth, substance, or value in the main of Mr. Brainerd's religion, it will undoubtedly follow that those doctrines are divine: since it is evident that the whole of it, from beginning to end, is according to that scheme of things; all built on those apprehensions, notions and views, that are produced and established in the mind by those doctrines. He

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was brought by doctrines of this kind to his awakening, and deep concern about things of a spiritual and eternal nature; and by these doctrines his convictions were maintained and carried on; and his conversion was evidently altogether agreeable to this scheme, but by no means agreeing with the contrary, and utterly inconsistent with the Arminian notion of conversion or repentance. His conversion was plainly founded in a clear strong conviction, and undoubting persuasion of the truth of those things appertaining to these doctrines, which Arminians most object against, and which his own mind had contended most about. And his conversion was no confirming and perfecting of moral principles and habits, by use and practice, and his own labour in an industrious discipling himself, together with the concurring suggestions and conspiring aids of God's Spirit; but entirely a supernatural work, at once turning him from darkness to marvellous light, and from the power of sin to the dominion of divine and holy principles; an effect, in no respect produced by *his* strength or labour, or obtained by *his* virtue; and not accomplished till he was first brought to a full conviction, that all his own virtue, strength, labours and endeavours, could never avail any thing to the producing or procuring this effect.

A very little while before, his mind was full of the same cavils against the doctrines of God's sovereign grace, which are made by Arminians, and his heart full even of a raging opposition to them. And God was pleased to perform this good work in him just after a full end had been put to this cavilling and opposition; after he was entirely convinced that he was dead in sin, and was in the hands of God as the absolutely sovereign, unobliged, sole disposer and author of true holiness. God's shewing him mercy at such a time is a confirmation, that this was a preparation for mercy; and consequently that these things which he was convinced of were true. While he opposed these things, he was the subject of no such mercy; though he so earnestly sought it, and prayed for it with so much painfulness, care and strictness in religion: but when once his opposition is fully subdued, and he is brought to submit to the truths which he before had opposed, with full conviction, then the mercy he sought for is granted, with abundant light, great evidence and exceeding joy; and he reaps the fruit of it all his life after, and in the valley of the shadow of death.

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In his conversion, he was brought to see the glory of that way of salvation by Christ that is taught in what are called the *doctrines of grace;* and thenceforward, with unspeakable joy and complacence, to embrace and acquiesce in that way of salvation. He was in his conversion, in all respects, brought to those views and that state of mind, which these doctrines shew to be necessary. And if his conversion was any real conversion, or any thing besides a mere whim, and if the religion of his life was any thing else but a series of freaks of a whimsical mind, then this one grand principle, on which depends the whole difference between Calvinists and Arminians, is undeniable; viz. that the grace or virtue of truly good men, not only differs from the virtue of others in *degree*, but even in *nature* and *kind*. If ever Mr. Brainerd was truly turned from sin to God at all, or ever became truly religious, none can reasonably doubt but that his conversion was at the time when he supposed it to be. The change he then experienced was evidently the greatest moral change that ever he passed under; and he was then apparently first brought to that kind of religion, that remarkable new habit and temper of mind, which he held all his life after. The narration shews it to be different, in nature and kind, from all that ever he was the subject of before. It was evidently wrought at once without fitting and preparing his mind, by gradually convincing it more and more of the same truths, and bringing it nearer and nearer to such a temper: for it was soon after his mind had been remarkably full of blasphemy, and a vehement exercise of sensible enmity against God, and great opposition to those truths which he was now brought with his whole soul to embrace and rest in, as divine and glorious, and to place his happiness in the contemplation and improvement of them. And he himself (who was surely best able to judge) declares, that the dispositions and affections which were then given him, and thenceforward maintained in him, were most sensibly and certainly, perfectly different in their *nature*, from all that ever he was the subject of before, or that he ever had any conception of. This is what he constantly affirmed, even to his death. He must certainly be considered as capable of judging; he had opportunity to know; he had practised a great deal of religion before, was exceeding strict and conscientious, and had continued so for a long time; had various religious affections

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with which he often flattered himself, and sometimes pleased himself as being now in a good estate; and after he had those new experiences that began in his conversion, they were continued to the end of his life; long enough for him thoroughly to observe their nature, and compare them with what had been before. Doubtless he was *compos mentis;* and was at least one of so good an understanding and judgment, as to be pretty well capable of discerning and comparing the things that passed in his own mind.

It is further observable, that his religion all along operated in such a manner as tended to confirm him in the doctrines of God's absolute sovereignty, man's universal and entire dependence on God's power and grace, *&c.* The more his religion prevailed in his heart, the fuller he was of divine love and of clear and delightful views of spiritual things, and the more his heart was engaged in God's service; the more sensible he was of the certainty, excellency and importance of these truths, and the more he was affected with them and rejoiced in them. And he declares particularly, that when he lay for a long while on the verge of the eternal world, often expecting to enter upon it in a few minutes, yet at the same time enjoying great serenity and clearness of thought, and being most apparently in a peculiar manner at a distance from an enthusiastical frame, he " at that time saw clearly the truth of those great doctrines of the gospel, which are justly stiled *the doctrines of grace,* and never felt himself so capable of demonstrating the truth of them."

So that it is very evident, Mr. Brainerd's religion was wholly correspondent to what is called the *Calvinistical scheme,* and was the effect of those doctrines applied to his heart; and certainly it cannot be denied that the effect was good, unless we turn Atheists or Deists.——I would ask, whether there be any such thing in reality as *Christian devotion?* If there be, what is it; what is its nature, and what its just measure? should it not be in a great degree? We read abundantly in scripture, of " loving God with all the heart, with all the soul, with all the mind, and with all the strength; of delighting in God, rejoicing in the Lord, rejoicing with joy unspeakable and full of glory; the soul's magnifying the Lord, thirsting for God, hungering and thirsting after righteousness; the soul's breaking for the longing it hath to God's judgments, praying to God with

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groanings that cannot be uttered, mourning for sin with a broken heart and contrite spirit," *&c.* How full is the book of Psalms, and other parts of scripture, of such things as these! Now wherein do these things, as expressed by and appearing in Mr. Brainerd, either the things themselves or their effects and fruits, differ from the scripture representations? These things he was brought to by that strange and wonderful transformation of the man, which he called his conversion. And do not this well agree with what is so often said in the Old and New Testament, concerning the "giving of a new heart, creating a right spirit, a being renewed in the spirit of the mind, being sanctified throughout, and becoming a new creature?"

Here also is worthy to be considered, not only the effect of Calvinistic doctrines (as they are called) on Mr. Brainerd himself, but also the effect of the same doctrines, as taught and inculcated by him, on *others*. It is abundantly pretended and asserted of late, that these doctrines tend to undermine the very foundations of all religion and morality, and to enervate and vacate all reasonable motives to the exercise and practice of them, and lay invincible stumbling-blocks before Infidels, to hinder their embracing Christianity; and that the contrary doctrines are the fruitful principles of virtue and goodness, set religion on its right basis, represent it in an amiable light, give its motives their full force, and recommend it to the reason and common sense of mankind.—But where can they find an instance of so great and signal an effect of their doctrines, in bringing Infidels, who were at such a distance from all that is civil, human, sober, rational, and Christian, and so full of inveterate prejudices against these things, to such a degree of humanity, civility, exercise of reason, self-denial and Christian virtue? Let those who place religion in *morality*, bring an instance of their doctrines producing such a transformation of a people in point of *morality*. It is strange, if the allwise God so orders things in his providence, that reasonable and proper *means*, and those which he himself has appointed, should in no known remarkable instance be instrumental to produce so good an effect; an effect so agreeable to his own word, and that very effect for which he appointed these excellent means; that they should not be so successful as those means which are *not* his own, but contrary to them and of an

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opposite tendency; means that are in themselves very absurd, and tend to root all religion and virtue out of the world, to promote and establish infidelity, and to lay an insuperable stumbling block before Pagans, to hinder their embracing the gospel. I say, if this be the true state of the case, it is certainly pretty wonderful, and an event worthy of some attention.

I know that many will be ready to say, "It is too soon yet to glory in the work that has been wrought among Mr. Brainerd's Indians; it is best to wait and see the final event; it may be, all will come to nothing by and by." To which I answer, (not to insist that it will not follow, according to Arminian principles, they are not now true Christians, really pious and godly, though they *should* fall away and come to nothing,) that I never supposed every one of those Indians, who in profession renounced their Heathenism and visibly embraced Christianity, and have had some appearance of piety, will finally prove true converts. If two thirds, or indeed one half of them (as great a proportion as there is in the parable of the *ten virgins*) should persevere; it will be sufficient to shew the work wrought among them, to have been truly admirable and glorious. But so much of permanence has already appeared in their religion, as shews it to be something more than an Indian humour or good mood, or any transient effect in the conceits, notions and affections of these ignorant people, excited by artful management. For it is now more than *three years* ago since this work began, and a remarkable change appeared in many of them. The number of visible converts has also greatly increased: and by repeated accounts from several hands, they still generally persevere in diligent religion and strict virtue. I think worthy to be here inserted, a *letter* from a young gentleman, a candidate for the ministsy, one of those before mentioned, appointed by the honourable commissioners in Boston, as missionaries to the Heathen of the Six Nations so called; who dwelt with Mr. John Brainerd among these Christian Indians, in order to their being prepared for the business of their mission. The letter was written from thence, to his parents here in Northampton, and is as follows.

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Bethel, in New-Jersey, Jan. 14. 1747-8.

AFTER a long and uncomfortable journey, by reason of bad weather, I arrived at Mr. Brainerd's, the 6th of this instant, where I design to stay this winter; and on many accounts I feel well satisfied with my coming hither. The state and circumstances of the Indians, spiritual and temporal, much exceed what I expected. I have endeavoured to acquaint myself with the state of the Indians in general, with particular persons, and with the school, as much as the short time I have been here would admit of. And notwithstanding my expectations were very much raised, from Mr. David Brainerd's Journal, and from particular informations from him; yet I must confess that in many respects they are not equal to that which now appears to me to be true, concerning the glorious work of divine grace amongst the Indians.

The evening after I came to town, I had opportunity to see the Indians together, whilst the Rev. Mr. Arthur preached to them. There was a very general and uncommon seriousness and solemnity in the congregation, which appeared to be the effect of an inward sense of the importance of divine truths, and not because they were hearing a stranger. This was abundantly confirmed to me the next Sabbath, when there was the same devout attendance on divine service, and a surprising solemnity appearing in the performance of each part of divine worship. Some, who are hopefully true Christians, seemed at that time much enlivened and comforted; not from any observable commotions then, but from conversation afterwards: and others seemed to be under deep concern about their souls. I have endeavoured to acquaint myself with individuals, many of whom seem to be very humble and growing Christians; although some of them, as I am informed, were before their conversion most monstrously wicked.

Religious conversation is very pleasing and delightful to many, and especially that which relates to the exercises of the heart. Many here seem to be not only real Christians, but growing Christians, as well in doctrinal as experimental knowledge. Besides my conversation with particular persons, I have had opportunity to attend upon one of Mr.

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Brainerd's catechetical lectures; when I was surprised at their readiness in answering questions which they had not been used to, although Mr. Brainerd complained of their uncommon deficiency. It is surprising to see these people who not long since were led captive by Satan at his will, and living in the practice of all manner of abominations, without the least sense even of moral honesty, now living soberly and regularly, and not seeking every man his own, but every man in some sense his neighbour's good; and to see those who but a little while past knew nothing of the true God, now worshipping him in a solemn and devout manner; not only in public, but in their families and in secret; which is manifestly the case, it being a difficult thing to walk out in the woods in the morning, without disturbing persons at their secret devotion. And it seems wonderful that this should be the case, not only with adult persons, but with children also, many of whom retire into secret places to pray. And as far as I can judge at present, this is not the effect of custom and fashion, but of real seriousness and thoughtfulness about their souls.

I have frequently gone into the school, and spent considerable time there amongst the children; and have been surprised to see, not only their diligent attendance upon the business of the school, but also the proficiency they have made in reading and writing, and in their catechisms. It seems to be as pleasing and as natural to these children, to have their books in their hands, as it does for many others to be at play. I have gone into a house where there has been a number of children accidentally gathered together, and observed that every one had his book in his hand, and was diligently studying it. About thirty of these children can answer to all the questions in the Assembly's catechism, and the greater part of them are able to do it with the proofs, to the fourth commandment. Oh that what God has done here, may prove to be the beginning of a far more glorious and extensive work of grace among the Heathen!

JOB STRONG.

V. Is there not much in the preceding memoirs of Mr. Brainerd to teach and excite to duty, those who are called to the work of the Ministry, and all that are candidates for

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that great work? What a deep sense did he seem to have of the greatness and importance of that work, and with what weight did it lie on his mind. How sensible was he of his own insufficiency, how great his dependence upon God, and how solicitous that he might be fitted for it! To this end, how much time did he spend in prayer and fasting, as well as in reading and meditation; "giving himself to these things." How did he dedicate his whole life, all his powers and talents to God; and forsake and renounce the world, with all its pleasing and ensnaring enjoyments, that he might be wholly at liberty to serve Christ, and to "please him who had chosen him to be a soldier, under the Captain of our salvation!" With what solicitude, solemnity and diligence did he devote himself to God our Saviour, and seek his presence and blessing in secret, at the time of his *ordination;* and how did his whole heart appear to be constantly engaged, his whole time employed, and his whole strength spent in the business he then solemnly undertook.

His history also shews the right way to *success* in the work of the ministry. He sought it as a resolute soldier seeks victory, in a siege or battle; or as a man that runs a race for a great prize. Animated with love to Christ and souls, how did he labour always fervently, not only in word and doctrine, in public and private, but in *prayers* day and night, "wrestling with God" in secret, and "travailing in birth," with unutterable groans and agonies, "until Christ were formed" in the hearts of the people to whom he was sent! How did he thirst for a blessing on his ministry; "and watch for souls as one that must give account!" How did he "go forth in the strength of the Lord God;" seeking and depending on the special influence of the Spirit to assist and succeed him. And what was the happy fruit at last, after long waiting and many dark and discouraging appearances: like a true son of Jacob he persevered in wrestling through all the darkness of the night, until the breaking of the day.

His example of labouring, praying, denying himself, and enduring hardness, with unfainting resolution and patience, and his faithful, vigilant, and prudent conduct in many other respects, (which it would be too long now particularly to recite,) may afford instruction to *missionaries* in particular.

VI. The foregoing account of Mr. Brainerd's life may

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afford instruction to *Christians in general*; as it shews in many respects the right way of *practising* religion, in order to obtaining the *ends* and receiving the *benefits* of it. Here we may see how Christians should "run the race set before them," if they would not "run in vain, or run uncertainly," but would honour God in the world, adorn their profession, be serviceable to mankind, have the comforts of religion while they live, be free from disquieting doubts and dark apprehensions about the state of their souls; enjoy peace in the approaches of death, and "finish their course with joy." ——In general, he much recommended for this purpose, the redemption of time, great diligence and watchfulness in the business of the Christian life; and he exemplified these things in an eminent degree.

His example and success with regard to one duty specially, may be of great use to both ministers and private Christians; I mean the duty of *secret fasting*. The reader has seen how much Mr. Brainerd recommends this duty, and how frequently he exercised himself in it; nor can it well have escaped observation, how much he was owned and blessed in it, and of what great benefit it evidently was to his soul. Among the many days he spent in secret fasting and prayer, of which he gives an account in his Diary, there is scarcely an instance of one but what was either attended or followed with a remarkable blessing, in special incomes and consolations of God's Spirit; and very often before the day was ended. But it must be observed that when he set about this duty, he did it in good earnest; "stirring up himself to take hold of God," and "continuing instant in prayer," with much of the spirit of Jacob, who said to the Angel, "I will not let thee go, except thou bless me."

VII. There is much in the preceding account to excite and encourage God's people to earnest prayers and endeavours for the *advancement and enlargement of the kingdom of Christ in the world.* Mr. Brainerd set us an excellent example in this respect: he sought the prosperity of Zion with all his might, and preferred Jerusalem above his chief joy. How did his soul long and pant after it; how earnestly and often did he wrestle with God for it; and how far did he, in these desires and prayers, seem to be carried beyond all private and selfish views; being animated by a pure love to

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Christ, an earnest desire of his glory, and a disinterested affection to the souls of mankind.

The consideration of this, not only ought to be an *incitement* to the people of God, but may also be a just *encouragement* to them, to be much in seeking and praying for a general outpouring of the Spirit of God, and an extensive revival of religion. I confess that God's giving so much of a spirit of prayer for this mercy to so eminent a servant of his, and exciting him in so extraordinary a manner, and with such vehement thirstings of soul, to agonize in prayer for it from time to time, through the course of his life, is one thing among others, which gives me great hope, THAT GOD HAS A DESIGN OF ACCOMPLISHING SOMETHING VERY GLORIOUS FOR THE INTEREST OF HIS CHURCH BEFORE LONG.

One such instance as this, I conceive, gives more encouragement than the common, cold, formal prayers of thousands. As Mr. Brainerd's desires and prayers for the coming of Christ's kingdom, were very *special* and *extraordinary*; so I think we may reasonably hope, that the God who excited those desires and prayers will answer them with something *special* and *extraordinary*. In particular, I think it worthy to be taken notice of for our encouragement, that he had his heart (as he declared) unusually and beyond what had been before, drawn out in longings and prayers for the flourishing of Christ's kingdom on earth, when he was in the approaches of *death*; and that with his dying breath he did as it were breathe out his departing soul into the bosom of his Redeemer, in prayers and pantings after this glorious event; expiring in great hope that it would soon begin to be fulfilled. And I wish that the thoughts which he in his dying state expressed of that explicit agreement and visible union of God's people, in extraordinary prayer for a general revival of religion, lately proposed in a memorial from Scotland which has been dispersed among us, may be well considered by those that hitherto have not seen fit to fall in with that proposal.——But I forbear to say any more on this head, having already largely published my thoughts upon it, in a discourse written on purpose to promote that affair; which, I confess, I wish that every one of my readers might be supplied with; not that my honour, but that this excellent design might be promoted.

As there is much in Mr. Brainerd's life to encourage

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Christians to seek the advancement of Christ's kingdom in general; so there is in particular, to pray for the conversion of the Indians on this continent, and to exert themselves in the use of proper means for its accomplishment. For it appears that in his unutterable longings and wrestlings of soul for the flourishing of religion, his mind was peculiarly intent on the conversion and salvation of these people, and his heart more especially engaged in prayer for them. And if we consider the degree and manner in which he from time to time, sought and hoped for an extensive work of grace among them, there is reason to hope that the wonderful things which God wrought among them by him, are but a forerunner of something yet more glorious and extensive of that kind; and this may justly be an encouragement to well-disposed charitable persons, to "honour the Lord with their substance," by contributing, as they are able, to promote the spreading of the gospel among them. This also may incite and encourage gentlemen who are incorporated and intrusted with the care and disposal of those liberal benefactions, which have already been made by pious persons to that end; and likewise the missionaries themselves that are or may be employed; and it may be of direction to both, as to the proper qualifications of missionaries, and the proper measures to be taken in order to their success.

One thing in particular I would take occasion from the foregoing history to mention and propose to the consideration of such as have the care of providing and sending *missionaries* among the heathen; *viz.* Whether it would not ordinarily be best to send *two* together? It is pretty manifest that Mr. Brainerd's going as he did, alone into the howling wilderness, was one great occasion of such a prevailing melancholy on his mind, which was his greatest disadvantage. He was much in speaking of it himself, when he was here in his dying state; and expressed himself to this purpose, that none could conceive of the disadvantage a missionary in such circumstances was under by being alone; especially as it exposed him to discouragement and melancholy. He spoke of the wisdom of Christ in sending forth his disciples by two and two; and left it as his dying advice to his brother, never to go to Susquahannah to travel about in that remote wilderness, to preach to the Indians there, as he had often done, without the company of a fellow missionary.

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VIII. One thing more may not be unprofitably observed in the preceding account of Mr. Brainerd; and that is *the special and remarkable disposal of divine providence, with regard to the circumstances of his last sickness and death.*

Though he had been long infirm, his constitution being much broken by fatigues and hardships; and though he was often brought very low by illness before he left Kaunaumeek, and also while he lived at the Forks of Delaware; yet his life was preserved till he had seen that which he had so long and greatly desired and sought, a glorious work of grace among the Indians, and had received the wished-for blessing of God on his labours. Though as it were "in deaths oft," yet he lived to behold the happy fruits of the long continued travail of his soul and labour of his body, in the wonderful conversion of many of the heathen, and the happy effect of it in the great change of their conversation, with many circumstances which afforded a fair prospect of the continuance of God's blessing upon them; as may appear by what I shall further observe presently.——Thus he did not "depart, till his eyes had seen God's salvation."

Though it was the pleasure of God, that he should be taken off from his labours among that people to whom God had made him a spiritual father, who were so dear to him, and for whose spiritual welfare he was so greatly concerned; yet this was not before they were well initiated and instructed in the Christian religion, thoroughly weaned from their old heathenish notions and practices, and all their prejudices and jealousies, which tended to keep their minds unsettled, were fully removed. They were also confirmed and fixed in the Christian faith and manners, were formed into a church, had ecclesiastical ordinances and discipline introduced and settled; were brought into a good way with respect to the education of children, had a schoolmaster sent to them in providence, excellently qualified for the business, and had a school set up and established in good order among them. They had been well brought off from their former idle, strolling, sottish way of living; had removed from their former scattered uncertain habitations, and were collected in a town by themselves, on a good piece of land of their own; were introduced into the way of living by husbandry, and begun to experience its benefits. These things were but just brought to pass by his indefatigable application and care,

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and then he was taken off from his work by illness. If this had been but a little sooner, they would by no means have been so well prepared for such a dispensation; and it probably would have been unspeakably more injurious to their spiritual interest, and to the cause of Christianity among them.

The time and circumstances of his illness were so ordered, that he had just opportunity to finish his Journal, and prepare it for the press; giving an account of the marvellous display of divine power and grace among the Indians in New-Jersey, and at the Forks of Delaware: his doing which was of great consequence, and therefore urged upon him by the Correspondents, who have honoured his Journal with a Preface. The world being particularly and justly informed of that affair by Mr. Brainerd, before his death, a foundation was hereby laid for a concern in *others* for that cause, and proper care and measures to be taken for maintaining it after his death. It has actually proved to be of great influence and benefit in this respect, having excited and engaged many in those parts and also more distant parts of America, to exert themselves for the upholding and promoting so good and glorious a work, remarkably opening their hearts and hands to that end: and not only in America, but in Great Britain, where that Journal has been an occasion of some large benefactions, made for promoting the interest of Christianity among the Indians. Had Mr. Brainerd been taken ill but a little sooner, he would not have been able to complete his Journal, and prepare a copy for the press.

He was not taken off from the work of the ministry among his people, till his Brother was in a capacity to succeed him. Happily too he succeeds him in the like spirit, and under his prudent and faithful care the congregation has flourished, which probably could not otherwise have been so well provided for. If Mr. Brainerd had been disabled sooner, his Brother would by no means have been ready to stand up in his place; having taken his first degree at college but about the very time he was seized with his fatal consumption.

Though in the winter that he lay sick at Mr. Dikinson's in Elisabeth-Town, he continued for a long time in an extremely low state, so that his life was almost despaired of, and his state was sometimes such that he was hardly expected to live a day; yet his life was spared a while longer.

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He lived to see his Brother arrived in New-Jersey, being come to succeed him in the care of his Indians; and he himself had opportunity to assist in his examination and introduction into his business; and to commit the conduct of his dear people to one whom he well knew and could put confidence in, and use freedom with in giving him particular instructions and charges, and under whose care he could leave his congregation with great cheerfulness.

The providence of God was remarkable in so ordering it, that before his death he should take a journey into New-England, and go to Boston; which was in many respects of very great and happy consequence to the interest of religion, especially among his own people. By this means, as has been observed, he was brought into acquaintance with many persons of note and influence, ministers and others, belonging both to the town and various parts of the country; and had opportunity, under the best advantages, to bear a testimony for God and true religion, and against those false appearances of it that have proved most pernicious to the interests of Christ's kingdom in the land. And the providence of God is particularly observable in this circumstance of the testimony he bore for true religion, viz. that he was there brought so near the grave, and continued so long on the very brink of eternity; and from time to time considered himself and was considered by others, as just leaving the world; and that in these circumstances he should be so particularly directed and assisted in his thoughts and views of religion, to distinguish between the true and the false with such clearness and evidence; and that after this he should be unexpectedly and surprisingly restored and strengthened, so far as to be able to converse freely; and have such opportunity and special occasions to declare his sentiments in these apparently dying circumstances; and to bear his testimony concerning the nature of true religion, and concerning the mischievous tendency of its most prevalent counterfeits and false appearances; as things he had a special distinct view of at that time, when he expected in a few minutes to be in eternity; and the certainty and importance of which were then, in a peculiar manner, impressed on his mind.

Among the happy consequences of his going to Boston, were those liberal benefactions before-mentioned, which were made by pious disposed persons for maintaining and pro-

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moting the interest of religion among his people: and also the meeting of a number of gentlemen in Boston, of note and ability, to consult upon measures for that purpose; who were excited by their acquaintance and conversation with Mr. Brainerd, and by the account of the great things God had wrought by his ministry, to unite themselves, that by their joint endeavours and contributions they might promote the kingdom of Christ, and the spiritual good of their fellow-creatures, among the Indians in New-Jersey and elsewhere.

It was also remarkable that Mr. Brainerd should go to Boston at *that time*, after the honourable Commissioners of the corporation in London for propagating the gospel in New-England and parts adjacent, had received Dr. William's legacy for the maintaining of two missionaries among the Heathen; and at a time when they having concluded on a mission to the Indians of the Six Nations, were looking out for fit persons to be employed in that important service. This proved an occasion of their committing to him the affair of finding and recommending suitable persons, which has proved a successful means of two persons being found and actually appointed to that business; who seem to be well qualified for it, and to have their hearts greatly engaged in it.

These happy consequences of Mr. Brainerd's journey to Boston would have been prevented, in case he had died, when he was brought so near to death in New-Jersey. Or if after he came first to Northampton, (where he was much at a loss and long deliberating which way to bend his course,) he had determined not to go to Boston.

The providence of God was observable in his going to Boston at a time when not only the honourable Commissioners were seeking missionaries to the Six Nations, but just after his Journal, which gives an account of his labours and success among the Indians, had been received and spread in Boston; whereby his name was known, and the minds of serious people were well prepared to receive his person and the testimony he there gave for God; to exert themselves for upholding and promoting the interest of religion in his congregation, and amongst the Indians elsewhere; and to regard his judgment concerning the qualifications of missionaries, *&c.* If he had gone there the preceding autumn (when he had intended to have made his journey into New-England, but was prevented by a sudden

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increase of his illness,) it would not have been likely to answer so good a purpose, nor if he had not been unexpectedly detained in Boston; for when he went from my house, he intended to make but a very short stay there; but divine providence by his being brought so low there, detained him long, and thereby to make way for fulfilling its own gracious designs.

The providence of God was remarkable in so ordering it, that although he was brought so very near the grave in Boston, that it was not in the least expected he would ever come alive out of his chamber; yet he wonderfully revived, and was preserved several months longer: so that he had opportunity to see, and fully to converse with both his younger Brethren before he died. This was what he greatly desired, especially to see his brother John, with whom was left the care of his congregation; that he might be fully informed of their state, and might leave with him such instructions and directions as were requisite in order to their spiritual welfare, and to send to them his dying charges and counsels. He had also opportunity, by means of this suspension of his death, to find and recommend a couple of persons fit to be employed as Missionaries to the Six Nations, as had been desired of him.

Thus, although it was the pleasure of a sovereign God, that he should be taken away from his congregation, the people whom he had begotten through the gospel, and who were so dear to him; yet it was granted him before he died that he should see them every way well provided for. He saw that they had one to instruct them, and take care of their souls; his own brother, in whom he could confide. He saw a good foundation laid for the support of the school among them, those things that before were wanting in order to it being supplied; and he had the prospect of a Charitable Society being established, of able and well-disposed persons, who seem to make the spiritual interest of his congregation their own. Whereby he had a comfortable view of their being well provided for in future: he had also opportunity to leave all his dying charges with his successor in the pastoral care of his people, and by him to send his dying councels to them. Thus God granted him to see all things happily settled, or in a hopeful way of being so, before his death, with respect to his dear people.—And whereas not only his

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own congregation, but the souls of the Indians in North-America in general, were very dear to him, and he had greatly set his heart on propagating and extending the kingdom of Christ among them; God was pleased to grant to him, (however it was his will that he should be taken away, and so should not be the immediate instrument of their instruction and conversion, yet,) that before his death, he should see unexpected extraordinary provision made for this also. And it is remarkable that God not only allowed him to see such provision made for maintaining the interest of religion among his own people, and the propagation of it elsewhere; but honoured him by making *him* the means or occasion of it. And notwithstanding Mr. Brainerd, was in an extremely weak and low state during the last four months of his life, yet it is very probable that he was made the instrument or means of much more good in that space of time, than he would have been if he had been well and in full strength. Thus "God's power was manifested in his weakness, and the life of Christ was manifested in his mortal flesh."

Another thing in which the merciful designs of providence appears with respect to his death, was, that he did not die in the wilderness, among the savages at Kaunaumeek, or the Forks of Delaware, or at Susquahannah; but in a place where his dying behaviour and speeches might be observed and remembered, and some account given of them for the benefit of survivers; and also where care might be taken of him in his sickness, and proper honours done him at his death.

The providence of God is also worthy of remark, in so overruling and ordering the matter, that he did not finally leave absolute orders for the entire suppression of his *private papers;* as he had intended and fully resolved, insomuch that all the importunity of his friends could scarcely restrain him from doing it while sick at Boston. One thing relating to this is very remarkable, *viz.* that his brother, a little before his death, should come from the Jerseys unexpectedly, and bring his Diary to him, though he had received no such order. So that he had opportunity of access to these papers, and for reviewing them; without which it appears he would at last have ordered them to be wholly suppressed. But after this, he the more readily yielded to the desires of his friends, and was willing to leave them in their hands to be disposed of as they thought might be most for God's glory:

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by which means, "he being dead, yet speaketh," in these memoirs of his life, taken from those private writings. It is therefore to be hoped he may still be as it were the instrument of promoting the interest of religion in this world; the advancement of which he so much desired, and hoped would be accomplished after his death.

If these circumstances of Mr. Brainerd's death be duly considered, I doubt not but they will be acknowledged as a notable instance of God's fatherly care and covenant-faithfulness towards those who are devoted to him, and faithfully serve him while they live; whereby "he never fails nor forsakes them, but is with them living and dying; so that whether they live, they live to the Lord; or whether they die, they die to the Lord;" and both in life and death they are owned and taken care of as *his*.—Mr. Brainerd himself, when near his end, often noticed the merciful circumstances of his death; and said from time to time, that "God had granted him all his desire."

I would not conclude my observations on the merciful circumstances of Mr. Brainerd's death, without acknowledging with thankfulness, the gracious dispensation of providence to me and my family, in so ordering it that he should be brought to my house in his last sickness, and should die here, though the ordinary place of his abode was more than two hundred miles distant; so that we had opportunity for much acquaintance and conversation with him, to shew him kindness in such circumstances, to see his dying behaviour, to hear his dying speeches, to receive his dying counsels, and to have the benefit of his dying prayers. May God in infinite mercy grant that we may ever retain a proper remembrance of these things, and make a due improvement of them. The Lord grant also, that the foregoing account of Mr. Brainerd's life and death may be for the great spiritual benefit of all that shall read it, and prove a happy means of promoting the revival of true religion in these parts of the world! *Amen.*

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THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF A

Remarkable work of grace amongst a number of Indians in the Provinces of New-Jersey and Pensylvania,

Justly represented in a

JOURNAL,

KEPT BY THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE;

With some general Remarks,

BY DAVID BRAINERD,
Minister of the Gospel, and Missionary from the said Society.

PUBLISHED BY THE REVEREND AND WORTHY CORRESPONDENTS OF THE SAID SOCIETY WITH A PREFACE BY THEM.

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reader will take peculiar pleasure in seeing this work described in its native simplicity, and the operations of the Spirit upon the minds of these poor benighted Pagans laid down just in the method and order in which they happened. This it must be confessed, will occasion frequent repetitions; but as they tend to give a fuller view of this amazing dispensation of divine grace in its rise and progress, we trust they will easily be forgiven.

When we see such numbers of the most ignorant and barbarous of mankind in the space of a few months, "turned from darkness to light, and from the power of sin and Satan unto God," it gives us encouragement to wait and pray for that blessed time, when our victorious Redeemer shall, in a more signal manner than he has yet done, display the "banner of his cross, march on from conquering to conquer, till the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." Yea, we cannot but lift up our heads with joy, and hope that it may be the dawn of that bright and glorious day, when the SUN OF RIGHTEOUSNESS shall arise and shine from one end of the earth to the other; when, to use the language of the inspired prophets, the "Gentiles shall come to his light, and kings to the brightness of his rising;" in consequence of which, "the wilderness and solitary places shall be glad, and the desert rejoice and blossom as the rose."

It is doubtless the duty of all in their different stations and according to their respective capacities, to use their utmost endeavours to bring forward this promised, this desired day.——There is a great want of schoolmasters among these Christianized Indians, to instruct their youth in the English language and the principles of the Christian faith. There is no certain provision made for this at present: if any therefore are inclined to contribute to so good a design, we are persuaded they will do an acceptable service to the kingdom of the Redeemer. And we earnestly desire the most indigent to join, at least in their wishes and prayers, that this work may prosper more and more, till the "whole earth is filled with the glory of the Lord."

The CORRESPONDENTS.

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RISE AND PROGRESS

OF A

REMARKABLE WORK OF GRACE,

&c.

Crosweeksung, in New-Jersey, June 19. 1745.

HAVING spent most of my time for more than a year past amongst the Indians in the Forks of Delaware in Pensylvania, and having in that time made two journeys to Susquahannah river, far back in that province, in order to treat with the Indians respecting Christianity; and not having had any considerable appearance of *special* success in either of those places, which damped my spirits, and was not a little discouraging to me; upon hearing that there was a number of Indians in and about a place called by the Indians, Crosweeksung in New-Jersey, near fourscore miles south-east from the Forks of Delaware, I determined to make them a visit, and see what might be done towards their conversion. I accordingly arrived among them this Day.

Found very few persons at the place I visited, and perceived the Indians in these parts were very much scattered, there being not more than two or three families in a place, from six to thirty miles distant. However, I preached to those few I found, who appeared well disposed, and not inclined to object and cavil, as the Indians had frequently done elsewhere.

When I had concluded my discourse, I informed them, (there being none but a few women and children) that I would willingly visit them again the next day. They accordingly set out and travelled ten or fifteen miles, in order to give notice to some of their friends at that distance. These females, like the woman of Samaria, seemed desirous that others might "see the man that told them what they had done" in their lives past, and the misery that attended their idolatrous ways.

June 20. Visited and preached to the Indians again as I proposed. Numbers more were gathered at the invitation of

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their friends, who heard me the day before. These also appeared as attentive, orderly, and well disposed as the others.

June 22. Preached to the Indians again. Their number which at first consisted of about seven or eight persons, was now increased to near thirty. There was not only a solemn attention among them, but some considerable impressions (it was apparent) were made upon their minds by divine truth. Some began to feel their misery and perishing state, and appeared concerned for a deliverance from it.

Lord's day, June 23. Preached to the Indians, and spent the day with them. Their number still increased, and all with one consent seemed to rejoice in my coming among them. Not a word of opposition was heard from any of them against Christianity, although in times past they had been as opposite to any thing of that nature, as any Indians whatsoever. And some of them not many months before, were enraged with my interpreter because he attempted to teach them something of Christianity.

June 24. Preached to the Indians at their own desire. To see poor Pagans desirous of hearing the gospel of Christ, animated me to discourse to them, although I was now very weakly, and my spirits much exhausted. They attended with the greatest seriousness and diligence, and some concern for their souls' salvation appeared among them.

June 27. Visited and preached to the Indians again. Their number now amounted to about forty persons. Their solemnity and attention still continued, and a considerable concern for their souls became evident.

June 28. The Indians being now gathered, a considerable number of them from their several and distant habitations, requested me to preach twice a-day, being desirous to hear as much as they possibly could while I was with them. I cheerfully complied with their motion, and could not but admire the goodness of God, who I was persuaded, had inclined them thus to inquire after the way of salvation.

June 29. Preached again twice to the Indians. Saw, as I thought, the hand of God very evidently, and in a manner somewhat remarkable, making provision for their subsistence together, in order to their being instructed in divine things. For this day and the day before, with only walking a little way from the place of our daily meeting, they killed three

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deer, which were a seasonable supply for their wants, and without which it seems they could not have subsisted together in order to attend the means of grace.

Lord's day, June 30. Preached twice this day also. Observed yet more concern and affection among the poor heathens than ever, so that they even constrained me to tarry yet longer with them; although my constitution was exceedingly worn out, and my health much impaired by my late fatigues and labours, and especially by my journey to Susquahannah in May last, in which I lodged on the ground for several weeks together.

July 1. Preached again twice to a very serious and attentive assembly of Indians, they having now learned in all respects to attend the worship of God with Christian decency. Between forty and fifty of them, old and young, were now present. I spent some considerable time in discoursing with them in a more private way, inquiring what they remembered of the great truths that had been taught them from day to day: and may justly say, it was amazing to see how they had received and retained the instructions given them, and what a measure of knowledge some of them had acquired in a few days.

July 2. Was obliged to leave these Indians at Crosweeksung, thinking it my duty as soon as health would admit, again to visit those at the Forks of Delaware. When I came to take leave of them, and spoke something particularly to each of them, they all earnestly inquired when I would come again, and expressed a great desire of being further instructed. And of their own accord agreed that when I should come again, they would all meet and live together during my continuance with them; and that they would do their utmost endeavours to gather all the other Indians in these parts that were yet further remote. When I parted, one told me with many tears, "She wished God would change her heart:" another, that "she wanted to find Christ:" and an old man that had been one of their chiefs, wept bitterly with concern for his soul. I then promised them to return as speedily as my health and business would admit, and felt not a little concerned at parting, lest the good impressions then apparent upon numbers of them, might decline and wear off, when the means came to cease; and yet could not but hope that he who, I trusted, had

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begun a good work among them, and who I knew did not stand in need of means to carry it on, would maintain and promote it in the absence of them, although at the same time I must confess that I had so often seen such encouraging appearances among the Indians in other places prove wholly abortive. It appeared also the favour would be so great, if God should now, after I had passed through so considerable a series of almost fruitless labours and fatigues, and after my rising hopes had been so often frustrated among these poor Pagans, give me any *special* success in my labours with them, that I could not believe and scarcely dared to hope that the event would be so happy. I never found myself more suspended between hope and fear, than on this occasion.

The encouraging disposition and readiness to receive instruction, apparent among the Indians seem to have been produced by the conviction that one or two of them met with some time since at the Forks of Delaware, and who have since endeavoured to shew their friends the evil of idolatry. And although the other Indians seemed but little to regard, but rather to deride them, yet this perhaps has put them into a thinking posture of mind, or at least given them some thoughts about Christianity, and excited in some of them a curiosity to hear, and so made way for the present encouraging attention. An apprehension that this might be the case here, has given me encouragement that God may in such a manner bless the means I have used with Indians in other places, where there is as yet no appearance of it. If so, may his name have the glory of it; for I have learned by experience that he only can open the ear, engage the attention, and incline the heart of poor benighted prejudiced Pagans to receive instruction.

Forks of Delaware, in Pensylvania, 1745.

Lord's day, July 14. Discoursed to the Indians twice, several of whom appeared concerned, and were I hope in some measure convinced by the divine Spirit of their sin and misery. They wept much the whole time of divine service. —I afterwards discoursed to a number of white people then present.

July 18. Preached to my people, who attended diligently,

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beyond what had been common among these Indians; and some of them appeared concerned for their souls.

Lord's day, July 21. Preached to the Indians first, then to a number of white people, and in the afternoon to the Indians again.—Divine truth seemed to make considerable impressions upon several of them, and caused the tears to flow freely.—Afterwards I baptized my Interpreter and his wife, who were the first I baptized among the Indians. They are both persons of some experimental knowledge in religion; have both been awakened to a solemn concern for their souls; have apparently been brought to a sense of their guilt and misery, been comforted with divine consolations, have evidently passed under a great change, and I cannot but hope a saving one.

It may perhaps be satisfactory and agreeable that I should give some brief relation of the man's exercise and experience since he has been with me, especially seeing he acts as my Interpreter to others.—When I first employed him in this business in the beginning of summer 1744, he was well fitted for his work in regard to his acquaintance with the Indian and English language, as well as with the manners of both nations; and in regard to his desire that the Indians should conform to the customs and manners of the English, especially their manner of living. But he seemed to have little or no impression of religion upon his mind, and in that respect was very *unfit* for his work, being incapable of understanding and communicating to others many things of importance; so that I laboured under great disadvantages in addressing the Indians, for want of his having an experimental, as well as a more doctrinal acquaintance with divine truths. At times my spirits sank, and were much discouraged under this difficulty, especially when I observed that divine truth made little or no impression upon his mind for many weeks together.

He indeed behaved soberly after I employed him although before he had been a hard drinker; and seemed honestly engaged as far as he was capable in the performance of his work. He appeared especially desirous that the Indians should renounce their Heathenish notions and practices, and conform to the customs of the Christian world. But still he seemed to have no concern about his own soul, till he had been with me a considerable time.

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Near the latter end of July 1744, I preached to an assembly of white people, with more freedom and fervency than I could possibly do to the Indians, without their having first attained a greater measure of doctrinal knowledge: at which time he was present, and was somewhat awakened to a concern for his soul. The next day he discoursed freely with me about his spiritual concerns, and gave me an opportunity to use further endeavours to fasten the impression of his perishing state upon his mind: and I could plainly perceive for some time after, that he addressed the Indians with more concern and fervency than he had formerly done.

These impressions however, seemed quickly to decline, and he remained in a great measure careless and secure, until some time late in the fall of the year following, when he fell into a weak and languishing state of body, and continued much disordered for several weeks. At this season divine truth took hold of him, and made deep impressions upon his mind. He was brought under great concern for his soul, and his exercise was not now transient and unsteady, but constant and abiding, so that his mind was burdened from day to day; and it was now his great inquiry, "What he should do to be saved?" His spiritual trouble prevailed, till at length his sleep in a measure departed from him, and he had little rest day or night; but walked about under great distress. His neighbours could not but observe a wonderful change in his behaviour.

After he had been some time under this exercise, while he was striving for mercy, he says, there seemed to be an impassable mountain before him. He was pressing towards heaven, as he thought, but "his way was hedged up with thorns, that he could not stir an inch further." He looked this way and that way, but could find no way at all. He thought if he could but make his way through these thorns and briers, and climb up the first "steep pitch" of the mountain, that then there might be hope for him; but no way or means could he find to accomplish this. Here he laboured for a time, but all in vain; he saw it was "impossible," he says, ever to help himself through this insupportable difficulty. He felt it signified nothing, "it signified just nothing at all for him to strive and struggle any more." And here he says he gave over striving, and felt that it was a lost case with him, as to his *own* power, and that all his attempts were and

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for ever would be vain and fruitless. Yet he was more calm and composed under this view of things, than he had been while striving to help himself.

While he was giving me this account of his exercise, I was not without fears that what he related was only the working of his own imagination, and not the effect of any divine illumination. But before I had time to discover my fears, he added, that at this time he felt himself in a miserable and perishing condition; that he saw plainly what he had been doing all his days, and that he had never done one good thing. He knew, he said, that he was not guilty of some wicked actions which he knew some others were guilty of. He had not been used to steal, quarrel, and murder; the latter of which vices are common among the Indians. He likewise knew that he had done many things that were right; he had been kind to his neighbours, *&c.* But still his cry was, "that he had never done one good thing." I knew, said he, that I had not been so bad as some others in some things, and that I had done many things which folks call good; but all this did me no good now. I saw that "all was bad, and that I never had done one good thing," (meaning that he had never done any thing from a right *principle*, and with a right *view*, though he had done many things that were *materially* good and right.) And now I thought, said he, that I must sink down to hell; that there was no hope for me, "because I never could do any thing that was good; and if God let me alone ever so long, and I should try ever so much, still I should do nothing but what is bad."

This further account of his exercise satisfied me that it was not the mere working of his imagination, since he appeared so evidently to die to himself, and to be divorced from all dependence upon his own righteousness and good deeds, which mankind in a fallen state are so much attached to, and upon which they are inclined to place their hope of salvation.

There was one thing more in his view of things at this time that was very remarkable. He not only saw, he says, what a miserable state he himself was in, but he likewise saw the world around him, in general, were in the same perishing circumstances, notwithstanding the profession many of them made of Christianity, and the hope they entertained

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of obtaining everlasting happiness. This he saw clearly, "as if he was now awaked out of sleep, or had a cloud taken from before his eyes." He saw that the life he had lived, was the way to eternal death, that he was now on the brink of endless misery; and when he looked round, he saw multitudes of others who had lived the same life with himself; had no more goodness than he, and yet dreamed that they were safe enough, as he had formerly done. He was fully persuaded by their conversation and behaviour, that they had never felt their sin and misery as he now felt his.

After he had been for some time in this condition, sensible of the impossibility of his helping himself by any thing he could do, or of being delivered by any created arm, so that he "had given up all for lost," as to his own attempts, and was become more calm and composed; then he says it was borne in upon his mind as if it had been audibly spoken to him, "There is hope, there is hope." His soul then seemed to rest and be in some measure satisfied, though he had no considerable joy. He cannot here remember distinctly any views he had of Christ, or give any clear account of his soul's acceptance of him, which makes his experience appear the more doubtful, and renders it less satisfactory to himself and others, than perhaps it might be, if he could remember distinctly the apprehensions and actings of his mind at this season.

But these exercises were attended and followed with a very great change in the man, so that it might justly be said, he was become "another man," if not a "new man." His conversation and deportment were much altered, and even the careless world could not but admire what had befallen him, to make so great a change in his temper and behaviour. Especially there was a surprising alteration in his public performances. He now addressed the Indians with admirable fervency, and scarcely knew when to leave off. Sometimes when I had concluded my discourse, and was returning homeward, he would tarry behind to repeat and inculcate what had been spoken.

His change is *abiding*, and his life, so far as I know, *unblemished* to this day, though it is now more than six months since he experienced this change. During this time he has been as much exposed to strong drink as possible, in divers places where it has been moving free as water; and yet he has never that I know of discovered any hankering desire

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after it. He seems to have a considerable degree of spiritual exercise, and discourses feelingly of the conflicts and consolations of a real Christian. His heart echoes to the humbling doctrines of grace, and he never appears better pleased than when he hears of the absolute sovereignty of God, and the salvation of sinners in a way of mere free grace. He has likewise of late had more satisfaction respecting his own state, has been much enlivened and assisted in his work, and been a great comfort to me.

Upon a strict observation of his serious and savoury conversation, his Christian temper, and unblemished behaviour for so considerable a time, as well as his experience which I have mentioned, I think there is reason to hope that he is "created anew in Christ Jesus to good works."

His name is Moses Tinda Tautamy. He is about fifty years of age, is pretty well acquainted with the Pagan notions and customs of his countrymen, and therefore the better able now to expose them. I am persuaded he has already been, and will yet be a blessing to the other Indians.

July 23. Preached to the Indians, but had few hearers. Those who are constantly at home seem of late to be under some serious impressions.

July 26. Preached to my people, and afterwards baptized my Interpreter's children.

Lord's day, July 28. Preached again, and perceived some of the people more thoughtful than ever about their souls. I was told by some, that seeing my Interpreter and others baptized made them more concerned than any thing they had ever seen or heard before. There was ind ed a considerable appearance of divine power amongst them at the time that ordinance was administered. May that divine influence spread and increase more abundantly!

July 30. Discoursed to a number of my people, and gave them some particular advice and direction, being now about to leave them for the present, in order to renew my visit to the Indians in New-Jersey. They were very attentive, and earnestly desirous to know when I designed to return to them again.

Crosweeksung in Ne - rsey, 1745.

August 3. Having visited the Indians in t se parts in June last, and tarried with them some considerable time preaching almost daily; at which season God was pleased to

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pour upon them a spirit of awakening and concern for their souls, and surprisingly to engage their attention to divine truths, I now found them serious, and a number of them under deep concern for an interest in Christ. Their convictions of their sinful and perishing state, during my absence, have been much promoted by the labours and endeavours of the Rev. William Tennent, to whom I had advised them to apply for direction, and whose house they frequented much while I was gone.——I preached to them this day with some view to Rev. xxii. 17. "And whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely;" though I could not pretend to handle the subject methodically among them.

The Lord I am persuaded enabled me, in a manner somewhat uncommon, to set before them the Lord Jesus Christ as a kind and compassionate Saviour, inviting distressed and perishing sinners to accept everlasting mercy; and a surprising concern soon became apparent among them. There were about twenty adult persons together, (many of the Indians at remote places not having had time to come since my return hither,) and not above two that I could see with dry eyes. Some were much concerned, and discovered vehement longings of soul after Christ, to save them from the misery they felt and feared.

Lord's day, Aug. 4. Being invited by a neighbouring minister to assist in the administration of the Lord's supper, I complied with his request, and took the Indians along with me; not only those that were together the day before, but many more that were coming to hear me; so that there were near fifty in all, old and young. They attended the several discourses of the day; some of them that could understand English were much affected, and all seemed to have their concern in some measure raised. Now a change in their manners began to appear very visible. In the evening when they came to sup together, they would not taste a morsel till they had sent to me to come and ask a blessing on their food; at which time several of them wept, especially when I reminded them how they had in times past eat their feasts in *honour* to *devils*, and neglected to thank God for them.

Aug. 5. After a sermon had been preached by another minister, I preached, and concluded the solemnity, from John vii. 37. In my discourse I addressed the Indians in particular, who sat by themselves in a part of the house.

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One or two of them were struck with deep concern, who had been little affected before: others had their concern increased to a considerable degree. In the evening (the greater part of them being at the house where I lodged) I discoursed to them, and found them universally engaged about their soul's concern, inquiring, "What they should do to be saved?" All their conversation among themselves turned upon religious matters, in which they were much assisted by my Interpreter, who was with them day and night. A woman who had been much concerned for her soul, ever since she first heard me preach in June last, obtained I trust some solid and well grounded comfort. She seemed to be filled with love to Christ, at the same time behaved humbly and tenderly, and appeared afraid of nothing so much as of grieving and offending him whom her soul loved.

Aug. 6. In the morning I discoursed to the Indians at the house where we lodged. Many of them were tenderly affected, so that a few words about their souls would cause the tears to flow freely, and produce many sobs and groans.—— In the afternoon, they being returned to the place where I have usually preached among them, I again discoursed to them there. There were about fifty-five persons in all, about forty that were capable of attending divine service with understanding. I insisted upon 1 John iv. 10. "Herein is love," *&c.* They seemed eager of hearing; but there appeared nothing very remarkable, except their attention, till near the close of my discourse; and then divine truths were attended with a surprising influence, and produced a great concern among them. There was scarcely *three* in *forty* that could refrain from tears and bitter cries. All seemed in an agony to obtain an interest in Christ; and the more I discoursed of the love and compassion of God in sending his Son to suffer for the sins of men, and the more I invited them to come and partake of his love, the more their distress was aggravated, because they felt themselves unable to come. It was surprising to see how their hearts seemed to be pierced with the tender and melting invitations of the gospel, when there was not a word of terror spoken to them.

This day two persons obtained relief and comfort, which appeared solid, rational and scriptural. After I had inquired into the grounds of their comfort, and said many things to

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them, I enquired what they wanted God to do more for them? They replied, "They wanted Christ should wipe their hearts quite clean."—I can say no less of this day, and I need say no more of it, than that "the arm of the Lord" was powerfully and marvellously "revealed."

Aug. 7. Preached to the Indians from Isai. liii. 3——10. There was a remarkable influence attending the word, and great concern in the assembly; but scarcely equal to what appeared the day before, that is not quite so universal. However, most were much affected, and many in great distress for their souls. Some few could neither go nor stand but lay flat on the ground, as if pierced at heart, crying incessantly for mercy. Several were newly awakened, and it was remarkable that as fast as they came from remote places round about, the Spirit of God seemed to fill them with concern about their souls.—After public service was concluded, I found two other persons who had newly met with comfort, of whom I had good hopes; and a third that I could not but entertain some hopes of, whose case did not appear so clear as the other. Here were now six in all who had got some relief from their spiritual distresses, and five whose experience appeared very clear and satisfactory. And it is worthy of remark that those who obtained comfort first, were in general deeply affected with concern for their souls when I preached to them in June last.

Aug. 8. In the afternoon I preached to the Indians, their number was now about sixty-five persons, men, women, and children. I discoursed from Luke xiv. 16—23, and was favoured with uncommon freedom in my discourse. There was much visible concern among them while I was discoursing publicly; but afterwards when I spoke to one and another more particularly, whom I perceived under much concern, the power of God seemed to descend upon the assembly "like a rushing mighty wind," and with an astonishing energy bore down all before it.

I stood amazed at the influence which seized the audience almost universally, and could compare it to nothing more aptly, than the irresistible force of a mighty torrent or swelling deluge, that with its insupportable weight and pressure bears down and sweeps before it whatever is in its way. Almost all persons of all ages were bowed down with concern together, and scarcely one was able to withstand the

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shock of this surprising operation. Old men and women, who had been drunken wretches for many years, and some little children, not more than six or seven years of age, appeared in distress about their souls, as well as persons of middle age. And it was apparent that these children, some of them at least, were not merely frighted with seeing the general concern; but were made sensible of their danger, the badness of their hearts, and their misery without Christ, as some of them expressed it. The most stubborn hearts were now obliged to bow. A principal man among the Indians, who before was most secure and self-righteous, and thought his state good because he knew more than the generality of the Indians had formerly done, and who with a great degree of confidence the day before, told me, "he had been a Christian more than ten years," was now brought under solemn concern for his soul, and wept bitterly. Another man considerable in years, who had been a *murderer*, a *powwow*, (or conjurer) and a notorious drunkard, was likewise brought to cry for mercy with many tears, and to complain much that he could be no more concerned when he saw his danger to be so great.

They were almost universally praying and crying for mercy in every part of the house, and many out of doors, and numbers could neither go nor stand. Their concern was so great, each one for himself, that none seemed to take any notice of those about them, but each prayed as freely for themselves, and appeared to their own apprehension as much retired as if they had been every one by themselves in the thickest desart. I believe they thought nothing about any one but themselves, and their own state, and so were every one praying apart, although all together.

It seemed to me there was now an exact fulfilment of that prophecy, Zech. xii.—12. There was now "a great mourning, like the mourning of Hadadrimmon;" and each seemed to "mourn apart." I thought this had a near resemblance to the day of God's power, mentioned in Josh. x. 14. I never saw *any day like it* in all respects: it was a day wherein I am persuaded the Lord did much to destroy the kingdom of darkness among this people.

This concern in general was most rational and just. Those who had been awakened any considerable time, complained more especially of the badness of their hearts; those newly

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awakened, of the badness of their lives and actions past; and all were afraid of the anger of God, and of everlasting misery as the desert of their sins. Some of the *white* people who came out of curiosity to "hear what this babbler would say" to the poor ignorant Indians, were also much awakened, and some appeared to be wounded with a view of their perishing state. Those who had lately obtained relief, were filled with comfort at this season; they appeared calm and composed, and seemed to rejoice in Christ Jesus. Some of them took their distressed friends by the hand, telling them of the goodness of Christ, and the comfort that is to be enjoyed in him, and thence invited them to come and give up their hearts to him. I could observe some of them, in the most honest and unaffected manner, without any design of being taken notice of, lifting up their eyes to heaven, as if crying for mercy, while they saw the distress of the poor souls around them. There was one remarkable instance of awakening this day, that I cannot but take particular notice of here. A young Indian woman, who I believe never knew before she had a soul, nor ever thought of any such thing, hearing that there was something strange among the Indians, came to see what was the matter. In her way to the Indians she called at my lodgings; and when I told her I designed presently to preach to the Indians, she laughed and seemed to mock, but went to them. I had not proceeded far in my public discourse, before she felt *effectually* that she had a soul; and before I had concluded my discourse, was so convinced of her sin and misery, and so distressed about her soul's salvation, that she seemed like one pierced through with a dart, and cried out incessantly. She could neither go nor stand, nor sit without being held up. After public service was over, she lay flat on the ground praying earnestly; and would take no notice, nor give any answer to any that spoke to her. I hearkened to hear what she said, and perceived the burden of her prayer to be, *Guttummaukalummeh wechaumeh kmeleh Ndah*, i. e. "Have mercy on me, and help me to give thee my heart." Thus she continued praying incessantly for many hours together.

This was indeed a surprising day of God's power, and seemed enough to convince an Athiest of the truth, importance, and power of God's word.

Aug. 9. Spent almost the whole day with the Indians;

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the former part of it in discoursing to many of them privately, and especially to some who had lately received comfort. I inquired into the grounds of it, and gave them some proper instructions, cautions, and directions.

In the afternoon discoursed to them publicly. There were now present about seventy persons, old and young. I opened and applied the parable of the sower, Matth. xiii. Was enabled to speak with much plainness, and found afterwards that this discourse was very instructive to them. There were many tears among them while I was speaking, but no considerable cry. Some were much affected with a few words spoken from Matth. xi. 28, with which I concluded my discourse. But while I was conversing near night with two or three of the awakened persons, a divine influence seemed to attend what was spoken to them in a powerful manner. They cried out in anguish of soul, although I spoke not a word of terror; but on the contrary, set before them the fulness and all-sufficiency of Christ's merits, and his willingness to save all that come to him, while at the same time I pressed them to come without delay.

Their cry was soon heard by others, who, though scattered before, immediately gathered round. I then proceeded in the same strain of gospel invitation, till they were all melted into tears and cries, except two or three; and seemed in the greatest distress to find and secure an interest in the great Redeemer.—Some who had but little more than a ruffle made in their passions the day before, seemed now to be deeply affected and wounded at heart; and the concern in general appeared nearly as prevalent as it was the day before. There was indeed a very "great mourning" among them, and yet every one seemed to "mourn apart." Their concern was such that almost every one was praying and crying for himself, as if none had been near. *Guttummaukalummeh, guttummaukalummeh*; "Have mercy upon me, have mercy upon me," was the common cry.

It was very affecting to see the poor Indians, who the other day were hallooing and yelling in their idolatrous feasts and drunken frolics, now crying to God with such importunity for an interest in his dear Son.—I found two or three persons, who I had reason to hope had taken comfort upon good grounds since the evening before; and these, with others that had obtained comfort, were together, and seemed

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to rejoice much that God was carrying on his work with such power upon others.

Aug. 10. Rode to the Indians, and began to discourse more privately to those who had obtained comfort and satisfaction; endeavouring to instruct, direct, caution and comfort them. But others being eager of hearing every word that related to spiritual concerns, soon came together one after another; and when I had discoursed to the young converts more than half an hour, they seemed much melted with divine things, and earnestly desirous to be with Christ. I told them of the godly soul's perfect purity and full enjoyment of Christ, immediately upon its separation from the body; and that it would be for ever inconceivably more happy than *they* had ever been for any short space of time, when Christ seemed near to them, in prayer or other duties. And that I might make way for speaking of the resurrection of the body, and thence of the complete blessedness of the man. I said, But perhaps some of you will say, I love my body as well as my soul, and I cannot bear to think that my body should lie dead, if my soul is happy. To which they all cheerfully replied, *Muttoh, muttoh,* (before I had opportunity to prosecute what I designed respecting the resurrection,) No, no. They did not regard their bodies, if their souls might but be with Christ. Then they appeared "willing to be absent from the body, that they might be present with the Lord."

When I had spent some time with these, I turned to the other Indians, and spoke to them from Luke xix. 10. I had not discoursed long, before their concern rose to a great degree, and the house was filled with cries and groans. And when I insisted on the compassion and care of the Lord Jesus Christ for "those that were lost," who felt themselves undone, and could find no way of escape, this melted them down the more, and aggravated their distress, that they could not find, and could not come to so kind a Saviour.

Several who before had been but slightly awakened, were now deeply wounded with a sense of their sin and misery. One man in particular, who was never before awakened, was now made to feel that "the word of the Lord was quick and powerful, sharper than any two-edged sword." He seemed to be pierced to the heart with distress, and his concern appeared to be genuine. He said, "all the wickedness of

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his past life was brought fresh to his remembrance, and he saw all the vile actions he had done formerly, as if done but yesterday.

Found one that had newly received comfort, after pressing distress from day to day. Could not but rejoice in and admire the divine goodness in what appeared this day. There seems to be some good done by every discourse; some newly awakened every day, and some comforted. It was refreshing to observe the conduct of those that had obtained comfort; while others were distressed with fear and concern, they were lifting up their hearts to God for them.

Lord's day, Aug. 11. Discoursed in the forenoon from the parable of the Prodigal son, Luke xv. Observed no such remarkable effect of the word upon the assembly as in days past. There were numbers of the white people, Quakers and others, who were careless spectators.

In the afternoon I discoursed upon a part of St. Peter's sermon, Acts ii. At the close of my discourse to the Indians, I made an address to the white people; and divine truth seemed then to be attended with power both to English and Indians. Several of the *white Heathen* were awakened, and could no longer be idle spectators, but found they had souls to save or lose as well as the Indians, and a great concern spread through the whole assembly. This also appeared to be a day of God's power, especially towards the conclusion of it, although the influence attending the word seemed scarcely so impressive as in some days past.

The number of the Indians, old and young, was now upwards of seventy. One or two were newly awakened this day, who never had appeared to be moved with concern for heir souls before. Those who had obtained relief and comfort, and had given hopeful evidences of having passed a saving change, appeared humble and devout, and behaved in an agreeable and Christian manner. I was refreshed to see the tenderness of conscience manifest in some of them, an instance of which I cannot but notice. Perceiving one of them very sorrowful in the morning, I inquired into the cause of her sorrow, and found the difficulty was, she had been angry with her child the evening before, and was now exercised with fears lest her anger had been inordinate and sinful, which so grieved her that she waked and began to

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sob before daylight, and continued weeping for several hours together.

Aug. 14. Spent the day with the Indians. One of them who had some time since put away his wife, as is common among them, and taken another woman, being now brought under some serious impressions, was much concerned about that affair in particular. He seemed fully convinced of the wickedness of that practice, and earnestly desirous to know what God would have him do in his present circumstances. When the law of God respecting marriage had been explained, and the cause of his leaving his wife inquired into; and when it appeared she had given him no just occasion by unchastity to desert her, and that she was willing to forgive his past misconduct, and to live peaceably with him for the future, and that she moreover insisted on it as her right to enjoy him; he was then told that it was his indispensable duty to renounce the woman he had last taken, and receive the other who was his proper wife, and live peaceably with her during life. With this he readily and cheerfully complied, publicly renouncing the woman he had last taken, and promising to live with and be kind to his wife during life, she also promising the same to him. This afforded a clear demonstration of the power of God's word upon their hearts. I suppose a few weeks before, the whole world could not have persuaded this man to a compliance with Christian rules in this affair.

I was not without fears, lest this proceeding might be like putting "new wine into old bottles," and that some might be prejudiced against Christianity, when they saw the overtures made by it. But the man being much concerned about the matter, the determination of it could be deferred no longer, and it seemed to have a good effect among the Indians, who generally owned that the laws of Christ were good and right respecting marriage.

In the afternoon I preached to them from the apostle's discourse to Cornelius, Acts x. 34. There was some affectionate concern among them, though not equal to what appeared in several of the former days. They still attended and heard as for their lives, and the Lord's work seemed still to be promoted among them.

Aug. 15. Preached from Luke iv. 16—21. The word was attended with power upon the hearts of the hearers

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There was much concern, many tears, and affecting cries among them, and some in a special manner were deeply wounded and distressed. There were some newly awakened who came but this week, and convictions seemed to be promoted in others. Those who had received comfort, were likewise refreshed and strengthened, and the work of grace appeared to advance in all respects. The *passions* of the congregation in general were not so much moved as in some days past, but their *hearts* seemed as solemnly and deeply affected with divine truths as ever, at least in many instances, although the concern did not seem to be so universal, and to reach every individual in such a manner as it had appeared to do some days before.

Aug. 16. Spent considerable time in conversing privately with several of the Indians. Found one that had got relief and comfort, and could not but hope, when I came to discourse particularly with her, that her comfort was of the right kind.—In the afternoon I preached from John vi. 26—34. Toward the close of my discourse, divine truth was attended with considerable power upon the audience: more especially after public service was over, when I addressed several distressed persons.

A great concern spread pretty generally among them. Two persons especially were awakened to a sense of their sin and misery, one of whom was lately come, and the other had all along been very attentive, but could never before obtain any lively view of her perishing state. But now her concern and spiritual distress was such, that I had never seen any more pressing. Sundry old men were also in distress for their souls, so that they could not refrain from weeping and crying out aloud; and their bitter groans were the most convincing as well as affecting evidence of the reality and depth of their inward anguish.—God is powerfully at work among them. True and genuine convictions of sin are daily promoted in many instances, and some are newly awakened from time to time; although some few who felt a commotion in their *passions* in days past, seem now to discover that their *hearts* were never duly affected. I never saw the work of God appear so independent of means as at this time. I discoursed to the people on what I hoped had a proper tendency to promote conviction; but God's manner of working upon them appeared so entirely *supernatural*

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and above means, that I could scarcely believe he used me as an instrument, or what I spake as means of carrying on his work; for it seemed, as I thought, to have no connection with, nor dependance upon means in any respect. And though I could not but continue to use the means I thought proper for the promotion of the work, yet God appeared to work entirely without them; so that I seemed to do nothing, and indeed to have nothing to do, but to "stand still and see the salvation of God." I was obliged and delighted to say, "Not unto us," not unto instruments and means, "but to thy name be glory." The Lord appeared to work entirely alone, and I saw no room to attribute any part of this work to any created arm.

Aug. 17. Spent much time in private conferences with the Indians. Found one who had newly obtained relief and comfort, after a long season of spiritual trouble and distress. He had been one of my hearers in the Forks of Delaware for more than a year, and now followed me here under deep concern for his soul. I had abundant reason to hope that his comfort was well grounded. Afterwards discoursed publicly from Acts viii. 29—39; and took occasion to treat concerning Baptism, in order to their being instructed and prepared to partake of that ordinance. They were yet hungry and thirsty for the word of God, and appeared unwearied in their attendance upon it.

Lord's day, Aug. 18. Preached in the forenoon to an assembly of white people, made up of Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, *&c.* Afterwards preached to the Indians from John vi. 35—40. Considerable concern was visible among them, though not equal to what has frequently appeared of late.

Aug. 19. Preached from Isai. lv. 1. The word was attended with power upon those who had received comfort, and others also. The former were sweetly melted and refreshed with divine invitations, the latter much concerned for their souls, that they might obtain an interest in the glorious provisions of the gospel which were set before them. There were numbers of poor "impotent" souls that waited at the pool for healing, and "the Angel" seemed, as at other times of late, "to trouble the waters." There was a most desirable and comfortable prospect of the spiritual recovery of diseased perishing sinners.

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Aug. 23. Spent some time with the Indians in private discourse; afterwards preached to them from John vi. 44—50. There was as usual great attention and affection among them. Several appeared deeply concerned for their souls, and could not but express their inward anguish by tears and cries. But the amazing divine influence that has been so powerfully among them in general, seems at present in some degree abated, at least in regard to its universality; though many that have got no special comfort, still retain deep impressions of divine things.

Aug. 24. Spent the forenoon in discoursing to some of the Indians, in order to their receiving Baptism. When I had opened the nature of the ordinance, the obligations attending it, the duty of devoting ourselves to God in it, and the privilege of being in covenant with him, several of them seemed to be filled with love to God, and delighted with the thoughts of giving up themselves to him in that solemn and public manner. They were melted and refreshed with the hopes of enjoying the blessed Redeemer.

Afterwards I discoursed publicly from 1 Thess. iv. 13—17. There was a solemn attention, and some visible concern and affection in the time of public service, which was afterwards increased by some further exhortation to come to Christ, and give up their hearts to him, that they might be fitted to "ascend up and meet him in the air, when he shall descend with a shout, and the voice of the archangel."

There were several Indians newly come, who thought their state good and themselves happy, because they had sometimes lived with the white people under gospel-light. They had learned to read, were civil, *&c.* but appeared utter strangers to their own hearts, and altogether unacquainted with the power of religion, as well as with the doctrines of grace. With those I discoursed particularly after public worship, and was surprised to see their self-righteous disposition, their strong attachment to the covenant of works for salvation, and the high value they put upon their supposed attainments. After much discourse, one appeared in a measure convinced, that "by the deeds of the law no flesh living should be justified," and wept bitterly, inquiring "what he must do to be saved?" This was very comfortable to others, who had gained some experimental acquaintance with their own hearts; for before they were grieved with the

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conversation and conduct of these new-comers, who boasted of their knowledge, and thought well of themselves, but evidently discovered to those that had any experience of divine truths, that they knew nothing of their own hearts.

Lord's day, Aug. 25. Preached in the forenoon from Luke xv. 3—7. There being a multitude of white people present, I made an address to them at the close of my discourse to the Indians; but could not so much as keep them orderly. Scores of them kept walking and gazing about, and behaved more indecently than *any Indians* I ever addressed. A view of their abusive conduct so sunk my spirits, that I could scarcely go on with my work.

In the afternoon discoursed from Rev. iii. 20. The Indians behaved seriously, though many others were vain. Afterwards baptized twenty-five of the Indians, fifteen adults and ten children. Most of the adults I hope are really renewed; and there was not one of them but what I entertained some hopes of in that respect, though the case of two or three appeared more doubtful.

After the croud of spectators was gone, I called the baptized persons together, and discoursed to them in particular, at the same time inviting others to attend. I reminded them of the solemn obligations they were now under to live to God, warned them of the evil and dreadful consequences of careless living, especially after this public profession of Christianity; gave them directions for their future conduct, and encouraged them to watchfulness and devotion, by setting before them the comfort and happy conclusion of a religious life.—This was a delightful season indeed. Their hearts were engaged and cheerful in duty, and they rejoiced that they had in a public and solemn manner dedicated themselves to God. Love seemed to reign among them. They took each other by the hand with tenderness and affection, as if their hearts were knit together, while I was discoursing to them. Their deportment toward each other was such, that a serious spectator might justly be excited to cry out with admiration, "Behold how they love one another!" Several other Indians, seeing and hearing these things, were much affected and wept bitterly, longing to be partakers of the same joy and comfort that these discovered by their very countenances as well as conduct.

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Aug. 26. Preached to my people from John vi. 51—55. After I had discoursed some time, I addressed those in particular who entertained hopes that they were "passed from death to life." Opened to them the persevering nature of those consolations Christ gives his people, and which I trusted he had bestowed upon some in that assembly; shewed them that such have already the beginnings of "eternal life," (ver. 54.) and that their heaven shall speedily be completed.

I no sooner began to discourse in this strain, than the *dear Christians* in the congregation began to be melted with desire after the enjoyment of Christ, and of a state of perfect purity. They wept affectionately and yet joyfully; their tears and sobs discovered brokenness of heart, and yet were attended with real comfort and satisfaction. This humble melting state of mind appeared to be the genuine effect of a spirit of adoption, and was very far from that spirit of bondage that they not long since laboured under. The influence seemed to spread through the whole assembly, and there quickly appeared a wonderful concern among them. Many who had not yet found Christ as an all-sufficient Saviour, were now engaged in seeking after him. Their number was now about ninety-five, old and young, and almost all affected either with joy in Christ Jesus, or with the utmost concern to obtain an interest in him.

Being fully convinced it was now my duty to take a journey far back to the Indians on Susquahannah river, (it being now a proper season of the year to find them generally at home) after having spent some hours in public and private discourses with my people, I told them that I must now leave them for the present, and go to their brethren far remote and preach to them; that I wanted the Spirit of God should go with me, without whom nothing could be done to any good purpose among the Indians, as they themselves had had opportunity to see and observe by the barrenness of our meetings at some times, when there was much pains taken to affect and awaken sinners, and yet to little or no purpose. I also asked them, if they could not be willing to spend the remainder of the day in prayer for me, that God would go with me, and succeed my endeavours for the conversion of those poor souls. They cheerfully complied with the motion, and soon after I left them (the sun being then about an hour

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and half high at night) they began, and continued praying all night till nearly *break of day*, not suspecting till they went out and viewed the stars, and saw the morning-star a considerable height, that it was later than common bed-time. Thus eager and unwearied were they in their devotions. A remarkable night it was, attended, as my interpreter tells me, with a powerful influence upon those who were yet under concern, as well as those who had received comfort.

This day two distressed souls were brought I trust to the enjoyment of solid comfort in him, in whom the weary find rest. It was likewise remarkable, that this day an old Indian, who has all his days been an obstinate idolater, was brought to give up his rattles (which they use for music in their idolatrous feasts and dances) to the other Indians, who quickly destroyed them. This was done without any attempt of mine in the affair, for I said nothing to him about it. It seemed to be nothing but the power of God's word, without any particular application to this sin, that produced this effect. Thus God has begun, thus he has hitherto surprisingly carried on a work of grace amongst these Indinns. May the glory be ascribed to him, who is the sole author of it.

Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania, 1745.

Lord's day, Sep. 1. Preached to the Indians here from Luke xiv. 16——23. The word appeared to be attended with some power, and caused some tears in the assembly. Afterwards preached to a number of white people present, and observed many of them in tears, and some who had formerly been as careless and unconcerned about religion perhaps as the Indians. Towards night discoursed to the Indians again, and perceived a greater attention, and more visible concern among them than has been usual in these parts.

Sep. 3. Preached to the Indians from Isai. liii. 3—6. The divine presence seemed to be in the midst of the assembly and a considerable concern was visible. Several persons seemed to be awakened, amongst whom were two stupid creatures that I could scarcely ever before keep awake while I was preaching. Could not but rejoice at this appearance of things, though at the same time I could not but fear lest the concern they at present manifested, might prove like " a

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morning-cloud," as something of that nature had formerly done in these parts.

Sep. 5. Discoursed to the Indians from the parable of the sower, and afterwards conversed with a few individuals, who wept and cried out in an affecting manner. Others were filled with surprise and concern, and a divine power accompanied what was then spoken. Several of these persons had been with me to Crosweeksung, and had there seen, and some of them, I trust, felt the power of God's word in an effectual and saving manner. I asked one of them who had obtained comfort, and given hopeful evidences of being truly religious, why he now wept? He replied, "When he thought how Christ was slain like a lamb, and spilt his blood for sinners, he could not help crying when he was all alone." He then burst out into tears and cries again. I then asked his wife, who had likewise been abundantly comforted, wherefore she cried? She answered, "She was grieved that the Indians here would not come to Christ, as well as those at Crosweeksung." I asked her if she found a heart to pray for them, and whether Christ had seemed to be near to her of late in prayer, as in time past? (which is my usual method of expressing a sense of the divine presence.) She replied, "Yes, he had been near to her; and that at some times when she had been praying alone, her heart loved to pray so, that she could not bear to leave the place, but wanted to stay and pray longer."

Sep. 7. Preached to the Indians from John vi. 35—39. There was not so much appearance of concern among them as at several other times of late, yet they appeared serious and attentive.

Lord's day, Sep. 8. Discoursed to the Indians in the forenoon from John xii. 44—50. In the afternoon from Acts ii. 36—39. The word of God at this time seemed to fall with weight and influence upon them. There were but few present, but most of them were in tears, and several cried out under distressing concern for their souls. One man was considerably awakened, who never before discovered any concern for his soul. There appeared a remarkable work of the divine Spirit among them, almost generally, not unlike what has been of late at Crosweeksung. It seemed as if the divine influence had spread from thence to this place; although something of it appeared here in the awakening of my Interpreter, his wife, and some few others.

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Some of the careless white people now present were awakened, or at least startled, seeing the power of God so prevalent among the Indians. I then made a particular address to them, which seemed to produce some impression upon them. There are several Indians in these parts who have always refused to hear me preach, and have been enraged against those that have attended my preaching. But of late they are more bitter than ever, scoffing at Christianity, and sometimes asking my hearers, 'How often they have cried;' and 'whether they have not now cried enough?' So that they have already "trial of cruel mockings."

Sep. 9. Left the Indians in the Forks of Delaware, and set out on a journey towards Susquahannah river, directing my course towards the Indian town more than a hundred and twenty miles westward from the Forks. Travelled about fifteen miles, and there lodged.

Sep. 13. After having lodged out three nights, arrived at the Indian town I aimed at on Susquahannah, called Shaumoking, (one of the places, and the largest of them, that I visited in May last,) and was kindly received and entertained by the Indians; but had little satisfaction on account of the heathenish dance and revel they then held in the house where I was obliged to lodge, which I could not suppress, though I often intreated them to desist, for the sake of one of their own friends who was then sick in the house, and whose disorder was much aggravated by the noise. Alas, how destitute of "natural affection" are these poor uncultivated Pagans; although they seem somewhat kind in their own way. Of a truth, "the dark corners of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty."

This town, as I observed in my Journal of May last, lies partly on the east side of the river, partly on the west, and partly on a large island in it. It contains upwards of fifty houses, and (they tell me) near three hundred persons, though I never saw much more than half that number in it. But it consists of three different tribes of Indians, speaking three languages wholly *unintelligible* to each other. About one half of its inhabitants are Delawares; the others are called Senakas and Tutelas. The Indians of this place are counted the most drunken, mischievous and ruffainly of any in these parts; and Satan seems to have his seat in this town in an eminent manner.

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Sep. 14. Visited the Delaware king, who was supposed to be at the point of death when I was here in May last, but was now recovered. I discoursed with him and others respecting Christianity; spent the afternoon with them, and had more encouragement than I expected. The King appeared kindly disposed, and willing to be instructed: this gave me some encouragement that God would open an "effectual door" for my preaching the gospel here, and set up his kingdom in this place. It was a support and refreshment to me in the wilderness, and rendered my solitary circumstances comfortable and pleasant.

Lord's day, Sep. 15. Visited the Chief of the Delawares again; was kindly received by him, and discoursed to the Indians in the afternoon. Still entertained hopes that God would open their hearts to receive the gospel, though many of them were so drunk from day to day, that I could get no opportunity to speak to them. Towards night, discoursed with one that understood the languages of the Six Nations, (as they are usually called,) who discovered an inclination to hearken to Christianity; which gave me some hopes that the gospel might hereafter be sent to those nations far remote.

Sep. 16. Spent the forenoon with the Indians, endeavouring to instruct them from house to house, and to engage them, as far as I could, to be friendly to Christianity.—Towards night, went to one part of the town where they were sober, and got together nearly fifty persons, and discoursed to them, having first obtained the king's cheerful consent. There was a surprising attention among them, and they manifested a considerable desire of being further instructed. One or two seemed to be touched with some concern for their souls, and appeared well pleased with some conversation in private, after I had concluded my public discourse. My spirits were much refreshed with this appearance of things, and I could not but return with my Interpreter (having no other companion in this journey) to my poor hard lodgings, rejoicing in hope that God designed to set up his kingdom here, where Satan now reigns in the most eminent manner; and found uncommon freedom in addressing the throne of grace for the accomplishment of so great and glorious a work.

Sep. 17. Spent the forenoon in visiting and discoursing to

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the Indians. About noon left Shaumoking, (most of the Indians going out this day on their hunting design,) and travelled down the river south-westward.

Sep. 19. Visited an Indian town called *Juneauta*, situate on an island in Susquahannah. Was much discouraged with the temper and behaviour of the Indians here, although they appeared friendly when I was with them the last spring, and then gave me encouragement to come and see them again. But they now seemed resolved to retain their Pagan notions, and persist in their idolatrous practices.

Sep. 20. Visited the Indians again at Juneauta island, and found them almost universally very busy in making preparations for a great sacrifice and dance. Had no opportunity to get them together in order to discourse with them about Christianity, because they were so much engaged about their sacrifice. My spirits were much sunk with a prospect so very discouraging, especially seeing I had now no Interpreter but a Pagan, who was as much attached to idolatry as any of them, (my own Interpreter having left me the day before, being obliged to attend upon some important business elsewhere, and knowing that he could neither speak nor understand the language of *these* Indians;) so that I was under the greatest disadvantages imaginable. However, I attempted to discourse privately with some of them, but without any appearance of success: notwithstanding I still tarried with them.

In the evening they met together, near a hundred of them, and danced round a large fire, having prepared ten fat deer for the sacrifice. The fat of the inwards they burnt in the fire while they were dancing; sometimes they raised the flame to a prodigious height, yelling and shouting in such a manner that they might easily have been heard two miles or more. They continued their sacred dance all night, or nearly so: after which they ate the flesh of the sacrifice, and so retired each one to his lodging.—I enjoyed little satisfaction this night, being entirely alone on the island, (as to any Christian company,) and in the midst of this idolatrous revel. Having walked to and fro till body and mind were pained and much oppressed, I at length crept into a little crib made for corn, and there slept on the poles.

Lord's day, Sep. 21. Spent the day with the Indians on [illegible] island. As soon as they were well up in the morning, I

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attempted to instruct them, and laboured for that purpose to get them together, but quickly found they had something else to do; for near noon they gathered together all their *powwows*, (or conjurers) and set about half a dozen of them to playing their juggling tricks, and acting their frantic distracted postures, in order to find out why they were then so sickly upon the island, numbers of them being at that time disordered with a fever and bloody flux. In this exercise they were engaged for several hours, making all the wild, ridiculous and distracted motions imaginable; sometimes singing, sometimes howling, sometimes extending their hands to the utmost stretch, spreading all their fingers, and seemed to push with them, as if they designed to fright something away, or at least keep it off at arms-end; sometimes stroking their faces with their hands, then spurting water as fine as mist; sometimes setting flat on the earth, then bowing down their faces to the ground; wringing their sides, as if in pain and anguish, twisting their faces and turning up their eyes.

Their monstrous actions tended to excite ideas of horror, and seemed to have something in them peculiarly suited to demon worship. Some of them, I could observe, were much more fervent and devout in the business than others, and seemed to chant, "peep and mutter" with a great degree of warmth and vigour, as if determined to awaken and engage the powers below. I sat at the distance of about thirty feet from them, undiscovered, with my Bible in my hand, resolving if possible to spoil their sport, and prevent their receiving any answers from the *infernal* world. I sat and viewed the whole scene. They continued their hideous charms and incantations for more than three hours, till they had all wearied themselves out, although they had in that space of time taken sundry intervals of rest. At length they broke up, without appearing to receive any answer.

After they had done powwowing, I attempted to discourse with them about Christianity; but they soon scattered, and gave me no opportunity for any thing of that nature. A view of these things, while I was entirely alone in the wilderness, destitute of the society of any one that so much as "named the name of Christ," greatly sunk my spirits; gave me the most gloomy turn of mind imaginable, almost stripped me of all resolution and hope respecting further attempts

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for propagating the gospel, and converting the Pagans, and rendered this the most burdensome and disagreeable Sabbath that ever I saw. Nothing, I can truly say, sunk and distressed me like the loss of my hope respecting *their conversion*. This concern appeared so great and so much my own, that I seemed to have nothing to do on earth, if this failed. A prospect of the greatest success in the saving conversion of souls under gospel light, would have done little or nothing towards compensating for the loss of my hope in this respect; and my spirits now were so damped and depressed, that I had no heart nor power to make any further attempts among them for that purpose; nor could I possibly recover my hope, resolution and courage, by the utmost of my endeavours.

Many of the Indians of this island understand the English language very well, having formerly lived in some part of Maryland among or near the white people; but they are very vicious, drunken and profane, although not so savage as those who have less acquaintance with the English. Their customs in divers respects differ from those of other Indians upon this river. They do not bury their dead in a common form, but let their flesh consume above ground in close cribs made for that purpose; and at the end of a year, or perhaps sometimes a longer space of time, they take the bones, when the flesh is all consumed, and wash and scrape them, and afterwards bury them with some ceremony.—— Their method of charming or conjuring over the sick, seems somewhat different from that of other Indians, though for substance the same: and the whole of it, among these and others, is perhaps an imitation of what seems, by Naaman's expression, 2 Kings v. 11, to have been the custom of the ancient Heathens. For it seems chiefly to consist in "striking their hands over the diseased," repeatedly stroking them, "and calling upon their gods," excepting the spurting of water like a mist, and some other frantic ceremonies common to the other conjurations, which I have already mentioned.

When I was in these parts in May last, I had an opportunity of learning many of the notions and customs of the Indians, as well as of observing many of their practices. I then travelled more than a hundred and thirty miles upon the river above the English settlements; and having in that

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journey a view of some persons of seven or eight distinct tribes, speaking so many different languages. But of all the sights I ever saw among them, or indeed any where else, none appeared so frightful, or so near akin to what is usually imagined of *infernal powers*; none ever excited such images of terror in my mind, as the appearance of one who was a devout and zealous reformer, or rather restorer of what he supposed was the ancient religion of the Indians.

He made his appearance in his pontifical garb, which was a coat of bear's skins, dressed with the hair on, and hanging down to his toes; a pair of bear-skin stockings, and a great *wooden* face, painted the one half black and the other tawny, about the colour of an Indian's skin, with an extravagant mouth, cut very much awry; the face fastened to a bear-skin cap, which was drawn over his head. He advanced toward me with the instrument in his hand that he used for music in his idolatrous worship, which was a dry tortoise-shell, with some corn in it, and the neck of it drawn on to a piece of wood, which made a very convenient handle. As he came forward, he beat his tune with the rattle, and danced with all his might, but did not suffer any part of his body, not so much as his fingers, to be seen: and no man would have guessed by his appearance and actions, that he could have been a human creature, if they had not had some intimation of it otherwise. When he came near me, I could not but shrink away from him, although it was then noon-day, and I knew who it was, his appearance and gestures were so prodigiously frightful. He had a house consecrated to religious uses, with divers images cut out upon the several parts of it; I went in and found the ground beat almost as hard as a rock with their frequent dancing in it.—I discoursed with him about Christianity; some of my discourse he seemed to like, but some of it he disliked entirely. He told me that God had taught him his religion, and that he never would turn from it, but wanted to find some that would join heartily with him in it; for the Indians, he said, were grown very degenerate and corrupt. He had thoughts, he said, of leaving all his friends, and travelling abroad, in order to find some that would join with him; for he believed God had some good people somewhere that felt as he did. He had not always, he said, felt as he now did, but had formerly been like the rest of the Indians, until about four or five

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years before that time. Then, he said, his heart was very much distressed, so that he could not live among the Indians, but got away into the woods, and lived alone for some months. At length, he says, God comforted his heart, and showed him what he should do; and since that time he had known God, and tried to serve him; and loved all men, be they who they would, so as he never did before.

He treated me with uncommon courtesy, and seemed to be hearty in it. I was told by the Indians, that he opposed their drinking strong liquor with all his power; and if at any time he could not dissuade them from it, by all he could say, he would leave them, and go crying into the woods. It was manifest he had a set of religious notions that he had examined for himself, and not taken for granted upon bare tradition; and he relished or disrelished whatever was spoken of a religious nature, according as it either agreed or disagreed with his standard. While I was discoursing he would sometimes say, "Now that I like: so God has taught me," *&c.* And some of his sentiments seemed very just. Yet he utterly denied the being of a *devil*, and declared there was no such a creature known among the Indians of old times, whose religion he supposed he was attempting to revive. He likewise told me, that departed souls all went southward, and that the difference between the good and bad was this, that the former were admitted into a beautiful town with spiritual walls, or walls agreeable to the nature of souls; and that the latter would for ever hover round those walls, and in vain attempt to get in. He seemed to be sincere, honest and conscientious in his own way, and according to his own religious notions, which was more than I ever saw in any other Pagan. I perceived he was looked upon, and derided amongst most of the Indians as a precise zealot, that made a needless noise about religious matters. But I must say, there was something in his temper and disposition that looked more like true religion than any thing I ever observed amongst other Heathens.

But alas, how deplorable is the state of the Indians upon this river. The brief representation I have here given of their notions and manners, is sufficient to shew that they are "led captive by Satan at his will," in the most eminent manner. It might likewise be sufficient to excite the compassion, and

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engage the prayers of pious souls for these their fellow men, who sit in "the regions of the shadow of death."

Sep. 22. Made some further attempts to instruct and christianize the Indians on this island, but all to no purpose. They live so near the white people, that they are always in the way of strong liquor, as well as the ill examples of *nominal* christians; which renders it so unspeakably difficult to treat with them about Christianity.

Forks of Delaware, 1745.

October 1. Discoursed to the Indians here, and spent some time in private conferences with them about their souls, and afterwards invited them to accompany, or if not, to follow me down to Crosweeksung as soon as their conveniency would admit. Several of them cheerfully accepted the invitation.

Crosweeksung in New-Jersey, 1745.

Preached to my people from John xiv. 1—6. The divine presence seemed to be in the assembly. Numbers were affected with divine truth, and it was a season of comfort to some in particular. What a difference is there between these and the Indians I had lately treated with upon Susquahannah! To be with *those* seemed like being banished from God, and all his people; to be with *these* like being admitted into his family, and to the enjoyment of his divine presence. How great is the change lately made upon numbers of these Indians, who not many months ago were as thoughtless and averse to Christianity, as those upon Susquahannah: and how astonishing is that grace which has made this change!

Lord's day, October 6. Preached in the forenoon from John x. 7—11. There was a considerable melting among my people; the dear young Christians were refreshed, comforted and strengthened, and one or two persons newly awakened. In the afternoon I discoursed on the story of the jailor, Acts xvi. In the evening expounded Acts xx. 1—12. At this time a very agreeable melting spread through the whole assembly. I scarcely ever saw a more desirable affection in any number of people in my life. There was hardly a dry eye to be seen among them, and yet nothing boisterous or unseemly, nothing that tended to disturb the public worship; but rather to encourage and excite

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Christian ardour and a spirit of true devotion. Those who I have reason to hope were savingly renewed, were first affected, and seemed to rejoice much, but with brokenness of spirit and godly fear. Their exercises were much the same with those mentioned in my Journal of August 26, evidently appearing to be the genuine effect of a Spirit of adoption.

After public service was over I withdrew, (being much tired with the labours of the day,) and the Indians continued praying among themselves for near two hours together; which continued exercises appeared to be attended with a blessed quickening influence from on high. I could not but earnestly wish that numbers of God's people had been present at this season, to see and hear these things which I am sure must refresh the heart of every true lover of Zion's interest. To see those who very lately were pagan idolaters, "having no hope, and without God in the world," now filled with a sense of divine love and grace, and worshipping the "Father in spirit and in truth," as numbers here appeared to do, was not a little affecting; and especially to see them appear so tender and humble, as well as lively, fervent and devout in the divine service.

Oct. 24. Discoursed from John iv. 13, 14. There was great attention, and an unaffected melting in the assembly. It is surprising to see how eager they are of hearing the word of God. I have oftentimes thought they would cheerfully and diligently attend divine worship twenty-four hours together, had they an opportunity so to do.

Oct. 25. Discoursed to my people respecting the resurrection, from Luke xx. 27—36. When I came to mention the blessedness which the godly shall then enjoy, their final freedom from death, sin and sorrow; their equality with the angels in regard to nearness and enjoyment of Christ, (some imperfect degree of which they are favoured with in the present life) and their being the children of God, openly acknowledged by him as such—when I mentioned these things, numbers of them were much affected, and melted with a view of this blessed state.

Oct. 26. Being called to assist in the administration of the Lord's supper, in a neighbouring congregation, I invited my people to go with me, who in general embraced the opportunity cheerfully, and attended the several discourses of

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that solemnity with diligence and affection, most of them now understanding something of the English language.

Lord's day, Oct. 27. While I was preaching to a vast assembly of people abroad, who appeared generally easy and secure, there was one Indian woman, a stranger, who never heard me preach before, nor ever regarded any thing about religion, (being now persuaded by some of her friends to come to meeting, though much against her will,) was seized with pressing concern for her soul, and soon after expressed a great desire of going home, (more than forty miles distant,) to call her husband, that he also might be awakened to a concern for his soul. Some other of the Indians also appeared to be affected with divine truth this day.

The pious people of the English, numbers of whom I had opportunity to converse with, seemed refreshed with seeing the Indians worship God in that devout and solemn manner with the assembly of his people. With those mentioned in Acts xi. 18, they could not but "glorify God, saying, Then hath God also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life."

Oct. 28. Preached again to a great assembly, and some of my people appeared affected. When public worship was over, they were inquisitive whether there would not be another sermon in the evening, or before the sacramental solemnity was concluded; being still desirous to hear God's word.

Crosweeksung.

Oct. 28. Discoursed from Matth. xxii. 1—13. I was enabled to open the scripture, and adapt my discourse and expressions to the capacities of my people, I know not how, in a plain, easy and familiar manner, beyond all that I could have done by the utmost study: and this, without any special difficulty, with as much freedom as if I had been addressing a common audience, who had been instructed in the doctrine of Christianity all their days.

The word of God at this time seemed to fall upon the assembly with a divine power and influence, especially toward the close of my discourse: there was both a sweet melting and bitter mourning in the audience. Christians were refreshed and comforted, convictions were revived in others, and several persons newly awakened, who had never been with us before. So much of the divine presence appeared

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in the assembly, that it seemed, "this was no other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven." And all that had any savour and relish of divine things were even constrained by the sweetness of that season to say, "Lord, it is good for us to be here." If ever there was amongst my people an appearance of the New Jerusalem, "as a bride adorned for her husband," there was much of it at this time; and so agreeable was the entertainment where such tokens of the divine presence were, that I could scarcely be willing in the evening to leave the place, and repair to my lodgings. I was refreshed with a view of the continuance of this blessed work of grace among them, and its influence upon strangers of the Indians that had of late, from time to time, providentially fallen into these parts.

November 1. Discoursed from Luke xxiv, briefly explaining the whole chapter, and insisting especially upon some particular passages. The discourse produced an affectionate concern in some of the hearers, though not equal to what has often appeared among them.

Lord's day, Nov. 3. Preached to my people from Luke xvi. 17, more especially for the sake of several lately brought under deep concern for their souls. There was some apparent concern and affection in the assembly, though far less than has been usual of late. Afterwards I baptized fourteen of the Indians, six adults and eight children. One of these was near fourscore years of age, and I have reason to hope God has brought her savingly home to himself. Two of the others were men of fifty years old, who had been remarkable even among the Indians for their wickedness; one of them had been a murderer, and both notorious drunkards, as well as excessively quarrelsome; yet now I cannot but hope both are become subjects of divine grace, especially the worst of them.* I deferred their baptism for many weeks after they had given evidence of having passed a great change, that I might have more opportunities to observe the fruits of those impressions they had been under, and apprehended the way was now clear. There was not one of the adults I baptized, but what had given me some comfortable grounds to hope, that God had wrought a work of special

* The man particularly mentioned in my Journal of August 10th, as being then awakened.

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grace in their hearts, although I could not find the same satisfaction respecting one or two of them.

Nov. 4. Discoursed from John xi, briefly explaining most of the chapter. Divine truth made deep impressions upon many in the assembly; numbers were affected with a view of the power of Christ, manifested in his raising the dead; and especially when this instance of his power was improved to shew his power and ability to raise dead souls (such as many of them then felt themselves to be) to a spiritual life; as also to raise the dead at the last day, and dispense to them due rewards and punishments.

Several persons lately come from remote places, were now brought under deep and pressing concern for their souls, particularly one, who not long since came half drunk, and railed on us, and attempted by all means to disturb us while engaged in worship, was now so concerned and distressed for her soul, that she seemed unable to get any ease without an interest in Christ. There were many tears and affectionate sobs and groans in the assembly in general, some weeping for themselves, others for their friends. And although persons are doubtless much easier affected now, than they were in the beginning of this religious concern, when tears and cries for their souls were things unheard of among them; yet I must say, their affection in general appeared genuine and unfeigned; and especially this appeared very conspicuous in those newly awakened. So that true and genuine convictions of sin, seem still to be begun and promoted in many instances.

Baptized a child this day; several of the baptized persons were affected with the administration of the ordinance, being thereby reminded of their own solemn engagements. I have now baptized in all forty seven of the Indians, twenty three adults, and twenty four children; thirty five of them belonging to these parts, and the rest to the Forks of Delaware. Through grace, they have none of them as yet been left to disgrace their profession of Christianity by any scandalous or unbecoming behaviour.

I might now justly make many remarks on a work of grace so very remarkable as this has been in divers respects; but shall confine myself to a few general hints only.

(1.) It is remarkable that God began this work among the

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Indians at a time when I had the least hope, and, to my apprehension, the least rational prospect of success. My bodily strength being then much wasted by a late tedious journey to Susquahannah, where I was necessarily exposed to hardships and fatigues among the Indians; my mind being also exceedingly depressed with a view of the unsuccessfulness of my labours, (since I had little reason so much as to hope that God had made me instrumental of the saving conversion of any of the Indians, except my Interpreter and his wife;) whence I was ready to look upon myself as a burden to the Honourable Society that employed and supported me in this business, and began to entertain serious thoughts of giving up my mission; and almost resolved I would do so, at the conclusion of the present year, if I had then no better prospect of special success in my work than I had hitherto had. Yet I cannot say I entertained these thoughts because I was weary of the labours and fatigues that necessarily attended my present business, or because I had light and freedom in my own mind to turn any other way; but purely through dejection of spirit, pressing discouragement, and an apprehension of its being unjust to spend money consecrated to religious uses, only to civilize the Indians, and bring them to an external profession of Christianity, which was all that I could then see any prospect of having effected, while God seemed (as I thought) evidently to frown upon the design of their saving conversion, by withholding the convincing and renewing influences of his blessed Spirit from attending the means I had hitherto used for that end.

In this frame of mind I first visited these Indians at Crosweeksung, apprehending it was my indispensable duty (seeing I had heard there was a number in these parts) to make some attempts for their conversion to God, though I cannot say that I had any hope of success, my spirits were now so extremely sunk. And I do not know that my hopes respecting the conversion of the Indians were ever reduced to so low an ebb, since I had any special concern for them as at this time. Yet *this* was the very season that God saw fit to begin this glorious work in. Thus he "ordained strength out of weakness," by making bare his almighty arm at a time when all hopes and human probabilities appeared to fail. Whence I learn, that it is good to follow the path of duty, though in the midst of darkness and discouragement.

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(2) It is remarkable how God providentially, and in a manner almost unaccountable, called these Indians together to be instructed in the great things that concerned their souls; and how he seized their minds with the most solemn and weighty concern for their eternal salvation as fast as they came to the place where his word was preached. When I first came into these parts in June, I found not one man at the place I visited, but only four women and a few children: but before I had been here many days, they gathered from all quarters, some from more than twenty miles distant; and when I made them a second visit in the beginning of August, some came more than forty miles to hear me. Many came without any intelligence of what was going on here, and consequently without any design of theirs, so much as to gratify their curiosity; so that it seemed as if God had summoned them together from all quarters for nothing else but to deliver his message to them; and that he did this, with regard to some of them, without making use of any *human* means; although pains were taken by some of them to give notice to others at remote places.

Nor is it less surprising that they were one after another affected with a solemn concern for their souls, almost as soon as they came upon the spot where divine truths were taught them. I often thought that their coming to our place of worship, was like Saul and his messengers coming among the prophets; they no sooner came but they prophesied; and these were almost as soon affected with a sense of their sin and misery, and with an earnest concern for deliverance, as they made their appearance in our assembly.—After this work of grace began with power among them, it was common for strangers of the Indians, before they had been with us one day, to become deeply convinced of their sin and misery, and to inquire with great solicitude, "What they should do to be saved?"

(3) It is likewise remarkable how God preserved these poor ignoront Indians from being prejudised against me, and the truths I taught them, by those means that were used for that purpose by ungodly people. Many attempts were made by some ill-minded persons of the white people to prejudice them against, or fright them from Christianity. They sometimes told them, the Indians were well enough already; that there was no need of all this *noise* about

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Christianity; that if they were Christians, they would be in no safer or happier state, than they were in already. Sometimes they told them that I was a *knave*, a *deceiver*, and the like; that I daily taught them a number of lies, and had no other design but to impose upon them.

When none of these suggestions would avail, they then tried another expedient, and told the Indians, "My design was to gather together as large a body of them as I possibly could, and then sell them to England for slaves." Nothing could be more likely to terrify the Indians than this, as they are naturally of a jealous disposition, and the most averse to a state of servitude perhaps of any people living. But all these wicked insinuations, through divine goodness overruling, constantly turned against the authors of them, and only served to engage the affections of the Indians more firmly to me. Being awakened to a solemn concern about their souls, could not but observe, that the persons who endeavoured to imbitter their minds against me, were altogether thoughtless, vicious and profane; and therefore, that if they had no concern for their own souls, it was not likely they should have any for the souls of others.

It seems yet the more wonderful that the Indians were preserved from once hearkening to these suggestions, in as much as I was an utter stranger among them, and could give them no assurance of my sincere affection to and concern for them, by any thing that was past,—while the persons that insinuated these things were their old acquaintance, who had had frequent opportunites of gratifying their thirsty appetites with strong drink, and consequently, had the greatest interest in their affections. But from this instance of their preservation from fatal prejudices, I have had occasion with admiration to say, "If God will work, who can hinder or resist?"

(4) Nor is it less wonderful how God was pleased to provide a remedy for my want of skill and freedom in the Indian language, by remarkably fitting my Interpreter for, and assisting him in the performance of his work. It might reasonably be supposed that I must labour under great disadvantage in addressing the Indians by an interpreter; and that divine truths would unavoidably loose much of the energy and pathos with which they might at first be delivered, as coming to the audience second hand. But though, to

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my sorrow and discouragement, this has often been the case in times past, when my Interpreter had little or no sense of divine things, yet now it was quite otherwise. I cannot think my addresses to the Indians ordinarily since the beginning of this season of grace, have lost any thing of the power or pungency with which they were made, unless it were sometimes for want of pertinent and pathetic terms and expressions in the Indian language; and this difficulty could scarcely have been obviated by my personal acquaintance with the language. My interpreter had before gained some good degree of doctrinal knowledge, whereby he was rendered capable of understanding and communicating, without mistakes, the intent and meaning of my discourses, and that without being obliged to interpret *verbatim*. He had likewise an experimental acquaintance with divine things; and it pleased God at this season to inspire his mind with longing desires for the conversion of the Indians, and to give him admirable zeal and fervency in addressing them. And it is remarkable, that when I was favoured with special assistance in any work, and enabled to speak with more than common fervency and power, under a lively and affecting sense of divine things, he was usually affected in the same manner almost instantly, and seemed at once quickened and enabled to speak in the same pathetic language, and under the same influence that I did. A surprising energy often accompanied the word at such seasons; the face of the whole assembly would be apparently changed almost in an instant, and tears and sobs became common among them.

He also appeared to have such a clear doctrinal view of God's usual methods of dealing with souls under a preparatory work of conviction and humiliation as he never had before; so that I could, with his help, discourse freely with the distressed persons about their internal exercises their fears, discouragements and temptations. He likewise took pains day and night to repeat and inculcate upon the minds of the Indians the truths I taught them daily; and this he appeared to do, not from spiritual pride, and an affectation of setting himself up as a public teacher, but from a spirit of faithfulness, and an honest concern for their souls.

His conversation among the Indians has likewise been savoury, such as becomes a Christian, and a person employed in his work; and I may justly say, he has been a great com-

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fort to me, and a great instrument of promoting this good work among the Indians. Whatever be the state of his own soul, it is apparent that God has remarkably fitted him for this work, and made it manifest, that without bestowing on me the gift of tongues, he could find a way to enable me as effectually to convey the truths of his glorious gospel to the minds of these poor benighted Pagans.

(5) It is further remarkable, that God has carried on his work here by such means, and in such a manner as tended to obviate, and leave no room for those prejudices and objections that have often been raised against such a work. When persons have been awakened to a solemn concern for their souls, by hearing the more awful truths of God's word, and the terrors of the divine law insisted upon, it has usually in such cases been objected by some, that such persons were only frightened with a fearful noise of hell and damnation; and that there was no evidence that their concern was the effect of a divine influence. But God has left no room for this objection in the present case, this work of grace having been begun and carried on, by almost one continued strain of gospel invitation to perishing sinners, as may reasonably be guessed, from a view of the passages of scripture which I chiefly insisted upon in my discourses from time to time; and which I have for that purpose inserted in my Journal.

Nor have I ever seen so general an awakening in any assembly in my life as appeared here, while I was opening and insisting upon the parable of the great supper, Luke. xiv. In which discourse I was enabled to set before my hearers the unsearchable riches of gospel grace. Not that I would be understood here, that I never instructed the Indians respecting their fallen state, and the sinfulness and misery of it: for this was what I at first chiefly insisted upon, and endeavoured to repeat and inculcate in almost every discourse, knowing that without this foundation I should but build upon the sand; and that it would be in vain to invite them to Christ, unless I could convince them of their *need* of him, Mark ii. 17. Yet this great awakening, this surprising concern was never excited by any harangues of terror, but always appeared most remarkable when I insisted upon the compassion of a dying Saviour, the plentiful provisions of the gospel, and the free offers of divine grace

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to needy distressed sinners. Nor would I be understood to insinuate, that such a religious concern might justly be suspected as not being genuine, and from a divine influence, because produced by the preaching of terror: for this is perhaps God's more usual way of awakening sinners, and appears entirely agreeable to scripture and sound reason. But what I meant here to observe is, that God saw fit to improve and bless milder means for the effectual awakening of these Indians, and thereby obviated the forementioned objection, which the world might otherwise have had a more plausible colour of making.

And as there has been no room for any plausible objection against this work, in regard to the *means;* so neither in regard to the *manner* in which it has been carried on. It is true that persons concern for their souls has been exceeding great, the convictions of their sin and misery have risen to a high degree, and produced many tears and groans; but they have not been attended with those disorders, either bodily or mental, that have sometimes prevailed among persons under religious impressions. There has been no appearance of those convulsions, bodily agonies, frightful screamings and swoonings, that have been so much complained of in some places; although there have been some who, with the jailor, have been made to tremble under a sense of their sin and misery; numbers who have been made to cry out from a distressing view of their perishing state, and some that have for a time been in great measure deprived of their bodily strength, yet without any such convulsive appearances.

Nor has there been any thing of mental disorder here, such as visions, trances, imaginations of being under prophetic inspiration, and the like; or scarcely any unbecoming disposition to appear remarkably affected either with concern or joy. Yet I must confess that I observed one or two persons, whose concern I thought was in a considerable measure affected; and one whose joy appeared to be of the same kind. But these workings of spiritual pride, I endeavoured to crush in their first appearances, and have not since observed any affection, either of joy or sorrow, but what appeared genuine and unaffected. But,

(6) The *effects* of this work have likewise been very remarkable. I doubt not but that many of these people have gained more doctrinal knowledge of divine truth, since I

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first visited them in June last, than could have been instilled into their minds by the most diligent use of proper and instructive means for whole years together, without such a divine influence. Their Pagan notions and idolatrous practices seem to be entirely abandoned in these parts. They are regulated, and appear regularly disposed in the affairs of Marriage; an instance whereof I have given in my Journal of August 14. They seem generally divorced from drunkenness, their darling vice, and the "sin that easily besets them:" so that I do not know of more than two or three who have been my steady hearers, that have drank to excess since I first visited them, although it was common before for some or other of them to be drunk almost every day: and some of them seem now to fear this sin in particular more than death itself. A principle of honesty and justice appears in many of them, they are concerned to discharge their old debts, which they have neglected, and perhaps scarcely thought of for years past. Their manner of living is much more decent and comfortable than formerly, having now the benefit of that money which they used to consume upon strong drink. Love seems to reign among them, especially those who have given evidences of a saving change: and I never saw any appearance of bitterness or censoriousness in these, nor any disposition to esteem themselves better than others, who had not received the like mercy.

As their sorrows under convictions have been great and pressing, so many of them have since appeared to "rejoice with joy unspeakable, and full of glory:" yet I never saw any thing ecstatic or flighty in their joy. Their consolations do not incline them to lightness; on the contrary, they are attended with solemnity, oftentimes with tears, and an apparent brokenness of heart, as may be seen in several passages of my Journal. In this respect some of them have been surprised at themselves, and have with concern observed to me, that "when their hearts have been glad," (which is a phrase they commonly make use of to express spiritual joy,) "they could not help crying for all."

Upon the whole, I think I may justly say, here are all the symptoms and evidences of a remarkable work of grace among these Indians, that can reasonably be desired or expected. May the great Author of this work maintain and promote the same here, and propagate it every where, till "the whole earth be filled with his glory!" Amen.

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I have now rode more than three thousand miles, that I have kept an exact account of, since the beginning of March last; and almost the whole of it has been in my own proper business as a Missionary, upon the design (either immediately or more remotely) of propagating Christian knowledge among the Indians. I have taken pains to look out for a colleague or companion to travel with me; and have likewise used endeavours to procure something for his support among religious persons in New-England, which cost me a journey of several hundred miles in length; but have not as yet found any person qualified and disposed for this good work, although I had some encouragement from ministers and others, that it was hopeful a maintenance might be procured for one, when *the man* should be found.

I have likewise of late represented to the gentlemen concerned with this mission, the necessity of having an English school speedily set up among these Indians, who are now willing to be at the pains of gathering together in a body for this purpose. And in order to it I have humbly proposed to them the collecting of money for the maintenance of a schoolmaster, and defraying of other necessary charges in the promotion of this good work; which they are now attempting in the various congregations of Christians to which they respectively belong.

The several companies of Indians I have preached to in the summer past, live at great distances from each other. It is more than seventy miles from Crosweeksung in New-Jersey, to the Forks of Delaware in Pensylvania: and from thence to sundry of the Indian settlements I visited on Susquahannah, it is more than a hundred and twenty miles. And so much of my time is necessarily consumed in journeying, that I can have but little for any of my necessary studies, and consequently for the study of the Indian languages in particular; especially as I am obliged to discourse so frequently to the Indians at each of these places while I am with them, in order to redeem time to visit the rest. I am at times almost discouraged from attempting to gain any acquaintance with the Indian languages, they are so very numerous, (some account of which I gave in my Journal of May last,) and especially seeing my other labours and fatigues ingross almost the whole of my time, and bear exceeding hard upon my constitution, so that my health is

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much impaired. However, I have taken considerable pains to learn the Delaware language, and propose still to do so, as far as my other business and bodily health will admit. I have already made some proficiency in it, though I have laboured under great disadvantages in my attempts of that nature. And it is but just to observe here, that all the pains I took to acquaint myself with the language of the Indians with whom I spent my first year, were of little or no service to me here among the Delawares; so that my work, when I came among these Indians, was all to begin anew.

As these poor ignorant Pagans stood in need of having "line upon line, and precept upon precept," in order to their being instructed and grounded in the principles of Christianity; so I preached "publicly, and taught from house to house," almost every day for whole weeks together, when I was with them. And my public discourses did not then make up one half of my work, while so many were constantly coming to me with that important inquiry, "What must we do to be saved?" and opening to me the various exercises of their minds. Yet I can say, to the praise of rich grace, that the apparent success with which my labours were crowned, unspeakably more than compensated for the labour itself, and was likewise a great means of supporting and carrying me through the business and fatigues, which it seems my nature would have sunk under, without such an encouraging prospect. But although this success has afforded matter of support, comfort and thankfulness; yet in this season I have found great need of assistance in my work, and have been much oppressed for want of *one* to bear a part of my labours and hardships.

May the Lord of the harvest send forth other labourers into this part of his harvest, that those who sit in darkness may see great light, and that the whole earth may be filled with the knowledge of himself! Amen.

DAVID BRAINERD.

November 23, 1745.

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DIVINE GRACE DISPLAYED;

OR,

The Continuance and Progress

OF A

Remarkable work of grace among some of the Indians belonging to the Provinces of New-Jersey and Pensylvania,

Justly represented in a

JOURNAL,

KEPT BY ORDER OF THE HONOURABLE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE;

With some general Remarks,

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED, AN APPENDIX CONTAINING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFICULTIES ATTENDING THE WORK OF A MISSIONARY AMONG THE INDIANS.

BY DAVID BRAINERD,

Minister of the Gospel, and Missionary from the said Society.

Crosweeksung in New-Jersey, 1745.

LORD'S day, November 24. Preached both parts of the day from the story of Zaccheus, Luke xix. 1—9. In the latter exercise, when I opened and insisted upon the salvation that comes to the sinner, upon his becoming a son of Abraham, or a true believer, the word seemed to be attended with divine power to the hearts of the hearers. Numbers were much affected, former convictions were revived, one or two persons newly awakened, and a most affectionate engagement in divine service appeared among them universally.

These impressions appeared to be the genuine effect of God's word brought home to their hearts, by the power and influence of the divine Spirit.

Nov. 26. After spending some time in private conferences with my people, I discoursed publicly among them from John v. 1—9. I was favoured with some special freedom and fervency in my discourse, and a powerful energy accompanied the word. Many wept, and scarcely any appeared unconcerned in the whole assembly. The influence that seized the audience appeared gentle, and yet pungent and efficacious. It produced no boisterous commotion of

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the passions, but seemed deeply to affect the heart; and excited in the persons under convictions of their lost state, heavy groans and tears: and in others who had obtained comfort, a sweet and humble melting. It seemed like the gentle but steady showers that effectually water the earth, without violently beating upon the surface.

The persons lately awakened were deeply distressed for their souls, and appeared earnestly solicitious to obtain an interest in Christ: and some of them, after public worship was over, in anguish of spirit, said, "They knew not what to do, nor how to get their wicked hearts changed," *&c.*

Nov. 28. Discoursed to the Indians publicly, after having privately endeavoured to instruct some of them in the duties of Christianity. Opened and made remarks upon the sacred story of our Lord's transfiguration, Luke ix. 28—36, principally with a view to the edification and consolation of God's people. I observed some who I have reason to think are truly such, exceedingly affected with an account of the glory of Christ in his transfiguration; and filled with longing desires of being with him, that they might with open face behold his glory.

After public service was over, I asked one of them who wept much, what she now wanted? She replied, "Oh to be with Christ! she did not know how to stay," *&c.* This was a blessed refreshing season to the religious people in general. The Lord Jesus Christ seemed to manifest his divine glory to them, as when transfigured before his disciples; and they, with the disciples, were ready universally to say, "Lord, it is good for us to be here."

The influence of God's word was not confined to those who had given evidences of being truly gracious, though at this time my discourse was directed chiefly to such: but it appeared to be a season of divine power in the whole assembly, so that most were in some measure affected. One aged man in particular, lately awakened, was now brought under deep and pressing concern for his soul, and was earnestly inquisitive "how he might find Jesus Christ." God seems still to vouchsafe his divine presence and the influence of his blessed Spirit to accompany his word, at least in some measure, in all our meetings for divine worship.

Nov. 30. Preached near night, after having spent some hours in private conference with some of my people about

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their souls. Explained and insisted upon the story of the rich man and Lazarus, Luke xvi. 19—26. The word made powerful impressions upon many in the assembly, especially while I discoursed of the blessedness of "Lazarus in Abraham's bosom." This I could perceive affected them much more than what I spoke of the rich man's misery and torments. Thus it has been usually with them: they have appeared more affected with the comfortable than the dreadful truths of God's word. That which has distressed many of them under convictions is, that they found they wanted and could not obtain the happiness of the godly; at least they have often appeared to be more affected with this, than with the terrors of hell. But whatever be the means of their awakening, it is plain, numbers are made deeply sensible of their sin and misery, the wickedness and stubbornness of their own hearts, their utter inability to help themselves, or to come to Christ for help, without divine assistance; and so are brought to see their perishing need of Christ, to do all for them, and to lie at the foot of sovereign mercy.

Lord's day, Dec. 1. Discoursed to my people in the forenoon from Luke xvi. 27, 31. There appeared an unfeigned affection in divers persons, and some seemed deeply impressed with divine truths.—In the afternoon preached to a number of white people; at which time the Indians attended with diligence, and many of them were able to understand a considerable part of the discourse.—At night discoursed to my people again, and gave them some particular cautions and directions relating to their conduct. I pressed them to watchfulness in all their deportment, seeing they were encompassed with those that waited for their halting, and who stood ready to draw them into temptations of every kind, and then to expose religion on their account.

Lord's day, Dec. 8. Discoursed on the story of the blind man, John ix. There appeared no remarkable effect of the word upon the assembly at this time. Those who have lately been much concerned for their souls, seemed now not so affected nor solicitous to obtain an interest in Christ as has been usual, although they attended with seriousness and diligence. Such have been the doings of the Lord here, in awakening sinners, and affecting the hearts of those who are brought to solid comfort, with a fresh sense of divine things

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from time to time, that it is now strange to see the assembly sit with *dry* eyes, and without sobs and groans.

Dec. 12. Preached from the parable of the ten virgins, Matth. xxv. The divine power seemed in some measure to attend this discourse, in which I was favoured with uncommon freedom and plainness of address, and enabled to open and explain divine truths to the capacities of my people, in a manner beyond myself.——There appeared in many persons an affectionate concern for their souls; although the concern in general seemed not so deep and pressing as formerly. Yet it was refreshing to see many melted into tears and unaffected sobs; some with a *sense* of divine love, and some for *want* of it.

Lord's day, Dec. 15. Preached to the Indians from Luke xiii. 24—28. Divine truths fell with weight and power upon the audience, and seemed to reach the hearts of many. Near night discoursed to them again from Matth. xxv. 31—46. At this season also the word appeared to be accompanied with a divine influence, and made powerful impressions upon the assembly in general, as well as upon divers persons more especially. This was an amazing season of grace. The word of the Lord was quick and powerful, sharper than a two-edged sword, and pierced to the hearts of many. The assembly was greatly affected, and deeply wrought upon; yet without so much apparent commotion of the passions, as was usual in the beginning of this work of grace. The impressions made upon the audience appeared solid and rational, worthy of the solemn truths by means of which they were produced, and far from being the effects of any sudden fright, or groundless perturbation of mind. The hearts of the hearers seemed to bow under the weight of divine truth, and how evident did it now appear that they received it "not as the word of man, but as the word of God." None can frame a just idea of the appearance of our assembly at this time, but those who have seen a congregation solemnly awed, and deeply impressed by the special power and influence of truth delivered to them in the name of the Lord.

Dec. 16. Discoursed to my people in the evening from Luke xi. 1—13. After having insisted some time upon the 9th verse, wherein there is a command and encouragement to ask for divine favours, I called upon them to ask for a

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new heart with the utmost importunity, as the man mentioned in the parable pleaded for loaves of bread at midnight. There was much affection and concern in the assembly; one woman especially appeared in great distress. She was brought to such an agony in seeking after Christ, that the sweat ran off her face for a considerable time together, although the evening was very cold, and her bitter cries were the most affecting indication of the inward anguish of her heart.

Dec. 21. My people having now attained to a considerable degree of knowledge in the principles of Christianity, I thought it proper to set up a Catechetical Lecture among them. This evening I attempted something in that form; proposing questions to them agreeable to the Assembly's *Shorter Catechism*, receiving their answers, and then explaining and enforcing each question as it might appear necessary. After this I endeavoured to make some practical improvement of the whole.—They were able readily and rationally to answer many important questions I proposed to them; so that I found their doctrinal knowledge to exceed my own expectations.——In the improvement of my discourse, when I came to explain the blessedness of those who have so great and glorious a God for their everlasting friend and portion, several of my hearers were much affected; especially when I exhorted and endeavoured to persuade them " to be reconciled to God," through his dear Son, and *thus* to secure an interest in his everlasting favour. They appeared to be not only enlightened and instructed, but affected and engaged in their soul's concern by this method of discoursing.

Lord's day, Dec. 22. Discoursed upon the story of the young man in the gospel, Matth. ix. 16—22. God made it a seasonable word, I am persuaded, to some souls. Several of the Indians newly come here, had frequently lived among Quakers; and being more civilized and conformed to English manners than the generality of the Indians, they had imbibed some of the Quakers' errors, especially this fundamental one, *viz.* That if men will but live soberly and honestly, according to the dictates of their own consciences, (or the light within,) there is then no danger or doubt of their salvation, &c. I found these persons much worse to deal with than those who are wholly under pagan darkness,

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who make no pretences to knowledge in Christianity at all, nor have any self-righteous foundation to stand upon. However they all, except one, appeared now convinced that this sober honest life, of itself, was not sufficient to salvation; since Christ himself had declared it so in the case of the young Ruler. They seemed in some measure concerned to obtain that change of heart which I had been labouring to shew them the necessity of.

This was likewise a season of comfort to some souls, and in particular to one, (the same mentioned in my Journal of the 16th instant,) who never before obtained any settled comfort, though I have abundant reason to think she had experienced a saving change some days before. She now appeared in a heavenly frame of mind, composed and delighted with the divine will. When I came to discourse particularly with her, and to enquire how she got relief and deliverance from the spiritual distresses she had lately been under, she answered in broken English, * "Me try, me try, save myself, last my strength be all gone, (meaning her ability to save herself,) could not me stir bit further. Den last, me forced let Jesus Christ alone, send me hell if he please." I said, But you were not willing to go to hell, were you? She replied, † "Could not me help it. My heart he would wicked for all. Could not me make him good." I asked her how she got out of this case? She answered still in the same broken language, ‡ "By, by my heart be grad desperately." I asked her why her heart was glad? She replied, "Grad my heart Jesus Christ do what he please with me. Den me tink, grad my heart Jesus Christ send me hell. Did not me care where he put me, me lobe him for all," *&c.* She could not readily be convinced, but that she was willing to go to hell, if Christ was pleased to send her there. Though the truth evidently was, her will was so swallowed up in the divine will, that she could not

* In proper English thus: "I tried and tried to save myself, till at last my strength was all gone, and I could not stir any further. Then at last I was forced to let Jesus Christ alone to send me to hell if he pleased."

† In plain English thus: "I could not help it. My heart would be wicked for all that I could do. I could not make it good."

‡ "By and by my heart was exceeding glad.——My heart was glad that Jesus Christ would do with me what he pleased. Then I thought my heart would be glad although Christ should send me to hell. I did not care where he put me, I should love him for all; *i. e.* do what he would with me."

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frame any hell in her imagination that would be dreadful or undesirable, provided it was but the will of God to send her to it.

Toward night discoursed to them again in the Catechetical method, which I entered upon the evening before. And when I came to improve the truths I had explained to them, and to answer that question, " But how shall I know whether God has chosen me to everlasting life, by pressing them to come and give up their hearts to Christ, and thereby " to make their election sure;" they then appeared much affected. The persons under concern were afresh engaged in seeking after an interest in him; while some others, who had obtained comfort before, were refreshed to find that love to God in themselves, which was an evidence of his electing love to them.

Dec. 25. The Indians having been used upon Christmas-days to drink and revel among some of the white people in these parts, I thought it proper this day to call them together, and discourse to them upon divine things: which I accordingly did from the parable of the barren fig-tree, Luke xiii. 6—9. A divine influence evidently accompanied the word at this season. The power of God appeared in the assembly, not by producing any remarkable cries, but by breaking and melting the hearts of several who were scarce ever moved with any concern before. The power atttending divine truth resembled the earthquake, rather than the whirlwind. Their passions were not so much alarmed as has been common here in times past, but their judgments appeared to be powerfully convinced by the conquering influence of divine truth. The impressions made upon the assembly in general seemed not superficial, but deep and heart-affecting. Oh how ready did they now appear universally to embrace and comply with every thing they heard and were convinced was duty! God was in the midst of us of a truth, bowing and melting stubborn hearts. How many tears and sobs were then to be seen and heard among us. What liveliness and strict attention: what eagerness and intenseness of mind appeared in the whole assembly in the time of divine service. They seemed to watch and wait for the dropping of God's word, as the thirsty earth for the former and latter rain."

Afterwards I discoursed to them on the duty of husbands

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and wives, from Eph. v. 22—33; and have reason to think this was a word in season.——Spent some time further in the evening, in inculcating the truths I had insisted upon in my former discourse respecting the barren fig-tree, and observed a powerful influence still accompany what was spoken.

Dec. 26. This evening I was visited by a person under great spiritual exercise, the most remarkable instance of this kind I ever saw. It was a woman of more than fourscore, who appeared to be so much broken and childish through age, that it seemed impossible to instil into her mind any notions of divine things, or so much as to give her any doctrinal instruction, for she seemed incapable of being taught. She was led by the hand into my house, and appeared in extreme anguish. I asked her what ailed her? She answered, "That her heart was distressed, and she feared she should never find Christ." I asked her several questions relating to her distress. To all which she answered, for substance, to this effect, *viz.* That she had heard me preach many times, but never knew any thing about it, never "felt it in her heart" till the last sabbath; then it came she said, "all one as if a needle had been thrust into her heart;" since which time she had no rest day nor night. She added that on the evening before Christmas, a number of Indians being together at the house where she was, and discoursing about Christ, their talk pierced her heart, so that she could not sit up, but fell down on her bed; at which time "she went away," as she expressed it, and felt as if she dreamed, and yet is confident she did not dream. When she was thus gone, she saw two paths, one appeared very broad and crooked; and that, she says, turned to the left hand. The other appeared strait and very narrow; and that went up the hill to the right hand. She travelled, she said, for some time up the narrow right-hand path, till at length something seemed to obstruct her journey. She sometimes called it darkness, and then described it otherwise, and seemed to compare it to a block or bar. She then remembered what she had heard me say about "striving to enter in at the strait gate," (although she took little notice of it at the time when she heard me discourse upon that subject,) and thought she would climb over this bar. But just as she was thinking of this, she came back again, as she termed it, meaning that

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she came to herself; whereupon her soul was extremely distressed, apprehending she had now turned back and forsaken Christ, and that there was therefore no hope of mercy for her.

As I was sensible that trances and imaginary views of things are of dangerous tendency in religion, when sought after and depended upon; so I could not but be much concerned about this exercise, especially at first; apprehending this might be a design of Satan to bring a blemish upon the work of God here, by introducing visionary scenes, imaginary terrors, and all manner of mental disorders and delusions, in the room of genuine convictions of sin and the enlightening influences of the blessed Spirit. I was almost resolved to declare that I looked upon this to be one of Satan's devices, and to caution my people against it, and the like exercises, as such. However, I determined first to enquire into her knowledge, to see whether she had any just views of things that might be the occasion of her present distress, or whether it was a mere fright arising only from imaginary terrors. I asked her several questions respecting man's primitive and present state, and respecting her own heart; which she answered rationally, and to my surprise. I thought it next to impossible, if not altogether so, that a Pagan who was become a *child* through age, should in that state gain so much knowledge by any mere human instruction, without being remarkably enlightened by a divine influence.

I then proposed to her the provision made in the gospel for the salvation of sinners, and the ability and willingness of Christ to save to the uttermost all (old as well as young) that come to him. To this she seemed to give a hearty assent. But instantly replied, "Ay, but I cannot come; my wicked heart will not come to Christ; I do not know how to come," *&c.* She spoke this in anguish of spirit, striking on her breast, with tears in her eyes, and with such earnestness in her looks as was indeed piteous and affecting. She seems to be really convinced of her sin and misery, and her need of a change of heart; and her concern is abiding and constant. Nothing appears but that this exercise may have a saving issue: she is so solicitous to obtain an interest in Christ, that her heart, as she expresses it, prays day and night.

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How far God may make use of the *imagination* in awakening some persons under these and such like circumstances, I cannot pretend to determine; and whether this exercise I have mentioned be from a divine influence, I shall leave others to judge. But this I must say, that its effects hitherto bespeak it to be *such*; nor can it as I see be accounted for in a rational way, but from the influence of some spirit, either good or evil. The woman I am sure never heard divine things treated of in the manner she now viewed them; and it would seem strange she should get such a rational notion of them from the mere working of her own fancy, without some superior or foreign aid. Yet I must say, I have looked upon it as one of the glories of this work of grace among the Indians, and a special evidence of its being from a divine influence, that there has till now been no appearance of such things, no visionary notions, trances and imaginations, intermixed with those rational convictions of sin and solid consolations, which numbers have experienced. And might I have had my desire, there had been no appearance of any thing of this nature at all.

Dec. 28. Discoursed to my people in the Catechetical method I lately entered upon. During the improvement of my discourse, wherein I was comparing man's present with his primitive state, shewing what he had fallen from, the miseries to which he is now exposed, and pressing sinners to take a view of their deplorable circumstances without Christ, also to strive that they might obtain an interest in him; the Lord, I trust, granted a remarkable influence of his blessed Spirit to accompany what was spoken, and a great concern appeared in the assembly. Many were melted into tears, and the impressions made upon them seemed deep and heart-affecting. In particular, there were two or three persons who appeared to be brought to the last exercises of a preparatory work, and reduced almost to extremity; being in great measure convinced of the impossibility of helping themselves, or of mending their own hearts; and seemed to be upon the point of giving up all hope in themselves, and of venturing upon Christ as helpless and undone. Yet they were in distress and anguish because they saw no safety in so doing, unless they could do *something* towards saving themselves. One of these persons was the very aged woman above mentioned, who now appeared

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"weary and heavy laden" with a sense of her sin and misery, and her perishing need of an interest in Christ.

Lord's day, Dec. 29. Preached from John iii. 1—5. A number of white people were present, as is usual upon the sabbath. The discourse was accompanied with power, and seemed to have a silent but deep and piercing influence upon the audience. Many wept affectionately, and there were some tears among the white people, as well as the Indians. Some could not refrain from crying out, though there were not many so exercised. The impressions made upon their hearts appeared chiefly by the extraordinary earnestness of their attention, and their heavy sighs and tears.

After public worship was over, I went to my house, proposing to preach again after a short season of intermission. But they soon came in one after another, with tears in their eyes, to know "what they should do to be saved." And the divine Spirit in such a manner set home upon their hearts what I spoke to them, that the house was soon filled with cries and groans. They all flocked together upon this occasion, and those whom I had reason to think in a Christless state, were almost universally seized with concern about their souls. It was a season of great power among them; it seemed as if God had "bowed the heavens, and come down." So astonishingly prevalent was the operation upon old as well as young, that it seemed as if none would be left in a state of carnal security, but that God was now about to convert all the world. And I was ready to think then, that I should never again despair of the conversion of any man or woman living, be they who or what they would.

It is impossible to give a just and lively description of the appearance of things at this season, at least such as to convey a bright and adequate idea of the effects of this influence. A number might now be seen rejoicing, that God had not taken away the powerful influence of his blessed Spirit from this place. It was refreshing to see so many "striving to enter in at the strait gate," and others animated with such concern for them, that they wanted, "to push them forward," as some of them expressed it. At the same time numbers both of men and women, old and young, might be seen in tears, and some in anguish of spirit, appearing in their very countenances, like condemned malefactors bound towards the place of execution, with a heavy solicitude sitting in

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their faces: so that there seemed here, as I thought, a lively emblem of the solemn day of accounts; a mixture of heaven and hell, of joy unspeakable, and anguish inexpressible.

The concern and religious affection was such, that I could not pretend to have any formal religious exercise among them; but spent the time in discoursing to one and another, as I thought most proper and seasonable, and sometimes addressed them all together, and finally concluded with prayer. Such were their circumstances at this season, that I could scarcely have half an hour's rest from speaking, from about half an hour before twelve o'clock, at which time I began public worship, till past seven at night. There appeared to be four or five persons newly awakened this day and the evening before, some of whom but very lately came among us

Dec. 30. Was visited by four or five young persons, who were lately awakened. They wept much while I discoursed to them, and endeavoured to press upon them the necessity of *flying* to Christ for salvation, without delay.

Dec. 31. Spent some hours this day in visiting my people from house to house, and conversing with them about their spiritual concerns; endeavouring to press upon Christless souls the necessity of a renovation of heart. I scarcely left a house, without leaving some or other of its inhabitants in tears, appearing solicitously engaged to obtain an interest in Christ.—The Indians are now gathered together from all quarters to this place, and have built them little cottages, so that more than *twenty* families live within a quarter of a mile of me; a very convenient situation in regard both of public and private instruction.

January 1. 1745-6. Spent some considerable time in visiting my people again. Found scarce one but what was under serious impressions respecting their spiritual concerns.

Jan. 2. Visited some persons newly come among us, who had scarce ever heard any thing of Christianity, except the empty name, before. Endeavoured to instruct them particularly in the first principles of religion, in the most easy and familiar manner I could.—Strangers from remote parts are almost continually dropping in among us, so that I have occasion repeatedly to open and inculcate the first principles of Christianity.

Jan. 4. Prosecuted my catechetical method of instructing.

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Found my people able to answer questions with propriety, beyond what could have been expected from persons so lately brought out of heathen darkness. In the improvement of my discourse, there appeared some concern and affection in the assembly; and especially those of whom I entertained hopes as being truly gracious, at least several of them were much affected and refreshed.

Lord's day, Jan. 5. Discoursed from Matth. xii. 10—13. There appeared not so much liveliness and affection in divine service as usual. The same truths that have often produced many tears in the assembly, seemed now to have no special influence upon any.

Near night I proposed to proceed in my usual method of catechising, but while we were engaged in the first prayer, the power of God seemed to descend upon the assembly in such a remarkable manner, and so many appeared under pressing concern for their souls, that I thought it much more expedient to insist upon the plentiful provision made by divine grace for the redemption of perishing sinners, and to press them to a speedy acceptance of the great salvation, than to ask them questions about doctrinal points. What was most *practical* seemed most seasonable to be insisted upon, while numbers appeared so extraordinarily solicitous to obtain an interest in the great Redeemer.

Baptized two persons this day; one adult, the woman particularly mentioned in my Journal of Dec. 22, and one child. This woman has discovered a sweet and heavenly frame of mind from time to time, since her first reception of comfort. One morning in particular she came to see me, discovering an unusual joy and satisfaction in her countenance; and when I inquired into the reason of it, she replied, "That God had made her feel that it was *right* for him to do what he pleased with all things; and that it would be right if he should cast her husband and son both into hell," though it was apparent she loved them dearly. She moreover inquired, whether I was not sent to preach to the Indians, by some good people a great way off. I replied, Yes, by the good people in Scotland. She answered that her heart loved those good people so, the evening before, "that she could scarce help praying for them all night, her heart would go to God for them, *&c.*" Thus the blessing of such as are ready to perish is likely to come upon those pious persons who

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have communicated of their substance to the propagation of the gospel.

Jan 11. Discoursed in a catechetical method, as usual of late. Having opened our first parent's apostacy from God, and our fall in him; I proceeded to improve my discourse, by shewing the necessity of an almighty Redeemer, and the absolute need every sinner has of an interest in his merits and mediation. Some tenderness and affectionate concern appeared in the assembly.

Lord's day, Jan. 12. Preached from Isai. lv. 6. The word of God seemed to fall upon the audience with a divine weight and influence, and evidently appeared to be "not the word of man." The blessed Spirit, I am persuaded, accompanied what was spoken to the hearts of many; and there was a powerful revival of conviction in numbers who were under spiritual exercise before.

Toward night, catechised in my usual method. Near the close of my discourse, there appeared a great concern and much affection in the audience, which increased while I continued to invite them to come to an all-sufficient Redeemer for eternal salvation. The Spirit of God seems, from time to time, to be striving with numbers of souls here. They are so frequently and repeatedly rouzed, that they seem unable at present to lull themselves asleep.

Jan. 13. Was visited by several persons under deep concern, one of whom was newly awakened.—It is a most agreeable work to treat with souls who are solicitously inquiring "what they shall do to be saved; and as we are never to be "weary in well-doing," so the obligation seems to be peculiarly strong when the work is so very desirable. Yet I must say, my health is so much impaired, and my spirits so wasted with my labours and solitary manner of living, (their being no human creature in the house with me,) that their repeated and almost incessant applications to me for help and direction are sometimes exceeding burdensome, and so exhaust my spirits, that I become fit for nothing at all, entirely unable to prosecute any business sometimes for days together. And what contributes much toward this difficulty is, that I am obliged to spend *much* time in communicating a *little* matter to them; there being oftentimes many things necessary to be premised, before I can speak directly to what I principally aim at; which things would

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readily be taken for granted, where there was a competency of doctrinal knowledge.

Jan. 14. Spent some time in private conferences with my people, and found some disposed to take comfort, as I thought, upon slight grounds.—They are now generally awakened, and it is become so disgraceful, as well as terrifying to the conscience, to be destitute of religion, that they are in imminent danger of taking up with any appearances of grace, rather than to live under the fear and disgrace of an unregenerate state.

Jan. 18. Prosecuted my catechetical method of discoursing. There appeared a great solemnity, and some considerable affection in the assembly. I find this method of instructing very profitable. When I first entered upon it, I was exercised with fears, lest my discourses would unavoidably be so doctrinal that they would tend only to enlighten the head, but not to affect the heart. But the event proves quite otherwise; for these exercises have hitherto been remarkably blessed in the latter, as well as the former respects.

Lord's day, Jan. 19. Discoursed to my people from Isai. lv. 7.—Toward night catechised in my ordinary method. This appeared to be a powerful season of grace among us; numbers were much affected; convictions powerfully revived, and believers in general were refreshed and strengthened. One weary heavy-laden soul, I have abundant reason to hope was brought to true rest and solid comfort in Christ, who afterwards gave me such an account of God's dealings with him, as was abundantly satisfying as well as refreshing to me.

He told me, he had often heard me say, that persons must see and feel themselves utterly helpless and undone; that they must be emptied of a dependance upon themselves, and of all hope of saving themselves by their *own doings*, in order to their coming to Christ for salvation. He had long been striving after this view of things, supposing this would be an excellent frame of mind to be thus emptied of a dependance upon his own goodness; that God would have respect to *this* frame, would *then* be well pleased with him, and bestow eternal life upon him. But when he came to feel himself in this helpless undone condition, he found it quite contrary to all his thoughts and expectations; so that it was not the same, nor indeed any thing like the frame he had been seeking after. Instead of its being a good frame of mind, he

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now found nothing but badness in himself, and saw it was for ever impossible for him to make himself any better. He wondered, he said, that he had ever hoped to mend his own heart. He was amazed he had never before seen that it was utterly impossible for him, by all his contrivances and endeavours, to do any thing that way, since the matter now appeared to him in so clear a light. Instead of imagining now, that God would be pleased with him for the sake of this frame of mind, and this view of his undone state, he saw clearly and felt it would be just with God to send him to eternal misery, and that there was no goodness in what he then felt; for he could not help seeing that he was naked, sinful and miserable, and there was nothing in such a sight to deserve God's love or pity. He saw these things in a manner so clear and convincing, that it seemed to him, he said, he could convince every body of their utter *inability* ever to help themselves, and their *unworthiness* of any help from God.

In this frame of mind he came to public worship this evening; and while I was inviting sinners to come to Christ, without any goodness of their own to recommend them, he thought with himself that he had often tried to come and give up his heart to Christ, and he used to hope that some time or other he should be *able* to do so. But now he was convinced *he could not,* and it seemed utterly vain for him ever to try any more; and he could not, he said, find a heart to make any further attempt, because he saw it would signify nothing at all. Nor did he now hope for a better opportunity, or more ability hereafter, as he had formerly done, because he saw and was fully convinced, his own strength would for ever fail.

While he was musing in this manner, he saw, he said, with his heart (which is a common phrase among them) something that was unspeakably good and lovely, and what he had never seen before; and "this stole away his heart whether he would or no." He did not know what it was he saw. He did not say, "this is Jesus Christ;" but it was such glory and beauty as he never saw before. He did not now give away his heart *so* as he had formerly intended and attempted to do, but it *went away of itself* after that glory he then discovered. He used to try to make a bargain with Christ, to give up his heart to him, that he might have eter-

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nal life *for it*. But now he thought nothing about himself, or what would become of him hereafter; his mind was wholly taken up with the unspeakable excellency of what he then beheld. After some time he was wonderfully pleased with the way of salvation by Christ: so that it seemed unspeakably better to be saved altogether by the *mere free grace* of God in Christ, than to have *any hand* in saving himself. The consequence of this exercise is, that he appears to retain a sense and relish of divine things, and to maintain a life of seriousness and true religion.

Jan. 28. The Indians in these parts having in times past run themselves in debt by their excessive drinking, and some having taken the advantage and put them to trouble and charge by arresting sundry of them; it was supposed a great part of their hunting lands was much endangered, and might speedily be taken from them. Sensible that they could not subsist together in these parts, in order to their being a Christian congregation, if these lands should drop out of their hands, which was thought very likely, I thought it my duty to use my utmost endeavours to prevent so unhappy an event. And having acquainted the gentlemen concerned with this Mission of this affair, according to the best information I could get of it, they thought it proper to expend the money they had been and still were collecting for the *religious* interests of the Indians, (at least a part of it,) for discharging their debts, and securing these lands, that there might be no entanglement lying upon them to hinder the settlement and hopeful enlargement of a Christian congregation of Indians in these parts. And having received orders from them, I answered, in behalf of the Indians, for Eighty-two pounds five shillings, New-Jersey currency, at eight shillings per ounce; and so prevented the difficulty in this respect.

As God has wrought a wonderful work of grace among these Indians, and now inclines others from remote places to fall in among them almost continually; and as he has opened a door for the prevention of the difficulty now mentioned, which seemed greatly to threaten their religious interests, as well as worldly comfort; it may be hoped the Lord designs to establish a church for himself among them, and to hand down true religion to their posterity.

Jan. 30. Preached to the Indians from John iii. 16, 17.

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There was a solemn attention and some affection visible in the audience; several persons who had long been concerned for their souls, seemed afresh excited and engaged in seeking after an interest in Christ. One with much concern afterwards told me, "his heart was so pierced with my preaching, he knew not where to turn nor what to do."

Jan. 31. This day the person I had made choice of and engaged for a Schoolmaster, arrived among us, and was heartily welcomed by my people universally. I immediately distributed several dozen of primers among the children and young people.

Feb. 1. 1745-6. My schoolmaster entered upon his business among the Indians. He has generally about thirty children and young persons in his school in the day-time, and about fifteen married people in the evening. The number of the latter sort of persons being less than it would be, if they could be more constantly at home, and spare time from their necessary employments for an attendance upon these instructions.

In the evening catechised in my usual method. Towards the close of my discourse, a surprising power seemed to attend the word, especially to some persons.—One man considerably in years, who had been a remarkable drunkard, a conjurer and murderer, that was awakened some months before, was now brought to great extremity under his spiritual distress, so that he trembled for hours together, and apprehended himself just dropping into hell, without any power to rescue or relieve himself.—Several others appeared under great concern as well as he, and solicitous to obtain a saving change.

Lord's day, Feb. 2. Preached from John v. 24, 25. There appeared some concern and affection in the assembly as usual. Towards night proceeded in my usual method of catechising. Observed my people more ready in answering the questions proposed to them than ever before. It is apparent they advance daily in doctrinal knowledge. But what is still more desirable, the Spirit of God is yet operating among them, whereby experimental as well as speculative knowledge is propagated in their minds.

Feb. 5. Discoursed to a considerable number of the Indians in the evening; several of them appeared much affected and melted with divine things.

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Feb. 8. Spent a considerable part of the day in visiting my people from house to house, and conversing with them about their souls' concerns. Divers persons wept while I discoursed to them, and appeared concerned for nothing so much as for an interest in the great Redeemer.—In the evening catechised as usual. Divine truth made some impression upon the audience, and was attended with an affectionate engagement of soul in some.

Lord's day, Feb. 9. Discoursed to my people from the story of the blind man, Matth. x. 46—52. The word of God seemed weighty and powerful upon the assembly at this time, and made considerable impressions upon many. Some in particular, who have generally been remarkably stupid and careless under the means of grace, were now awakened, and wept affectionately. The most earnest attention, as well as tenderness and affection, appeared in the audience universally.

Baptized three persons, two adults and one child. The adults, I have reason to hope, were both truly pious. There was a considerable melting in the assembly, while I was discoursing particularly to the persons, and administering the ordinance. God has been pleased to own and bless the administration of this as well as of his other ordinances, among the Indians. Some have been powerfully awakened at seeing others baptized; others have obtained relief and comfort, just in the season when this ordinance has been administered.

Toward night catechised. God made this a powerful season to some, who were much affected, and former convictions were revived. There was likewise one, who had been a vile drunkard, remarkably awakened. He appeared to be in great anguish of soul, wept and trembled, and continued so to do till near midnight. There was also a poor heavy laden soul, who had been long under spiritual distress, as constant and pressing as ever I saw, that was now brought to a comfortable calm, and seemed to be bowed and reconciled to divine sovereignty. She told me that "she now saw and felt it was right that God should do with her as he pleased; and her heart felt satisfied it should be so." Although of late she had often found her heart rise and quarrel with God because he would, if he pleased, send her to hell after all she had done, or could do to save herself. She

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added that the heavy burden she had lain under, was now removed; that she had tried to recover her concern and distress again, (fearing that the Spirit of God was departing from her, and would leave her wholly careless,) but that she could not recover it; that she felt she never could do any thing to save herself, but must perish for ever if Christ did not *do all* for her; that she did not deserve his help, and that it would be right if she should leave her to perish. But Christ could save her, though she could do nothing to save herself; and here she seemed to rest.

Forks of Delaware in Pensylvania, 1745-6.

Lord's day, February 16. Knowing that many of the Indians in these parts were obstinately set against Christianity, and that some of them had refused to hear me preach in times past, I thought it might be proper to have a number of my religious people from Crosweeksung with me, in order to converse with them about religious matters; hoping it might be a means to convince them of the truth and importance of Christianity, to see and hear some of their own nation discoursing of divine things, and manifesting earnest desires that others might be brought out of heathenish darkness, as they themselves were.

Having taken half a dozen of the most serious and knowing persons for this purpose, I this day met with them and the Indians of this place, (some of whom probably could not have been prevailed upon to attend the meeting, had it not been for these religious Indians that accompanied me) and preached to them.—Some of them who had in times past been extremely averse to Christianity, now behaved soberly, but others laughed and mocked. However the word of God fell with such weight and power, that several seemed to be stunned, and expressed a willingness to "hear me again of these matters."

Afterwards prayed with and addressed the white people present, and could not but observe some visible effects of the word among them. After public worship, spent some time and took pains to convince those that mocked, of the truth and importance of what I had been insisting upon; and so endeavoured to awaken their attention to divine truths. I had reason to think, from what I observed then and afterwards, that my endeavours took considerable effect

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upon one of the worst of them.—Those few Indians then present, who used to be my hearers in these parts, (some having removed from hence to Crosweeksung, seemed kindly disposed and glad to see me again, though they had been so much attacked by some of the opposing Pagans, that they were almost ashamed or afraid to manifest their friendship.

Feb. 17. Having spent much time in discoursing to the Indians in their respective houses, I got them together, and repeated and inculcated what I had before taught them. Afterwards discoursed to them from Acts viii. 5—8. A divine influence seemed to attend the word. Some of the Indians here appeared to be somewhat awakened, and manifested a concern of mind, by their earnest attention, tears and sobs. My people from Crosweeksung continued with them day and night, repeating and inculcating the truths I had taught them. They sometimes prayed and sung psalms among them; discoursing with each other in their hearing, of the great things God had done for *them*, and for the Indians from whence they came; which seemed (as my people told me) to take more effect upon them, than when they directed their discourses immediately to them.

Feb. 18. Preached to an assembly of Irish people near fifteen miles distant from the Indians.

Feb. 19. Preached to the Indians again, after having spent considerable time in conversing with them more privately. There appeared a great solemnity, and some concern and affection among the Indians belonging to these parts, as well as a sweet melting among those who came with me.—Several of the Indians here seemed to have their prejudices and aversion to Christianity removed, and appeared well disposed and inclined to hear the word of God.

Feb. 20. Preached to a small assembly of High-Dutch people, who had seldom heard the gospel, and some of them at least were very ignorant; but who have lately been put upon an inquiry after the way of salvation. They gave wonderful attention; some of them were much affected under the word, and afterwards said that they never had been so much enlightened about the way of salvation in their whole lives before. They requested me to tarry with them, or come again and preach to them. It grieved me that I could not comply with their request, for I could not but be

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affected with their circumstances; they being as "sheep not having a shepherd," and some of them appearing under trouble of soul, standing in peculiar need of the assistance of an experienced spiritual guide.

Feb. 21. Preached to a number of people, many of them Low-Dutch. Several of the forementioned High-Dutch attended the sermon, though eight or ten miles distant from their houses. The Indians also belonging to these parts, came of their own accord with my people from Crosweeksung to the meeting. Two in particular, who the last Sabbath opposed and ridiculed Christianity, were now present and behaved soberly. May the present encouraging appearance continue.

Feb. 22. Preached to the Indians. They appeared more free from prejudice, more cordial to Christianity than before, and some of them much affected.

Lord's day, Feb. 23. Preached to the Indians from John vi. 35—37. After public service, discoursed particularly with several, and invited them to go down to Crosweeksung, and tarry there at least for some time; knowing they would then be free from the scoffs and temptations of the opposing Pagans, as well as in the way of hearing divine truths discoursed of, both in public and private. I got a promise from some of them, that they would speedily pay us a visit, and attend upon further instruction. They seem to be considerably enlightened, and freed from their prejudices against Christianity. But it is much to be feared their prejudices will revive again, unless they could enjoy the means of instruction here, or be removed where they might be under such advantages, and out of the way of their Pagan acquaintance.

Crosweeksung in New-Jersey, 1745-6.

March 1. Catechised in my ordinary method. Was pleased and refreshed to see them answer the questions with such remarkable readiness, discretion and knowledge. Towards the close of my discourse, divine truth made considerable impressions upon the audience. It produced tears and sobs in some under concern, and more especially a sweet and humble melting in others, whom I have reason to hope were truly gracious.

Lord's day, Mar. 2. Preached from John xv. 1—6. The assembly appeared not so lively in their attention as usual,

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nor so much affected with divine truth as has been common. Some of my people who went up to the Forks of Delaware with me, being now returned, were accompanied by two of the Indians belonging to the Forks, who had promised me a speedy visit. May the Lord meet with them here. They can scarcely go into a house now, but they will meet with Christian conversation; and it is hopeful, they may be both instructed and awakened.

Discoursed to the Indians again in the afternoon, and observed among them some liveliness and engagement in divine service, though not equal to what has often appeared here. I know of no assembly of Christians where there seems to be so much of the presence of God, where brotherly love so much prevails, and where I should take so much delight in public worship in the general, as in my *own congregation*; although not more than nine months ago, they were worshipping devils and dumb idols under the power of pagan darkness and superstition. Amazing change this! effected by nothing less than divine power and grace. "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!"

Mar. 5. Spent some time just at evening in prayer, singing, and discoursing to my people upon divine things; and observed some agreeable tenderness and affection among them. Their present situation is so compact and commodious, that they are easily and quickly called together with only the sound of a Conk-shell, (a shell like that of a periwinkle,) so that they have frequent opportunities of attending religious exercises publicly; which seems to be a a great means, under God, of keeping alive the impressions of divine things in their mind.

Mar. 8. Catechised in the evening. My people answered the questions proposed to them well. I can percieve their knowledge in religion increases daily. And what is still more desirable, the divine influence that has been so remarkable among them, appears still to continue in some good measure. The divine presence seemed to be in the assembly this evening. Some, who I have good reason to think are Christians indeed, were melted with a sense of the divine goodness, and their own barrenness and ingratitude, and seemed to hate themselves, as one of them afterwards expressed it. Convictions also appeared to be revived in several instances: and divine truths were attended with such influence upon

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the assembly in general, that it might justly be called "an evening of divine power."

Lord's day, Mar. 9. Preached from Luke x. 38—42. The word of God was attended with power and energy, and numbers were concerned to obtain the one thing needful. Some who gave good evidences of their being truly gracious, were much affected with a sense of their want of spirituality; and saw the need they stood in of growing in grace: and most that had been under any impressions of divine things in time past, seemed now to have those impressions revived. In the afternoon proposed to have catechised in my usual method: but while we were engaged in the first prayer, in the Indian language, a great part of the assembly was so much moved, and affected with divine things, that I thought it seasonable and proper to omit the proposing of questions for that time, and insist upon the most practical truths. I accordingly did so; making a farther improvement of that passage of scripture I discoursed upon in the former part of the day. There appeared to be a powerful divine influence in the congregation. Some that I have reason to think are truly pious, were so deeply affected with a sense of their own barrenness, and their unworthy treatment of the blessed Redeemer, that they looked on him as pierced by themselves, and mourned, yea, some of them were in bitterness as for a first-born.—Some poor awakened sinners also appeared to be in anguish of soul to obtain an interest in Christ. So that there was a great mourning in the assembly; many heavy groans, sobs, and tears! and one or two persons newly come among us, were considerably awakened.

Methinks it would have refreshed the heart of any who truly love Zion's interest, to have witnessed these glorious effects both upon saints and sinners. The place of worship appeared both solemn and sweet; and was so endeared by a display of the divine presence and grace, that those who had any relish of divine things, could not but cry, "How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!"

After public worship was over, numbers came to my house, where we sang and discoursed; and the presence of God seemed here also to be in the midst of us. While we were singing, there was one, (the woman mentioned in my Journal of February 9,) who, I may venture to say, if I may be allowed to say so much of any person I ever saw, was

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"filled with joy unspeakable and full of glory," and could not but burst forth in prayer and praises to God before us all, with many tears, crying, "Oh blessed Lord, do come, do come; oh do take me away, do let me die and go to Jesus Christ!—I am afraid if I live, I shall sin again! oh do let me die now! oh dear Jesus do come! I cannot stay, I cannot stay! Oh how can I live in this world! do take my soul away from this sinful place! oh let me never sin any more! oh what shall I do, what shall I do! dear Jesus, oh dear Jesus," &c. In this ecstacy she continued some time, uttering these and such like expressions incessantly; and the grand argument she used with God to take her away immediately, was, that "if she lived, she should sin against him."

When she had a little recovered herself, I asked her, whether Christ was not now sweet to her soul? Turning to me with tears in her eyes, and with all the tokens of deep humility I ever saw in any person, she said, "I have many times heard you speak of the goodness and preciousness of Christ, that he was better than all the world: but oh I knew nothing what you meant, I never believed you! I never believed you! But now I know it is true:"—or words to that effect. I answered, And do you see enough in Christ for the greatest of sinners? She replied, "Oh enough, enough, for "all the sinners in the world if they would but come." And when I asked her, if she could not tell them of the goodness of Christ; turning herself round to some poor Christless souls who stood by, and were much affected, she said, "Oh "there is enough in Christ for you, if you would but come! Oh strive, strive to give up your hearts to him!" On hearing something of the glory of heaven mentioned, that there was no sin in that world, she again fell into the same ecstacy of joy, and desire of Christ's coming; repeating her former expressions, "Oh dear Lord, do let me go: oh what "shall I do, what shall I do! I want to go to Christ: I cannot live: oh do let me die!

She continued in this sweet frame for more than two hours, before she was able to get home. There may indeed be great joys arising even to an ecstacy, where there is still no substantial evidence of their being well-grounded. But in the present case there seemed to be no evidence wanting, in order to prove this joy to be divine, either in regard of

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its preparatives, attendants, or consequents. Of all the persons I have seen under spiritual exercise, I scarce ever saw one more bowed and broken under convictions of sin and misery than this woman; nor any who seemed to have a greater acquaintance with their own heart. She would frequently complain to me of the hardness and rebellion of her heart; would tell me that her heart rose and quarrelled with God, when she thought he would do with her as he pleased, and send her to hell notwithstanding her prayers, good frames, &c. That her heart was not willing to come to Christ for salvation, but tried every where else for help.

As she had been remarkably sensible of her stubbornness and contrariety to God, under conviction, so she appeared to be no less remarkably bowed and reconciled to divine sovereignty before she obtained any relief or comfort. Something of this I have before noticed in my Journal of Feb. 9. Since which time she has seemed constantly to breathe the spirit and temper of the new creature; crying after Christ, not through fear of hell as before, but with strong desires after him as her only satisfying portion; and has many times wept and sobbed bitterly, because (as she apprehended) she did not and could not love him.—When I have sometimes asked her, Why she appeared so sorrowful, and whether it was because she was afraid of hell; she would answer, "No, I be not distressed about that; but my heart is so wicked I cannot love Christ;" and then she would burst out into tears. But though this has been the habitual frame of her mind for several weeks together, so that the exercise of grace appeared evident to *others*, yet *she* seemed wholly insensible of it herself, and never had any remarkable comfort or sensible satisfaction till this evening.

This sweet and surprising ecstacy appeared to spring from a true spiritual discovery of the glory, ravishing beauty and excellency of Christ, and not from any gross imaginary notions of his human nature; such as that of seeing him in such a place or posture, as hanging on the cross, as bleeding, dying, as gently smiling, and the like; which delusions some have been carried away with. Nor did it rise from a sordid selfish apprehension of her having any benefit whatsoever conferred on her, but from a view of his personal excellency and transcendent loveliness, which drew forth those vehement

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desires after him, and made her long to be " absent from the body, that she might be present with the Lord."

The attendants of this ravishing comfort were such as abundantly discovered its spring to be divine, and that it was truly a " joy in the Holy Ghost." *Now* she viewed divine truths as living realities; and could say, " I know these things are so, I feel they are true." Now her soul was resigned to the divine will in the most tender points; so that when I said to her, What if God should take away your husband* from you, (who was then very sick,) how do you think you could bear that? She replied, " He belongs to to God, and not to me; he may do with him just what he pleases." Now she had the most tender sense of the evil of sin, and discovered the utmost aversion to it; longing to die that she might be delivered from it. Now she could freely trust her all with God for time and eternity. And when I queried with her, how she could be willing to die, and leave her little infant; and what she thought would become of it in case she should? She answered, " God will take care of it. It belongs to him, he will take care of it." Now she appeared to have the most humbling sense of her own meanness and unworthiness, her weakness and inability to preserve herself from sin, and to perseverve in the way of holiness, crying, " If I live, I shall sin." I thought I had never seen such an appearance of ecstasy and humility meeting in any one person in all my life before.—The consequents of this joy are no less desirable and satisfactory than its attendants. She since appears to be a most tender, broken-hearted, affectionate, devout and humble Christian, as exemplary in life and conversion as any person in my congregation. May she still " grow in grace, and in the knowledge of Christ."

Mar. 10. Toward night the Indians met together of their own accord, and sang, prayed, and discoursed of divine things among themselves. There was much affection among them; some who are hopefully gracious, appeared to be melted with divine things; and others seemed much concerned for their souls. Perceiving their engagement and affection in religious exercises, I went among them and prayed, and gave a word of exhortation. I observed two or three somewhat affected and concerned, who scarcely

* The man particularly mentioned in my Journal of January 19.

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ever appeared to be under any religious impressions before. It seemed to be a time of divine power. Numbers retained the warm impressions of divine things that had been made upon their minds the day before.

Mar. 14. Was visited by a considerable number of my people, and spent some time in religious exercises with them.

Mar. 15. In the evening catechised: they answered the questions put to them with surprising readiness and judgment. There appeared some warmth and feeling sense of divine things among those whom I have reason to hope are real Christians, while I was discoursing upon 'peace of conscience, and joy in the Holy Ghost.' *These* seemed quickened and enlivened, though there was not so much apparent concern among those whom I have reason to think in a Christless state.

Lord's day, Mar. 16. Preached to my congregation from Heb. ii. 1—3. Divine truth seemed to have considerable influence upon many of the hearers, and produced many tears, as well as heavy sighs and sobs, among both those who have given evidence of being real Christians, and others also. And the impressions made upon the audience appeared in general deep and heart-affecting, not noisy or superficial.—Towards night discoursed on 'the great salvation.' The word was again attended with some power upon the audience. Numbers wept affectionately, and to appearance unfeignedly; so that the Spirit of God seemed to be moving upon the face of the assembly.

Baptized the *woman* particularly mentioned in my Journal of last Lord's day; who now, as well as then, appeared to be in a devout, humble and excellent frame of mind. My house being thronged with people in the evening, I spent the time in religious exercises with them, till my nature was almost spent. They are so unwearied in religious exercises, and unsatiable in their thirsting after Christian knowledge, that I can sometimes scarcely avoid labouring so as greatly to exhaust my strength and spirits.

Mar. 19. Several persons went with me to the Forks of Delaware in February last, having been detained there by the dangerous illness of one of their company, did not return home till this day. My people immediately met together of their own accord, in order to spend some time in religious

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exercises; especially to give thanks to God for his preserving goodness to those who had been absent from them for several weeks, and recovering mercy to him that had been sick; and that he had now returned them all in safety. I being then absent, they desired my schoolmaster to assist them in carrying on their religious solemnity; who tells me they appeared engaged and affectionate in repeated prayer, singing, *&c.*

Mar. 22. Catechised in my usual method in the evening: the people answered questions to my great satisfaction. There appeared nothing very remarkable in the assembly, considering what has been common among us. Yet I may justly say, the strict attention, the tenderness and affection, the many tears and heart-affecting sobs appearing in numbers in the assembly would have been very remarkable, were it not that God has made these things *common* with us, and even with strangers, soon after their coming amongst us. So far from thinking that every appearance and particular instance of affection amongst us has been truly genuine, and purely from a divine influence, I am sensible of the contrary; and doubt not but that there has been some corrupt mixtures, some chaff as well as wheat, especially since religious concern became so common and prevalent here.

Lord's day, Mar. 23. About fifteen strangers having come amongst us in the week past, several of whom had never been in any religious meeting till now, I thought it proper to discourse this day in a manner peculiarly suited to their circumstances and capacities; and accordingly attempted it from Hos. xiii. 9. In the forenoon I opened in the plainest manner I could, man's apostasy and ruined state, after having spoken some things respecting the being and perfections of God, and his creation of man in a state of innocence and happiness. In the afternoon, endeavoured to open the glorious provision God has made for the redemption of apostate creatures, by giving his own dear Son to suffer for them, and satisfy divine justice on their behalf.

There was not that affection and concern in the assembly which has been common among us, although there was a desirable attention appearing in general, and even in most of the strangers. Near sun-set I felt an uncommon concern upon my mind, especially for the poor strangers, that God had so much withheld his presence and the powerful influ-

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ence of his Spirit, from the assembly in the exercises of the day. In this frame I visited their houses, and discoursed with some concern and affection to several persons particularly; but without much appearance of success, till I came to a house where some of the strangers were. There the solemn truths I discoursed of appeared to take effect; first upon some children, then upon adult persons that had been somewhat awakened before, and afterwards upon several of the pagan strangers.

I continued my discourse with some fervency, till almost every one in the house was melted into tears. Several wept aloud, and appeared earnestly concerned to obtain an interest in Christ. Numbers soon gathered from all the houses round about, and so thronged the place that we were obliged to remove to the house where we usually meet for public worship. The congregation gathering immediately, and many appearing remarkably affected, I discoursed some time from Luke xix. 10; endeavouring to open the mercy, compassion and concern of Christ for lost, helpless and undone sinners. There was much visible concern and affection in the assembly; and I doubt not but that a divine influence accompanied what was spoken to the hearts of many. Five or six of the strangers, men and women, appeared to be considerably awakened; and in particular one very rugged young man, who seemed as if nothing would move him, was now brought to tremble like the jailor, and weep for a long time.

The awakened strangers seemed at once to put off their savage roughness and pagan manners, and became sociable, orderly and humane in their carriage. When they first came, I exhorted my religious people to take pains with them (as they had done with other strangers from time to time) to instruct them in Christianity. But when they attempted something of that nature, the strangers would soon rise up and walk to other houses, in order to avoid the hearing of such discourse. Several of the serious persons accordingly agreed to disperse themselves into the several parts of the settlement; so that wherever the strangers went, they met with some instructive discourse, and warm addresses respecting their soul's concern. But *now* there was no need of using policy in order to get an opportunity of conversing with them: for they were so far touched with

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a sense of their perishing state as made them yield to the closest addresses, respecting their sin and misery, their need of an acquaintance with and interest in the great Redeemer.

Mar. 24. Numbered the Indians, to see how many souls God had gathered together here, since my coming into these parts; and found there was now about a hundred and thirty, old and young. About fifteen or twenty of my stated hearers were absent at this season; so that if all had been together, the number would now have been very considerable; especially considering how few were together at my first coming into these parts, the whole number not amounting to ten persons.

My people are going out this day upon the design of clearing some of their lands above fifteen miles distant from this settlement, in order to their settling there in a compact form, where they might enjoy the advantages of attending the public worship of God, of having their children schooled, and at the same time have a conveniency for planting, &c.; their land in the place of our present residence being of little or no value for that purpose. The design of their settling thus in a body, and cultivating their lands (which they have done very little at in their pagan state) being of such necessity and importance to their religious interest, as well as worldly comfort, I thought it proper to call them together, and shew them the duty of labouring with faithfulness and industry; and that they must not now "be slothful in business," as they had ever been in their pagan state. I endeavoured to press the importance of their being laborious, diligent and vigorous in the prosecution of their business, especially at the present juncture, (the season of planting being now near,) in order to their being in a capacity of living together, and enjoying the means of grace and instruction. And having given them directions for their work, which they very much wanted, as well as for their behaviour in divers respects, I explained, sang, and endeavoured to inculcate upon them Psal. cxxvii. common metre, Dr. Watts's version. I then commended them, and the design of their going forth, to God by prayer, and dismissed them to their business.

In the evening read and expounded to those of them who were yet at home, and the strangers newly come, the substance of the third chapter of the Acts. Numbers seemed

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to melt, under the word, especially while I was discoursing upon ver. 19. The strangers also were affected. When I asked them afterwards, whether they did not now feel that their hearts were wicked, as I had taught them; one replied, "Yes, she felt it now." Although before she came here, (upon hearing that I taught the Indians their hearts were all bad by nature, and needed to be changed and made good by the power of God,) she had said, "Her heart was not wicked, and she never had done any thing that was bad in her life." This indeed seems to be the case with them universally in their pagan state. They have no consciousness of sin and guilt, unless they can charge themselves with some gross acts of sin contrary to the commands of the second table.

Mar. 27. Discoursed to a number of my people in one of their houses in a more private manner. Enquired particularly into their spiritual state, in order to see what impressions of a religious nature they were under. Laid before them the marks and tokens of a regenerate, as well as an unregenerate state; and endeavoured to suit my discourse to them severally, according as I apprehended their states to be. A considerable number gathered together before I finished my discourse, and several seemed much affected, while I was urging the necessity and infinite importance of a renewed state. I find particular and close dealing with souls in private is often very successful.

Mar. 29. In the evening catechised as usual. Treated upon the 'benefits which believers receive from Christ at death.' The questions were answered with great readiness and propriety; and those who I hope are the people of God, were in general sweetly melted. There appeared such a liveliness and vigour in their attendance upon the word, and such eagerness to be made partakers of the benefits then mentioned, that they seemed to be not only "looking for but hasting to the coming of the day of God." Divine truth seemed to distil upon the audience with a gentle but melting efficacy, as the refreshing "showers upon the new mown grass." The assembly in general, as well as those who appear truly religious, were affected with some brief account of the blessedness of the godly at death; and discovered an affectionate inclination to cry, "Let me die the death of the righteous," &c. Yet many were not duly engaged to obtain

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the change of heart that is necessary in order to that blessed end.

Lord's day, Mar. 30. Discoursed from Matt. xxv. 31—40. There was a very considerable moving and affectionate melting in the assembly, and I hope there were some real, deep, and abiding impressions of divine things made upon the minds of many. One aged man, newly come amongst us, appeared to be considerably awakened, but who never was touched with any concern for his soul before.—In the evening catechised. There was not that tenderness and and melting among God's people that appeared the evening before, and at many other times. Yet they answered the questions distinctly and well, and were devout and attentive in divine service.

Mar. 31. Called my people together, as I had done the Monday morning before, and discoursed to them again on the necessity and importance of their labouring industriously, in order to their living together, and enjoying the means of grace; and having engaged in solemn prayer to God among them, for a blessing upon their attempts, I dismissed them to their work. Numbers of them, both men and women, seemed to offer themselves willingly to this service; and some appeared affectionately concerned that God might go with them, and begin their *little town* for them; that by his blessing it might be comfortable for them and theirs, in regard both of procuring the necessaries of life, and attending the worship of God.

April 5, 1746. Catechised towards evening. There appeared to be some affection and fervency in the assembly in general, especially towards the conclusion of my discourse.—After public worship, a number of the truly religious came to my house, and seemed eager for some further entertainment upon divine things. While I was conversing with them about their spiritual exercises, observing to them that God's work in the hearts of all his children was for substance the same, and that their trials and temptations were also alike, and shewing the obligations such were under to love one another in a peculiar manner, they seemed to be melted into tenderness and affection toward each other. I thought that particular token of their being the disciples of Christ, viz. of their "having love one toward another," had scarcely ever appeared more evident than at this time.

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Lord's day, Apr. 6. Preached from Matt. vii. 21—23. There were considerable effects of the word visible in the audience, and such as were very desirable; an earnest attention, a great solemnity, many tears and heavy sighs, which were modestly suppressed in a considerable measure, and appeared unaffected, without any indecent commotion of the passions. Several religious people were put upon serious and close examination, from hearing that "not every one that saith to Christ, Lord, Lord, shall enter into his kingdom." Some of them expressed fears lest they had deceived themselves with a false hope, because they found they had done so little of the "will of his Father who is in heaven." One man was brought under very great and pressing concern for his soul, which appeared more especially after his retirement from public worship. That which gave him his great uneasiness, he says, was not so much any particular sin, as that he had never done the will of God at all, but had sinned continually, and so had no claim to the kingdom of heaven.

In the afternoon I opened to them the *discipline* of Christ in his church, and the method in which offenders are to be dealt with. The religious people were much affected when they heard, that the offender continuing obstinate, must finally be esteemed and treated "as a Heathen man," a pagan, that has no part nor lot among God's visible people. *This* they seemed to have the most awful apprehensions of; a state of heathenism, out of which they were so lately brought, appearing very dreadful to them.—After public worship I visited several houses to see how they spent the remainder of the sabbath, and to treat with them solemnly on the great concerns of their souls. The Lord seemed to smile upon my private endeavours, and to make these personal addresses more effectual upon some than my public discourses.

Apr. 7. Preached to my people in the evening from 1 Cor. xi. 23—26. Endeavoured to open to them the institution, nature, and ends of the Lord's supper, as well as the qualifications and preparations necessary to the right participation of that ordinance. Several appeared much affected with the love of Christ, in making this provision for the comfort of his people, at a season when himself was just entering upon his sharpest sufferings.

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Lord's day, Apr. 20. Discoursed both forenoon and afternoon from Luke xxiv. explaining most of the chapter, and making remarks upon it. There was a desirable attention in the audience, though not so much appearance of affection and tenderness among them as has been usual.—Our meeting was very full; some strangers were present, who had never been with us before.

In the evening catechised. My people answered the questions proposed to them, readily and distinctly; and I could perceive they advanced in their knowledge of the principles of Christianity. There was an affectionate melting in the assembly at this time. Several of the truly religious were refreshed and quickened, and seemed by their discourse and behaviour after public worship, to have their "hearts knit together in love." This was a blessed season, like many others, that my poor people have been favoured with in months past. God has caused *this little fleece* to be repeatedly wet with the blessed *dews* of divine grace, while all the earth around has been comparatively dry.

Apr. 25. Having of late apprehended that a number of persons in my congregation were proper subjects of the ordinance of the Lord's supper, and that it might be seasonable speedily to administer it to them; and having taken advice of some of the reverend Correspondents in this solemn affair, and accordingly proposed and appointed the next Lord's day (with leave of divine providence) for the administration of this ordinance, this day was set apart for solemn fasting and prayer, to implore the blessing of God upon our design of renewing covenant with him and with one another, to walk together in the fear of God, in love and Christian fellowship; and to intreat that his divine presence might be with us in our designed approach to his table, as well as to humble ourselves before God on account of the apparent withdrawment (at least in a measure) of that blessed influence which has been so prevalent upon persons of all ages among us; as also on account of the rising appearance of carelessness, vanity and vice among some, who some time since appeared to be touched and affected with divine truths, and brought to some sensibility of their miserable and perishing state by nature. And that we might also importunately pray for the peaceable settlement of the Indians together in a body, that they might be a commodious congregation for the worship of

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God; and that God would defeat all the attempts that were or might be made against that pious design.*

The solemnity was observed and seriously attended, not only by those who proposed to communicate at the Lord's table, but by the whole congregation. In the former part of the day, I endeavoured to open to my people the nature and design of a fast, as I had attempted more briefly to do before, and to instruct them in the duties of such a solemnity. In the afternoon I insisted upon the special reasons there were for our engaging in these solemn exercises at this time, both in regard to our need of divine assistance, in order to a due preparation for that sacred ordinance we were some of us proposing speedily to attend upon, and also in respect to the manifest decline of God's work here, as to the effectual conviction and conversion of sinners, there having been few of late deeply awakened out of a state of security.

The worship of God was attended with great solemnity and reverence, with much tenderness and many tears, by those who appear to be truly religious. There was also some appearance of divine power upon those who had been awakened some time before, and who were still under concern. After repeated prayer and attendance upon the word of God, I proposed to the religious people with as much brevity and plainness as I could, the substance of the doctrine of the Christian faith, as I had formerly done, previous to their baptism, and had their renewed cheerful assent to it. I then led them to a solemn renewal of their baptismal covenant, wherein they had explicitly and publicly given up themselves to God, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, avouching him to be their God; and at the same time renouncing their idolatrous and superstitious practices, and solemnly engaging to take the word of God, so far as it was or might be made known to them, for the rule of their lives, promising to walk together in love, to watch over themselves

* There being at this time a terrible clamour raised against the Indians in various places in the country, and insinuations as though I was training them up to cut people's throats. Numbers wishing to have them banished out of these parts, and some giving out great swelling words, in order to fright and deter from settling upon the best and most convenient track of their own lands, threatening to molest and trouble them in the law, pretending a claim to these lands themselves, although never purchased of the Indians.

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and one another; to lead lives of seriousness and devotion, and to discharge the relative duties incumbent upon them respectively.

This solemn transaction was attended with much gravity and seriousness, and at the same time with the utmost readiness, freedom and cheerfulness. A religious union and harmony of soul seemed to crown the whole solemnity. I could not but think in the evening, that there had been manifest tokens of the divine presence with us in all the services of the day; though it was also manifest there was not that concern among Christless souls which has often appeared here.

Apr. 26. Toward noon prayed with a dying child, and gave a word of exhortation to the by-standers to prepare for death, which seemed to take effect upon some. In the afternoon discoursed to my people from Matt. xxvi. 26—30, of the author, the nature and design of the Lord's supper; and endeavoured to point out the worthy receivers of that ordinance. The religious people were affected, and even melted with a view of the dying love of Christ. Others who had been for some months under convictions of their perishing state, appeared now to be much moved with concern, and afresh engaged in seeking after an interest in Christ; though I cannot say that the word of God appeared so quick and powerful, so sharp and piercing to the assembly, as it had sometimes formerly done.

Baptized two adult persons, both serious and exemplary in their lives, and I hope truly religious. One of them was the man particularly mentioned in my Journal of the 6th instant; who though he was then greatly distressed, because 'he had never done the will of God,' has since we hope obtained spiritual comfort upon good grounds.

In the evening I catechised those that were designed to partake of the Lord's supper the next day, explaining the institution, nature and end of that ordinance; and had abundant satisfaction respecting their doctrinal knowledge and fitness in *that* respect for an attendance upon it. They likewise appeared in general to have an affecting view of the solemnity of this sacred ordinance, to be humbled under a sense of their own unworthiness to approach to God in it, and to be earnestly concerned that they might be duly prepared for an attendance upon it. Their hearts were full of

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love one toward another, and *that* was the frame of mind they seemed much concerned to maintain, and bring to the Lord's table with them. In singing and prayer, after catechising, there appeared an agreeable tenderness and melting among them, and such tokens of brotherly love and affection that would even constrain one to say, "Lord, it is good to be here;" it is good to dwell where such a heavenly influence distils.

Lord's day, Apr. 27. Preached from Tit. ii. 14. "Who gave himself for us," *&c.* The word of God was attended with some appearance of divine power upon the assembly; the attention and gravity of the audience was remarkable; and towards the conclusion especially, several persons were much affected.

Administered the Lord's supper to twenty-three of the Indians, the number of men and women being nearly equal. Five or six others were now absent at the Forks of Delaware, who would otherwise have communicated with us. The ordinance was attended with great solemnity, and with a most desirable tenderness and affection. It was remarkable, that during the sacramental actions, especially in the distribution of the bread, they seemed to be affected in a most lively manner, as if 'Christ had been really crucified before them.' And the words of the institution, when repeated and enlarged upon in the administration, seemed to meet with the same reception, to be entertained with the same full and firm belief and affectionate engagement of soul, as if the Lord Jesus Christ himself had been present, and had personally spoken to them. The affections of the communicants, though considerably raised, were notwithstanding agreeably regulated and kept within proper bounds. There was a sweet, gentle and affectionate melting, without any boisterous commotion of the passions.

Having rested some time after the administration of the sacrament, I walked from house to house, and conversed particularly with most of the communicants, and found they had been almost universally refreshed at the Lord's table "as with new wine." Never did I see such an appearance of Christian love among any people in all my life. It was so remarkable, that one might well have cried with an agreeable surprise, 'Behold how they love one another.' I think there could be no greater tokens of mutual affection

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among the people of God in the early days of Christianity, than what now appeared here. The sight was so desirable, and so well becoming the gospel, that nothing less could be said of it, than that it was " the doing of the Lord," the genuine operations of him who is " love" itself.

Towards night discoursed again on the forementioned Tit. ii. 14, and insisted on the immediate end and design of Christ's death, *viz.* " That he might redeem his people from all iniquity." This also appeared to be a season of divine power amongst us. The religious people were much refreshed, and seemed remarkably tender and affectionate, full of love, joy, peace, and desires of being completely " redeemed from all iniquity;" some of them afterwards told me, ' they had never felt the like before.' Convictions also appeared to be revived in many instances; and several were awakened, whom I had never observed under any religious impressions before.

Such was the influence that attended our assembly, and so unspeakably desirable the frame of mind that many enjoyed in the divine service, that it seemed almost grievous to conclude the public worship. The congregation when dismissed, though it was then almost dark, appeared loth to leave the place and employments that had been rendered so dear to them by the benefits enjoyed, while a blessed quickening influence distilled upon them. Upon the whole I must say, I had great satisfaction in the administration of this ordinance. I have abundant reason to think, that those who came to the Lord's table had a good degree of doctrinal knowledge of the nature and design of the ordinance, and that they acted understandingly in what they did.

In the preparatory services I found uncommon freedom in opening to their understandings and capacities, the covenant of grace, and in shewing them the nature of this ordinance as a seal of that covenant; though many of them knew of no such thing as a seal before my coming among them, or at least of the use and design of it in the common affairs of life. They were likewise thoroughly sensible that it was no more than a seal or sign, and not the real body and blood of Christ; that it was designed for the refreshment and edification of the soul, and not for the feasting of the body. They were also acquainted with the end of the ordinance, that

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they were therein called to commemorate the dying love of Christ, *&c.*

This competency of doctrinal knowledge, together with their grave and decent attendance upon the ordinance, their affectionate melting under it, and the sweet and Christian frame of mind they discovered afterwards, gave me great satisfaction. Oh what a blessed season was this! God himself, I am persuaded, was in the midst of his people, attending his own ordinances. I doubt not but many in the conclusion of the day could say, with their whole hearts, 'Verily, a day thus spent in God's house is better than a thousand elsewhere.' There seemed to be but one heart among the pious people. The union, harmony, and endearing love and tenderness subsisting among them, was I thought the most lively emblem of the heavenly world I had ever seen.

Apr. 28. Concluded the sacramental solemnity with a discourse upon John xiv. 15. "If ye love me, keep my commandments." There appeared a very agreeable tenderness in the audience in general, but especially in the communicants. How free, how engaged and affectionate did *these* appear in the service of God! They seemed willing to have their "ears bored to the door posts" of God's house, and to be his servants for ever.

Observing numbers in this excellent frame, and the assembly in general affected by a divine influence, I thought it proper to improve this advantageous season, as Hezekiah did the desirable season of his great passover, (2 Chron. xxxi.) in order to promote the blessed reformation begun among them, and engage those that appear serious and religious to persevere therein. I accordingly proposed to them that they should renewedly enter into covenant before God, that they would watch over themselves and one another, lest they should dishonour the name of Christ by falling into sinful and unbecoming practices. Especially that they would watch against the sin of drunkenness, the sin that easily besets them, and the temptations leading to it, as well as 'the appearance of evil' in that respect. They cheerfully complied with the proposal, and explicitly joined in that covenant. I therefore proceeded in the most solemn manner I could, to call God to witness respecting their sacred engagement; reminding them of the greatness of the guilt

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they would contract in the violation of it, and that God would be a terrible witness against those who should presume to do so, in the "great and notable day of the Lord."

It was a season of amazing solemnity; a divine awe appeared upon the face of the whole assembly in this transaction. Affectionate sobs, sighs and tears, were now frequent in the audience; and I doubt not but that many silent cries were then sent up to the Fountain of grace, for supplies of grace sufficient for the fulfilment of these solemn engagements.—Baptized six children this day.

Lord's day, May 4. My people being now removed to their lands, mentioned in my Journal of March 24, where they have been making provision for a compact settlement, in order to their more convenient enjoyment of the gospel, and other means of instruction, as well as the comforts of life; I this day visited them, (being now obliged to board with an English family at some distance from them,) and preached to them in the forenoon from Mark iv. 5. Endeavoured to shew them the reason there was to fear lest many promising appearances and hopeful beginnings in religion might prove abortive, like the "seed dropped upon stony places."

In the afternoon discoursed upon Rom. viii. 9. "Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." I have reason to think this discourse was peculiarly seasonable, and that it had a good effect upon some of the hearers.—Spent some hours afterwards in private conferences with my people, and laboured to regulate some things I apprehended amiss among some of them.

May 5. Visited them again, and took care of their worldly concerns, giving them directions relating to their business. I daily discover more and more of what importance it is to their religious interests, that they become laborious and industrious, acquainted with the affairs of husbandry, and able in a good measure to raise the necessaries and comforts of life within themselves; for their present method of living greatly exposes them to temptations of various kinds.

May 9. Preached from John v. 40, in the open wilderness; the Indians having as yet no house for public worship in this place, nor scarcely any shelter for themselves. Divine truth made considerable impressions upon the audience, and it was a season of solemnity, tenderness and affection.

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Baptized one man this day, (the conjurer, murderer, *&c.* mentioned in my Journal of Aug. 8. 1745, and Feb. 1. 1745-6,) who appears to be such a remarkable instance of divine grace, that I cannot omit some brief account of him here.

He lived near, and sometimes attended my meeting in the Forks of Delaware for more than a year together; but was, like many others of them, extremely attached to strong drink, and seemed to be no ways reformed by the means I used for their instruction and conversion. In this time he likewise *murdered* a likely young Indian, which threw him into some kind of horror and desperation, so that he kept at a distance from me, and refused to hear me preach for several months together, (as I noted in a formal Journal of March 4, 1744-5,) till I had an opportunity of conversing freely with him, and giving him encouragement that his sin might be forgiven for Christ's sake. After which he sometimes attended the meeting.

But the worst part of all his conduct was his conjuration. He was one of them who are sometimes called *powwows* among the Indians; and notwithstanding his frequent attendance upon my preaching, he still followed his old charms and juggling tricks, "giving out that himself was some great one, and to him they gave heed," supposing him to be possessed of a "great power." When I instructed them respecting the miracles wrought by Christ in healing the sick, *&c.* and mentioned them as evidences of his divine mission, and the truth of his doctrines, they quickly observed the wonders of that kind which this man had performed by his magic charms. Hence they had a high opinion of him, and his superstitious notions, which seemed to be a fatal obstruction to some of them in regard of their receiving the gospel. And I have often thought, it would be a great favour to the design of gospellizing the Indians, if God would take that wretch out of the world; for I had scarcely any hope of his ever coming to good. But God, "whose thoughts are not as man's thoughts," has been pleased to take a much more desirable method with him; a method agreeable to his own merciful nature, and I trust, advantageous to his own interest among the Indians, as well as effectual to the salvation of the poor soul himself: and to him be the glory of it.

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The first genuine concern that ever appeared in him, was excited by seeing my Interpreter and his wife baptized at the Forks of Delaware, July 21, 1745. This so prevailed upon him, that with the invitation of an Indian, who was a friend to Christianity, he followed me down to Crosweeksung in the beginning of August following, in order to hear me preach, and there continued for several weeks, in a season of the most remarkable and powerful awakening among the Indians. He was then more effectually awakened, and brought under great concern for his soul. Upon 'feeling the word of God in his heart,' as he expresses it, his spirit of conjuration left him entirely; and he has had no more power of that nature since, than any other man living. He declares that he does not now so much as know how he used to charm and conjure; and that he could not do any thing of that nature, were he ever so desirous of it.

He continued under convictions of his sinful and perishing state, all the fall and former part of the winter past, but was not so deeply exercised till sometime in January; and then the word of God took such hold upon him, that he was brought into great distress, and knew not what to do, nor where to turn himself. He then told me, that when he used to hear me preach from time to time in the fall of the year, my preaching pierced his heart and made him very uneasy, but did not bring him to so *great* distress, because he still hoped he could do *something* for his own relief. But now, he said, I drove him up into 'such a sharp corner,' that he had no way to turn, and could not avoid being in distress. He continued constantly under the heavy burden and pressure of a wounded spirit, till at length he was brought to the utmost agony of soul, mentioned in my Journal of Feb. 1; which continued that night, and part of the next day.

After this he enjoyed great calmness and composure of mind; his trembling and heavy burden were removed, and he appeared perfectly sedate; though he had, to his apprehension, scarcely any hope of salvation. Observing him in this state, I asked him how he did? He replied, "It is done, it is done, it is all done now." I asked him what he meant? He answered, "I can never do any more to save myself; it is all done for ever, I can do no more." I queried with him, whether he could not do a *little* more, rather than go to hell. He replied, "My heart is dead, I can never help myself." I

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asked him what he thought would become of him then? He answered, "I must go to hell." I asked him whether he thought it was right that God should send him there. He replied, "Oh it is right. The devil has been in me ever since I was born." I asked him whether he felt this, when he was in such great distress the evening before? He answered, "No, I did not then think it was right. I thought God would send me to hell, and that I was then dropping into it; but my heart quarrelled with God, and would not say it was right he should send me there. But now I know it is right, for I have always served the devil, and my heart has no goodness in it now, but is as bad as ever it was."

I thought I had scarcely ever seen any person more effectually brought off from a dependance upon his own contrivances and endeavours for salvation, or more apparently to lie at the foot of sovereign mercy, than this man now did under these views of things. In this frame of mind he continued for several days, passing sentence of condemnation upon himself, and constantly owning, that it would be right he should be damned, and that he expected this would be his portion for the greatness of his sins. Yet it was plain he had a secret hope of mercy, though imperceptible to himself which kept him not only from despair, but from any pressing distress: so that instead of being sad and dejected, his very countenance appeared pleasant and agreeable.

While in this frame, he asked me several times when I would preach again; and seemed desirous to hear the word of God every day. I asked him why he wanted to hear me preach, seeing 'his heart was dead, and all was done;' that 'he could never help himself, and expected that he must go to hell?' He replied, "I love to hear you speak about Christ for all." I added, But what good will that do you, if you must go to hell at last? I now used his own language with him; having before laboured in the best manner I could, to represent to him the excellency of Christ, his all-sufficiency and willingness to save lost sinners, and persons just in his case, but without yielding him any special comfort. He answered, "I would have others come to Christ, if I must go to hell myself."—It was remarkable that at this time he seemed to have a great love to the people of God, and nothing affected him so much as the thoughts of being separated from them. This seemed to be a very dreadful

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part of the hell he thought himself doomed to. It was likewise remarkable, that he was now most diligent in the use of all means for his soul's salvation, though he had the clearest view of the insufficiency of means to afford him help. He would frequently say, "That all he did, signified nothing at all;" yet he was never more constant in doing, attending secret and family prayer daily, and surprisingly diligent and attentive in hearing the word of God. Hence he neither despaired of mercy, nor presumed to hope upon his own doings, but used means, because appointed of God in order to salvation, and because he would wait upon God in his own way.

After continuing in this frame of mind more than a week, while I was discoursing publicly, he seemed to have a lively, soul-refreshing view of the excellency of Christ, and the way of salvation by him, which melted him into tears, and filled him with admiration, comfort, satisfaction, and praise. He has since appeared to be a humble, devout, and affectionate Christian; serious and exemplary in his conversation and behaviour, frequently complaining of his barrenness, his want of spiritual warmth, life and activity, and yet frequently favoured with quickening and refreshing influences. In all respects, so far as I am able to judge, he bears the marks and characters of one "created anew in Christ Jesus to good works."

His zeal for the cause of God was pleasing, when he was with me at the Forks of Delaware in February last. An old Indian at the place where I preached, threatened to *bewitch* me, and my religious people who accompanied me there. *This* man presently challenged him to do his worst, telling him that himself had been as great a conjurer as he, and that notwithstanding, as soon as he felt that word in his heart which these people loved, (meaning the word of God,) his power of conjuring immediately left him. And so it would you, said he, if you did but once feel it in your heart; and you have no power to hurt them, nor so much as to touch one of them. I may conclude my account of him by observing, in allusion to what was said of St. Paul, that he now zealously defends, and practically "preaches the faith which once he destroyed," or at least was instrumental of obstructing. May God have the glory of the amazing change that is wrought in him!

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Lord's day, May 18. Discoursed both parts of the day from Rev. iii. 20. There appeared some affectionate melting towards the conclusion of the forenoon exercise, and one or two instances of fresh awakening.—In the intermission of public worship, I took occasion to discourse to numbers in a more private way, on the kindness and patience of the blessed Redeemer in "standing and knocking," in continuing his gracious calls to sinners, who had long neglected and abused his grace; which seemed to take effect upon some. In the afternoon, divine truths were attended with solemnity, and with some tears, though there was not that powerful awakening, and quickening influence, which in times past has been common in our assemblies. The appearance of the audience was comparatively discouraging, and I was ready to fear that God was about to withdraw the blessed influence of his Spirit from us.

May 19. Visited and preached to my people from Acts xx. 18, 19. Endeavoured to rectify their notions about religious affections; shewing them on the one hand, the desirableness of religious affection, tenderness and fervent engagement in the worship and service of God, when such affection flows from a true spiritual discovery of divine glories, from a justly-affecting sense of the transcendent excellency and perfections of the blessed God,—a view of the glory and loveliness of the great Redeemer; and that such views of divine things will naturally excite us to "serve the Lord with many tears," with much affection and fervency, and yet "with all humility of mind."—On the other hand, I observed the sinfulness of seeking after high affections immediately, and for their own sakes, that is, of making them the object on which our heart is principally set, instead of the glory of God. I shewed them that if the heart be directly and chiefly fixed on God, and engaged to glorify him, some degree of religious affection will be the natural effect. But to seek after affection directly and chiefly, to have the heart principally set upon that, is to place it in the room of God and his glory. If it be sought, that others may take notice of, and admire us for our spirituality and forwardness in religion, it is then abominable *pride:* if for the sake of feeling the pleasure of being affected, it is then *idolatry* and self-gratification. I laboured also to expose the disagreeableness of those affections that are sometimes

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wrought up in persons by the power of fancy, and their own attempts for that purpose, while I still endeavoured to recommend to them that religious affection, fervency and devotion, which ought to attend all our religious exercises and without which, religion will be but an empty name and lifeless carcase.

This appeared to be a seasonable discourse, and proved very satisfactory to some of the religious people, who before were exercised with difficulties relating to this point.

May 24. Visited the Indians, and took care of their secular business, which they are not able to manage themselves, without the constant care and advice of others. Discoursed more particularly with some about their spiritual concerns.

Lord's day, May 25. Preached both parts of the day from John xii. 44—48. Some degree of divine power attended the word; several wept and appeared considerably affected; and one who had long been under spiritual trouble, now obtained clearness and comfort, and appeared to "rejoice in God her Saviour." It was a day of grace and goodness; a day wherein something I trust was done for the cause of God among the people. It was also a season of comfort to the godly, though there was not that powerful influence upon the congregation which was common some months ago.

Lord's day, June 1, 1746. Preached both forenoon and afternoon from Matth. xi. 27, 28. The presence of God seemed to be in the assembly, and numbers were considerably melted and affected under the word. There was a desirable appearance in the congregation in general, an earnest attention and agreeable tenderness, and it seemed as if God designed to visit us with further showers of divine grace.—— I then baptized ten persons, five adults and five children, and was not a little refreshed with this addition to the church of such as I hope shall be saved. Since our celebration of the Lord's supper, several who had long been under spiritual trouble and concern, have obtained relief and comfort, though there have been few instances of persons lately awakened out of a state of security. And those comforted of late, seem to be brought in, in a more silent way, neither their concern nor consolation being so powerful and remarkable, as appeared among those more suddenly wrought upon in the beginning of this work of grace.

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June 6. Discoursed to my people from part of Isai. liii. The divine presence appeared to be amongst us in some measure. Several persons were much melted and refreshed; and one man in particular, who had long been under concern for his soul, was now brought to see and feel in a very lively manner, the impossibility of his doing any thing to help himself, or to bring him into the favour of God, by his tears, prayers, and other religious performances. He found himself undone, as to any power or goodness of his own, and that there was no way left but to leave himself with God to be disposed of as he pleased.

June 7. Being desired by the Rev. William Tennent to be his assistant in the administration of the Lord's supper; my people also being invited to attend the sacramental solemnity, they cheerfully embraced the opportunity, and this day attended the preparatory services with me.

Lord's day, June 8. Most of my people who had been communicants at the Lord's table before, being present at this sacramental occasion, communicated with others in this holy ordinance, at the desire, and I trust to the satisfaction and comfort of numbers of God's people, who had longed to see *this* day, and whose hearts had rejoiced in this work of grace among the Indians, which prepared the way for what appeared so agreeable at this time. Those of my people who communicated, seemed agreeably affected at the Lord's table, and some of them considerably melted with the love of Christ; though they were not so remarkably refreshed and feasted at this time, as when I administered this ordinance to them in our own congregation only.

Some of the spectators were affected with seeing these, who had been " aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers to the covenant of promise," who of all men had lived " without God, and without hope in the world," now brought " near to God" as his professing people, and sealing covenant with him by a solemn and devout attendance upon this sacred ordinance. And as numbers of God's people were refreshed with this sight, and thereby excited to bless God for the enlargement of his kingdom in the world, so some others (I was told) were awakened by it, apprehending the danger they were in of being themselves finally " cast out," while they saw others, " from the east

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and west," preparing, and hopefully prepared in some good measure, to " sit down in the kingdom of God."

At this season others of my people also, who were not communicants, were considerably affected; convictions were revived in divers instances; and one (the man particularly mentioned in my Journal of the 6th instant) obtained comfort and satisfaction; and has since given me such an account of his spiritual exercises, and the manner in which he obtained relief, as appears very hopeful. It seems as if he " who commanded the light to shine out of darkness," had now " shined in his heart, and given him the light of" an experimental " knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ."

June 9. A considerable number of my people met together early in the day in a retired place in the woods, and prayed, sang, and conversed of divine things. They were seen by some religious persons of the white people, to be affected and engaged, and several of them in tears in these religious exercises. They afterwards attended the concluding exercises of the sacramental solemnity, and then returned home, " rejoicing for all the goodness of God" they had seen and felt. This was a profitable and comfortable season to numbers of my congregation. A number of them communicating at the Lord's table with others of God's people on this occasion, was I trust for the honour of God, and the interest of religion in these parts; and many I hope were quickened by it.

June 13. Preached to my people upon the new creature, from 2 Cor. v. 17. The presence of God appeared to be in the assembly. It was a sweet and agreeable meeting; the people of God were refreshed and strengthened, beholding their faces in the glass of God's word, and finding in themselves the marks and lineaments of the new creature. Some sinners under concern were also renewedly affected; and afresh engaged for the securing of their eternal interests.

Baptized five persons at this time, three adults and two children. One of these was the very *aged woman*, of whose exercise I gave an account in my Journal of Dec. 26. She now gave me a very punctual, rational, and satisfactory account of the remarkable change she experienced some months after the beginning of her concern, which appeared to be the genuine operations of the divine Spirit, so far as I

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am capable of judging. And though she was become so childish through old age, that I could do nothing in a way of *questioning* with her, nor scarce make her understand what I asked her; yet when I let her alone to go on with her own story, she could give a very distinct and particular relation of the various exercises of soul she had experienced; so deep were the impressions left upon her mind by the influence she had been under. I have great reason to hope she is "born again" in her old age, now upwards of fourscore. I had good hopes of the other adults, and trust they are such as God will own "in the day when he makes up his jewels."

June 19. Visited my people with two of the Reverend Correspondents. Spent time in conversation with some of them upon spiritual things, and took care of their worldly concerns.

This day makes up a complete year from the first of my preaching to these Indians in New-Jersey. What amazing things has God wrought in this space of time for these poor people! What a surprising change appears in their tempers and behaviour! How are morose and savage pagans in this short space of time transformed into agreeable, affectionate, and humble Christians; and their drunken pagan howlings, turned into devout and fervent prayers and praises to God! They "who were sometimes darkness, are now become light in the Lord. May they walk as children of the light, and of the day. And now to him that is of power to stablish them according to the gospel, and the preaching of Christ—To God only wise, be glory, through Jesus Christ, for ever and ever! Amen."

Before I conclude the present Journal, I would make a few general remarks upon what appears to me worthy of notice, relating to the continued work of grace among my people.

First, I cannot but notice that I have in the general, ever since my first coming among these Indians in New-Jersey, been favoured with that assistance, which to me is *uncommon*, in preaching Christ crucified, and making him the centre and mark to which all my discourses among them were directed. It was the principal scope and drift of all my discourses to this people for several months together, (after

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having taught them something of the being and perfections of God, his creation of man in a state of rectitude and happiness, and the obligations mankind were under to love and honour him,) to lead them into an acquaintance with their deplorable state by nature, as fallen creatures; their inability to extricate and deliver themselves from it; the utter insufficiency of any external reformations and amendments of life, or of any religious performances they were capable of while in this state, to bring them into the favour of God, and interest them in his eternal mercy. And thence to shew them their absolute need of Christ to redeem and save them from the misery of their fallen state; to open his all-sufficiency and willingness to save the chief of sinners: the freeness and riches of his grace, proposed "without money and without price," to all that will accept the offer; and to press them without delay to betake themselves to him, under a sense of their misery and undone state, for relief and everlasting salvation. After this to shew them the abundant encouragement the gospel proposes to perishing and helpless sinners, in order to lead them to Christ. These things I repeatedly and largely insisted upon from time to time.

I have oftentimes remarked with admiration, that whatever subject I have been treating upon, after having spent time sufficient to explain and illustrate it, I have been naturally and easily led to Christ as the substance of all. If I treated on the being and glorious perfections of God, I was thence naturally led to discourse of Christ as the only "way to the Father." If I attempted to open the deplorable misery of our fallen state, it was natural from thence to shew the necessity of Christ to undertake for us, to atone for our sins, and to redeem us from the power of them. If I taught the commands of God, and shewed our violation of them, this brought me in the most easy and natural way to speak of and recommend the Lord Jesus Christ, as one who had "magnified the law" we had broken, and who was "become the end of it for righteousness, to every one that believes." And never did I find so much freedom and assistance in making all the various lines of my discourses meet together, and centre in Christ, as I have frequently done among these Indians.

Sometimes when I have had thoughts of offering but a few words upon some particular subject, and saw no occasion,

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nor indeed much room for any considerable enlargement, there has at unawares appeared such a fountain of gospel-grace shining forth in, or naturally resulting from a just explication of it, and Christ has seemed in such a manner to be pointed out as the substance of what I was considering and explaining, that I have been drawn in a way not only easy and natural, proper and pertinent, but almost unavoidable, to discourse of him, either in regard of his undertaking, incarnation, satisfaction, admirable fitness for the work of man's redemption, or the infinite need that sinners stand in of an interest in him. This has opened the way for a continued strain of gospel-invitation to perishing souls, to come empty and naked, weary and heavy laden, and cast themselves upon him.

And as I have been remarkably influenced and assisted to dwell upon the Lord Jesus Christ, and the way of salvation by him, in the general current of my discourses here, and have at times been surprisingly furnished with pertinent matter relating to him, and the design of his incarnation: so I have been no less assisted oftentimes in regard to an advantageous *manner* of opening the mysteries of divine grace, and representing the infinite excellencies and "unsearchable riches of Christ," as well as of recommending him to the acceptance of perishing sinners. I have frequently been enabled to represent the divine glory, the infinite preciousness and transcendent loveliness of the great Redeemer; the suitableness of his person and purchase to supply the wants, and answer the utmost desires of immortal souls;—to open the infinite riches of his grace, and the wonderful encouragement proposed in the gospel to unworthy, helpless sinners;—to call, invite and beseech them to come and give up themselves to him, and be reconciled to God through him;—to expostulate with them respecting their neglect of one so infinitely lovely, and freely offered;—and this in such a manner, with such freedom, pertinency, pathos, and application to the conscience, as I am sure I never could have made myself master of by the most assiduous application. I have frequently at such seasons been surprisingly helped in adapting my discourses to the capacities of my people, and bringing them down into such easy and familiar methods of expression, as has rendered them intelligible even to Pagans.

I do not mention these things as a recommendation of my

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own performances; for, I am sure I found, from time to time, that I had no skill or wisdom for my great work; and knew not how "to chuse out acceptable words," proper to be addressed to poor benighted Pagans. But thus God was pleased to help me, "not to know any thing among them, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." Thus I was enabled to shew them their misery and undone state without him, and to represent his complete fitness to redeem and save them. This was the preaching God made use of for the awakening of sinners, and the propagation of this "work of grace among the Indians." And it was remarkable, from time to time, that when I was favoured with any special freedom, in discoursing on the ability and willingness of Christ to save sinners, and the need they stood in of such a Saviour, there was then the greatest appearance of divine power in awakening numbers of secure souls, promoting convictions begun, and comforting the distressed.

I have sometimes formerly, in reading the apostle's discourse to Cornelius, (Acts x.) admired to see him so quickly introduce the Lord Jesus Christ into his sermon, and so entirely dwell upon him through the whole of it, observing him in this point very widely to differ from many of our modern preachers. But latterly this has not seemed strange, since Christ has appeared to be the *substance* of the gospel, and the *centre* in which the several lines of divine revelation meet. Yet I am still sensible there are many things necessary to be spoken to persons under pagan darkness, in order to make way for a proper introduction of the name of Christ, and his undertaking in behalf of fallen man.

Secondly, It is worthy of remark, that numbers of these people are brought to a strict compliance with the rules of morality and sobriety, and to a conscientious performance of the *external* duties of Christianity, by the *internal* power and influence of divine truths (the peculiar doctrines of grace) upon their minds; without their having these *moral duties* frequently repeated and inculcated upon them, and the contrary vices particularly exposed and spoken against. What has been the general strain and drift of my preaching among these Indians; what were the truths I principally insisted upon, and how I was influenced and enabled to dwell from time to time upon the peculiar doctrines of grace, I have already observed in the preceding remark. Those doctrines

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which had the most direct tendency to humble the fallen creature; to shew him the misery of his natural state; to bring him down to the foot of sovereign mercy; to exalt the great Redeemer, discover his transcendent excellency and infinite preciousness, and so to recommend him to the sinner's acceptance, were the subject matter of what was delivered in public and private, and from time to time repeated and inculcated upon them.

God was pleased to give these divine truths such a powerful influence upon the minds of the people, and so to bless them for the effectual awakening of numbers of them, that their lives were quickly reformed, without my insisting upon the precepts of *morality*, and spending time in repeated harangues upon external duties. There was indeed no room for any kind of discourses but those that respected the *essentials* of religion, and the *experimental* knowledge of divine things, whilst there were so many inquiring daily, not how they should regulate their external conduct, (for that, persons who are honestly disposed to comply with duty when known, may in ordinary cases be easily satisfied about;) but how they should escape from the wrath to come; how they might obtain an effectual change of heart, get an interest in Christ, and come to the enjoyment of eternal blessedness. My great work therefore was to lead them into a further view of their utter helplessness, and the total depravity and corruption of their hearts; that there was no manner of goodness in them, no good dispositions nor desires, no love to God nor delight in his commands; but on the contrary, hatred, enmity, and all manner of wickedness reigning in them. At the same time it was necessary to open to them the glorious and complete remedy provided in Christ for helpless perishing sinners, and offered freely to those who have no goodness of their own, no "works of righteousness which they have done," to recommend them to God.

This was the continued strain of my preaching; this my great concern and constant endeavour, so to enlighten the mind as thereby duly to affect the heart, and as far as possible, give persons a sense and feeling of these precious and important doctrines of grace, at least so far as means might conduce to it. These were the doctrines, and this the method of preaching, which were blessed of God for the awakening, and I trust the saving conversion of numbers of

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souls; and which were made the means of producing a remarkable reformation among the hearers in general.

When these truths were felt at heart, there was now no vice unreformed, no external duty neglected. Drunkenness, the darling vice, was broken off, and scarcely an instance of it known among my hearers for months together. The abusive practice of husbands and wives in putting away each other, and taking others in their stead, was quickly reformed; so that there are three or four couple who have voluntarily dismissed those they had wrongfully taken, and now live together again in love and peace. The same might be said of all other vicious practices.—The reformation was general; and all springing from the *internal* influence of divine truth upon their hearts; and not from any *external* restraints, or because they had heard these vices particularly exposed, and repeatedly spoken against. Some of them indeed I never so much as mentioned; particularly that of the parting of men and their wives, till some, having their conscience awakened by God's word, came, and of their own accord, confessed themselves guilty in that respect. And when I did at any time mention their wicked practices, and the sins they were guilty of contrary to the light of nature, it was not with design, nor indeed with any hope, of working an effectual reformation in their external manners by this means, for I knew that while the *tree* remained corrupt, the *fruit* would naturally be so; but with design to lead them, by observing the wickedness of their *lives*, to a view of the corruption of their *hearts*, and so to convince them of the necessity of a renovation of nature, and to excite them diligently to seek after that great change, which if once obtained, would of course produce a reformation of external manners in every respect.

And as all vice was reformed upon their feeling the power of divine truth upon their hearts, so the external duties of Christianity were complied with, and conscientiously performed from the same internal influence. Family-prayer was set up, and constantly maintained, unless among some few more lately come, who had felt little of this divine influence. This duty constantly was performed even in some families where there were none but females, and scarce a prayerless person to be found among near a hundred of them. The Lord's day was seriously and religiously ob-

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served, and care taken by parents to keep their children orderly upon that sacred day. And this, not because I had driven them to the performance of these duties by a frequent inculcation of them, but because they had felt the power of God's word upon their hearts; were made sensible of their sin and misery, and thence could not but pray, and comply with every thing they knew was duty, from what they felt within themselves. When their hearts were touched with a sense of their eternal concerns, they could pray with great freedom, as well as fervency, without being at the trouble first to learn set forms for that purpose. And some of them who were suddenly awakened at their first coming among us, were brought to pray and cry for mercy with the utmost importunity, without ever being instructed in the duty of prayer, or so much as once directed to a performance of it.

The happy effects of these peculiar doctrines of grace, which I have so much insisted upon with this people, plainly discover, even to demonstration, that instead of their opening a door to licentiousness, as many vainly imagine, and slanderously insinuate, they have a direct contrary tendency; so that a close application, a sense and feeling of them, will have the most powerful influence toward the renovation, and effectual reformation both of heart and life.

Happy experience, as well as the word of God and the example of Christ and his apostles, has taught me, that that method of preaching which is best suited to awaken in mankind a sense and lively apprehension of their depravity and misery in a fallen state,—to excite them earnestly to seek after a change of heart, and to fly for refuge to free and sovereign grace in Christ, as the only hope set before them, is likely to be most successful toward the reformation of their external conduct. I have found that close addresses, and solemn applications of divine truth to the conscience, tend directly to strike death to the root of all vice; while smooth and plausible harangues upon *moral virtues* and external duties, at best are likely to do no more than lop off the branches of corruption, while the *root* of all vice remains still untouched.

A view of the blessed effect of honest endeavours to bring home truth to the conscience, and duly to affect the heart, has often reminded me of those words of our Lord, which I have thought might be a proper exhortation for ministers in

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treating with others, as well as for persons in general with regard to themselves;—"Cleanse first the inside of the cup and platter, that the outside may be clean also." Cleanse, says he, the inside, *that* the outside may clean. *Q. d.* The only effectual way to have the outside clean, is to begin with what is *within*; and if the fountain be purified, the streams will naturally be pure. Most certain it is, if we can awaken in sinners a lively sense of their inward pollution and depravity, their need of a change of heart, and so engage them to seek after inward cleansing; their external defilement will naturally be cleansed, their vicious ways of course be reformed, and their conversation and behaviour become regular. And though I cannot pretend that the reformation among my people does, in every instance, spring from a saving change of heart; yet I may truly say, it flows from some *heart affecting* view and sense of divine truth, which all have had in a greater or lesser degree.

I do not intend, by what I have observed here, to represent the preaching of *morality*, and pressing persons to the external performance of duty, to be altogether unnecessary and useless at any time, and especially at times when there is less of divine power attending the means of grace;—when for want of *internal* influences, there is need of *external* restraints. It is doubtless among the things that "ought to be done," while "others are not to be left undone." But what I principally designed by this remark was to discover plain matter of fact, *viz.* That the reformation, the sobriety, and external compliance with the rules and duties of Christianity, appearing among my people, are not the effect of any *mere* doctrinal instruction, or merely rational view of the beauty of morality, but from the *internal* power and influence which divine truth has had upon their hearts.

Thirdly, It is remarkable that God has so continued and renewed the showers of his grace here; so quickly set up his visible kingdom among these people, and so smiled upon them in relation to their acquirement of knowledge, both divine and human. It is now about a year since the beginning of this gracious outpouring of the divine Spirit among them; and though it has often seemed to decline and abate for some short space of time, (as may be observed by several passages of my Journal, where I have endeavoured to note things just as they appeared to me from time to time;) yet

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the shower has seemed to be *renewed*, and the work of grace *revived* again; so that a divine influence seems still apparently to attend the means of grace, in a greater or less degree, in most of our meetings for religious exercises. Religious persons are refreshed, strengthened and established: convictions revived and promoted in many instances, and some few persons newly awakened from time to time. It must indeed be acknowledged, that for some time past there has been a more manifest decline of this work, and the divine Spirit has seemed in a considerable measure withdrawn, especially in regard of his awakening influences; so that the strangers who come latterly are not seized with concern as formerly; and some few who have been much affected with divine truth in time past, now appear less concerned. Yet, blessed be God, there is still an appearance of divine power and grace, a desirable degree of tenderness, religious affection and devotion in our assemblies.

And as God has continued and renewed the showers of his grace among this people for some time; so he has with uncommon *quickness* set up his visible kingdom, and gathered himself a church in the midst of them. I have now baptized, since the conclusion of my last Journal, thirty persons, fifteen adults and fifteen children. These added to the number there mentioned, make seventy-seven persons; thirty-eight adults, and thirty-nine children; and all within the space of eleven months past. And it must be noted, that I have baptized no adults but such as appeared to have a work of special grace wrought in their hearts; I mean such who have had the experience not only of the awakening and humbling, but in a judgment of charity, of the renewing and comforting influences of the divine Spirit. There are also many others under solemn concern for their souls, who I apprehend are persons of sufficient knowledge, and visible seriousness, to render them proper subjects of the ordinance of baptism. Yet since they give no comfortable evidence of having as yet passed a saving change, but only appear under conviction of sin and misery, and having no principle of spiritual life wrought in them, are liable to lose the impressions of religion they are now under; and considering the great propensity there is in this people naturally to abuse themselves with strong drink, and fearing lest some who at present appear serious and concerned for their souls, might lose their con-

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cern, and return to this sin, and so, if baptized, prove a scandal to their profession; I have thought proper hitherto to omit the baptism of any but such as give some hopeful evidence of a saving change, although I do not pretend to determine positively respecting the state of any.

I likewise administered the Lord's supper to a number of persons, who I have abundant reason to think (as I elsewhere observed) were proper subjects of that ordinance, within the space of ten months and ten days after my first coming among these Indians in New Jersey. And from the time that I am informed, some of them were attending an idolatrous feast and sacrifice in honour to devils, to the time they sat down at the Lord's table (I trust) to the honour of God, was not more than a full year. Surely Christ's little flock here, so suddenly gathered from among pagans, may justly say, in the language of the chuch of old, "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad."

Much of the goodness of God has also appeared in their acquirement of knowledge, both in religion and in the affairs of common life. There has been a wonderful thirst after Christian knowledge prevailing among them in general, and an eager desire of being instructed in Christian doctrines and manners. This has prompted them to ask many pertinent as well as important questions; the answers to which have tended much to enlighten their minds, and promote their knowledge in divine things. Many of the doctrines I have delivered, they queried with me about, in order to gain further insight into them; and have from time to time manifested a good understanding of them, by their answers to the questions proposed to them in my Catechetical lectures. They have likewise queried with me, respecting a proper method as well as proper matter of prayer, and expressions suitable to be made use of in that religious exercise; and have taken pains in order to the performance of this duty with understanding. They have also taken pains, and appeared remarkably apt in learning to sing Psalm-tunes, and are now able to sing with a good degree of decency in the worship of God.

They have also acquired a considerable degree of useful knowledge in the affairs of common life. They now appear like rational creatures, fit for human society, free from that savage roughness and brutish stupidity, which rendered them

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very disagreeable in their pagan state. They seem ambitious of a thorough acquaintance with the English language, and for that end frequently speak it among themselves. Many of them have made good proficiency in it, since my coming among them. Indeed most of them can understand a considerable part, and some the substance of my discourses, without an Interpreter; being used to my low and familiar methods of expression, though they could not well understand other ministers.

And as they are desirous of instruction, and surprisingly apt in receiving it, so divine providence has afforded them the proper means for this purpose. The attempts made to raise a school among them have been succeeded, and a kind providence has sent them a schoolmaster, of whom I may justly say, I know of "no man like minded, who will naturally care for their state." He has generally thirty or thirty-five children in his school; and when he kept an evening school, as he did while the length of the evenings would admit of it, he had fifteen or twenty people, married and single.

The children learn with surprising readiness; their master tells me, he never had an English school that learned in general so fast. There were not above two in thirty, although some of them were very small, but what learned to know all the letters in the alphabet distinctly, within three days after his entrance upon his business, while several in that space of time learned to spell considerably. Some of them, since the beginning of February last, at which time the school was set up, have learned so much, that they are able to read in a Psalter or Testament without spelling.

They are instructed twice a week in the Assembly's Shorter Catechism, *viz.* on Wednesday and Saturday. Some of them, since the latter end of February, at which time they began, have learned to say it pretty distinctly by heart considerably more than half through; and most of them have made some proficiency in it. They are likewise instructed in the duty of secret prayer, and most of them constantly attend it night and morning, and are very careful to inform their master if they apprehend any of their little school-mates neglect that holy exercise.

Fourthly, It is worthy to be noted, to the praise of sovereign grace, that amidst so great a work of conviction, so

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much concern and religious affection, there has been no prevalency, nor indeed any considerable appearance of *false religion*, if I may so term it; or heats of imagination, intemperate zeal, and spiritual pride. These corrupt mixtures too often attend the revival and powerful propagation of religion; but in the present instance there has been very little irregular or scandalous behaviour among those who have appeared serious. I may justly repeat what I observed at the conclusion of my last Journal, *viz.* that there has here been no appearance of 'bodily agonies, convulsions, frightful screamings, swoonings,' and the like. I may now further add, that there has been no prevalency of visions, trances, and imaginations of any kind; though there has been an appearance of something of that nature since the conclusion of that Journal. An instance of this sort I have given an account of in my Journal of December 26.

This work of grace has in the main been carried on with a surprising degree of purity, and freedom from corrupt mixture. The religious concern that persons have been under, has generally been rational and just; arising from a sense of their sins, and exposedness to the divine displeasure on account of them; as well as their utter inability to deliver themselves from the misery they felt and feared. If there has been in any instance an appearance of irrational concern and perturbation of mind, when the subjects of it knew not why, yet there has been no *prevalency* of any such thing; and indeed I scarcely know of any instance of that nature at all. And it is very remarkable, that although the concern of many persons under convictions of their perishing state has been very great and pressing, yet I have never seen any thing like *desperation* attending it in any one instance. They have had the most lively sense of their undone state; have been brought to give up all hopes of deliverance from themselves, while their spiritual exercises have been attended with great distress and anguish of soul. Yet in the seasons of the greatest extremity, there has been no appearance of *despair* in any of them,—nothing that has discouraged, or in any wise hindered them from the most diligent use of all proper means for their conversion and salvation. Hence it is apparent, there is not that danger of persons being driven into despair under spiritual trouble,

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unless in cases of deep and habitual melancholy, that the world in general is ready to imagine.

The *comfort* that persons have obtained after their distresses, has likewise in general appeared solid, well grounded, and scriptural; arising from a spiritual and supernatural illumination of mind,—a view of divine things in a measure *as they are*, a complacency of soul in the divine perfections, and a peculiar satisfaction in the way of salvation by the great Redeemer. Their joys seemed to rise from a variety of views and considerations of divine things although for substance the same. Some, who under conviction seemed to have the hardest struggles and heart-risings against divine sovereignty, have seemed at the first dawn of their comfort, to rejoice in a peculiar manner in *that* divine perfection,—have been delighted to think that themselves, and all things else, were in the hand of God, and that he would dispose of them just as he pleased. Others, who just before their reception of comfort, have been remarkably oppressed with a sense of their helplessness and poverty, who have seen themselves as it were falling down into remediless perdition, have been at first more peculiarly delighted with a view of the *freeness* and riches of divine grace, and the offer of salvation to perishing sinners "without money, and without price."

Some have at first appeared to rejoice especially in the *wisdom* of God, discovered in the way of salvation by Christ. It appeared to them "a new and living way," a way they had never had any just conception of, until opened to them by the special influence of the divine Spirit. Some of them, upon a lively spiritual view of this way of salvation, have wondered at their past folly in seeking salvation in any other way, and that they never saw this way of salvation before, which now appeared so plain and easy, as well as excellent to them. Others again have had a more general view of the beauty and excellency of Christ, and have had their souls delighted with an apprehension of his divine glory, as unspeakably exceeding all they had ever conceived before; yet without singling out as it were any one of the divine perfections in particular; so that although their comforts seemed to arise from a variety of views and considerations of the divine glories, still they were spiritual and supernatural views of them, and not groundless fancies, that were the spring of their joys and comforts.

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It must be acknowledged however, that when this work became so universal and prevalent, and gained such general credit and esteem among the Indians, that Satan seemed to have little advantage of working against it in his own proper garb; he then transformed himself "into an angel of light," and made some vigorous attempts to introduce turbulent commotions of the passions in the room of genuine convictions of sin, imaginary and fanciful notions of Christ, as appearing to the mental eye in a human shape, and being in some particular postures, *&c.* instead of spiritual and supernatural discoveries of his divine glory and excellency. If these and similar delusions had met with countenance and encouragement, there would have been a very considerable harvest of this kind of converts here. Spiritual pride also discovered itself in various instances. Some persons who had been under great affections, seemed desirous of being thought truly gracious; who, when I could not but express to them my fears respecting their spiritual state, discovered their resentment to a considerable degree upon that occasion. There also appeared in one or two of them an unbecoming ambition of being teachers of others. So that Satan has been a busy adversary here, as well as elsewhere. But blessed be God, though something of this nature has appeared, yet nothing of it has *prevailed,* nor indeed made any considerable progress. My people are now apprised of these things, are acquainted that Satan in such a manner "transformed himself into an angel of light," in the first season of the great outpouring of the divine Spirit in the days of the apostles; and that something of this nature, in a greater or lesser degree, has attended almost every revival and remarkable propagation of true religion ever since. And they have learned so to distinguish between the gold and the dross, that the credit of the latter "is trode down like the mire of the streets:" and it being natural for this kind of stuff to die with its credit, there is now scarcely any appearance of it among them.

And as there has been no prevalency of irregular heats, imaginary notions, spiritual pride, and Satanical dulsions among my people; so there has been a very few instances of scandalous and irregular behaviour among those who have made a profession, or even an appearance of seriousness. I do not know of more than three or four such persons that

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have been guilty of any open misconduct, since their first acquaintance with Christianity, and not one that persists in any thing of that nature. Perhaps the remarkable purity of this work in the latter respect, its freedom from frequent instances of scandal, is very much owing to its purity in the former respect, its freedom from corrupt mixtures of spiritual pride, wild-fire, and delusion, which naturally lay a foundation for scandalous practices.

May this blessed work in the power and purity of it prevail among the poor Indians here, as well as spread elsewhere, till their remotest tribes shall see the salvation of God! Amen.

D. B.

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APPENDIX TO THE JOURNAL.

I SHOULD have concluded what I had at present to offer respecting my Mission, but that I lately received from the President of the Correspondents, the copy of a letter directed to him from the Society for propagating Christian knowledge, dated at Edinburgh, March 21, 1745, expressly enjoining upon their missionaries, "That they give an exact account of the methods they make use of for instructing themselves in the Indian language, and what progress they have already made in it. What methods they are now taking to instruct the Indians in the principles of our holy religion; and particularly, that they set forth in their Journals what difficulties they have already met with, and the methods they make use of for surmounting the same."

As to the two former of these particulars, I trust that what I have already noted in my Journals from time to time, might have been in a good measure satisfactory to the Honourable Society, had these Journals arrived safely and seasonably, which I am sensible they have not in general done, by reason of their falling into the hands of the enemy, although I have been at the pains of sending two copies of every Journal, for more than two years past, lest one might miscarry in the passage. But with relation to the latter of these particulars, I have purposely omitted saying any thing considerable, and that for these two reasons. First, Because I could not oftentimes give any tolerable account of the difficulties I met with in my work, without speaking somewhat particularly of the causes of them, and the circumstances conducing to them, which would necessarily have rendered my Journals very lengthy and tedious. Besides, some of the causes of my difficulties I thought more fit to be concealed than divulged.—Secondly, Because I thought a frequent mentioning of the difficulties attending my work, might appear as an unbecoming complaint under my burdens; or as if I would rather be thought to be endowed with a singular measure of self-denial, constancy and holy resolution, to meet and confront so many difficulties, and yet to

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hold on and go forward amidst them all. But since the Honourable Society are pleased to require a more exact and particular account of these things, I shall cheerfully endeavour something for their satisfaction in relation to each of these particulars; although in regard of the latter, I am ready to say, *Infandum——jubes renovare dolorem.*

The most successful method I have taken for instructing myself in any of the Indian languages is, to translate English discourses by the help of an interpreter or two, into their language, as nearly verbatim as the sense will admit, and to observe strictly how they use words, and what construction they will bear in various cases; and thus to gain some acquaintance with the root from whence particular words proceed, and to see how they are thence varied and diversified. But here occurs a very great difficulty; for the interpreters being unlearned, and unacquainted with the rules of language, it is impossible sometimes to know by them the part of speech of some particular words, whether noun, verb, or participle; for they seem to use participles sometimes where we should use nouns, and sometimes where we should use verbs in the English language. But notwithstanding many difficulties, I have gained some acquaintance with the grounds of the Delaware language, and have learned most of the defects in it; so that I know what English words can, and what cannot be translated into it. I have also gained some acquaintance with the particular phraseologies, as well as peculiarities of their language, one of which I cannot but mention. Their language does not admit of their speaking any word denoting relation, such as, father, son, *&c. absolutely;* that is, without prefixing a pronoun passive to it, such as my, thy, his, &c. Hence they cannot be baptized in their own language in the name of *the* Father, and *the* Son, *&c.*; but they may be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ and *his* Father, *&c.* I have gained so much knowledge of their language, that I can understand a considerable part of what they say, when they discourse upon divine things, and am frequently able to correct my interpreter, if he mistakes my meaning. But I can do nothing to any purpose at speaking the language myself.

As an apology for this defect, I must renew, or rather enlarge my former complaint, *viz.* That "while so much of my time is necessarily consumed in journeying," while I

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am obliged to ride four thousand miles a year, as I have done in the year past, "I can have little left for any of my necessary studies, and consequently for the study of the Indian languages." This I may venture to say is the great, if not the only reason why the Delaware language is not familiar to me before this time; and it is impossible I should ever be able to speak it without close application, which at present I see no prospect of having time for. To preach and catechise frequently; to converse privately with persons that need so much instruction and direction as these poor Indians do; to take care of all their secular affairs, as if they were a company of children; to ride abroad frequently in order to procure collections for the support of the school, and for their help and benefit in other respects; to hear and decide all the petty differences that arise among any of them, and to have the constant oversight and management of all their affairs of every kind, must needs ingross most of my time, and leave me little for application to the study of the Indian languages. And when I add to this, the time that is necessarily consumed upon my Journals, I must say I have little to spare for other business. As was observed before, I have not sent to the Honourable Society less than two copies of every Journal, for more than two years past, most of which, I suppose, have been taken by the French in their passage. A third copy I have constantly kept by me, lest the others should miscarry. This has caused me not a little labour, and so straitened me for time, when I have been at liberty from other business, and had opportunity to sit down to writing, which is but rare, that I have been obliged to write twelve and thirteen hours in a day, till my spirits have been extremely wasted, and my life almost spent, to get these writings accomplished. And after all; after diligent application to the various parts of my work, and after the most industrious improvement of time I am capable of, both early and late, I cannot oftentimes possibly gain two hours in a week for reading, or any other studies, unless just for what urges and appears of absolute necessity for the present. Frequently when I attempt to redeem time, by sparing it out of my sleeping hours, I am by that means thrown under bodily indisposition, and rendered fit for nothing.

This is truly my present state, and is likely to be so, for aught I can see, unless I could procure an Assistant in my

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work, or quit my present business. But though I have not made that proficiency I could wish, in learning the Indian languages; yet I have used all endeavours to instruct them in the English tongue, which perhaps will be more advantageous to the Christian interest among them, than if I should preach in their own language; for that is very defective, as I shall hereafter observe; so that many things cannot be communicated to them without introducing English terms. Besides, they can have no books translated into their language, without great difficulty and expense; and if still accustomed to their own language only, they would have no advantage of hearing other ministers occasionally, or in my absence. If therefore I had a perfect acquaintance with the Indian language, it would be of no great importance with regard to the congregation of Indians in New-Jersey, though it might be of service to me in treating with the Indians elsewhere.

The methods I am taking to instruct the Indians in the principles of our holy religion are, to preach, or open and improve some particular points of doctrine; to expound particular paragraphs, or sometimes whole chapters of God's word to them; to give historical relations from scripture of the most material and remarkable occurrences relating to the church of God from the beginning; and frequently to catechise them upon the principles of Christianity. The latter of these methods of instructing, I manage in a twofold manner. I sometimes catechise systematically, proposing questions agreeable to the Assembly's Shorter Catechism. This I have carried on to a considerable length. At other times I catechise upon any important subject that I think difficult to them. Sometimes when I have discoursed upon some particular point, and made it as plain and familiar to them as I can, I then catechise them upon the most material branches of my discourse, to see whether they had a thorough understanding of it. But as I have catechised chiefly in a systematic form, I shall here give some specimen of the method I make use of, as well of the propriety and justness of my people's answers to the questions proposed to them.

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THE BENEFITS WHICH BELIEVERS RECEIVE FROM CHRIST AT DEATH.

Q. I have shewn you, that the children of God receive a great many good things from Christ while they live; now have they any more to receive when they come to die? A. Yes.

Q. Are the children of God then made perfectly free from sin? A. Yes.

Q. Do you think they will never more be troubled with vain, foolish, and wicked thoughts? A. No, never at all.

Q. Will not they then be like the good angels I have so often told you of. A. Yes.

Q. And do you call *this* a great mercy to be freed from all sin? A. Yes.

Q. Do all God's children count it so.

A. Yes, all of them.

Q. Do you think this is what they would ask for above all things, if God should say to them, Ask what you will, and it shall be done for you?

A. Oh yes, be sure, this is what they want.

Q. You say the souls of God's people at death are made perfectly free from sin; where do they go then?

A. They go and live with Jesus Christ.

Q. Does Christ shew them more respect and honour, and make them more happy* than we can possibly think of in this world? A. Yes.

Q. Do they go *immediately* to live with Christ in heaven, as soon as their bodies are dead; or do they tarry somewhere else a while? A. They go immediately to Christ.

Q. Does Christ take any care of the bodies of his people when they are dead, and their souls gone to heaven, or does he forget them?

A. He takes care of them.

These questions were all answered with surprising readiness, and without once missing, as I remember. And in answering several of them which respected deliverance from sin, they were much affected, and melted with the hopes of that happy state.

* The only way I have to express their "entering into glory," or being being glorified; there being no word in the Indian language answering to that general term.

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THE BENEFITS WHICH BELIEVERS RECEIVE FROM CHRIST AT THE RESURRECTION.

Q. You see I have already shewn you what good things Christ gives his good 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 all be raised.

Q. Shall 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 ever 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 these 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 peoples' 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 was theirs?

A. For the sake of his righteousness counted to them, not for their own goodness.

Q. Will God's children then be 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

* The only way I have to express their being openly acquitted. When I speak of justification, I have no other way but to call it God's looking upon us as good creatures.

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can never have enough of God and Christ; but will they have enough there, as much as they can desire?

A. Oh 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 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, so 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!

These questions, like the former, were answered without hesitation or missing, as I remember, in any one instance.

THE DUTY WHICH GOD REQUIRES OF MAN.

Q. Has God let us know any thing of his will, or what he would have us to do to please him? A. Yes.

Q. And does he require us to do his will, and to please him? A. Yes.

Q. Is it right that God should require this of us; has he any business to command us as a father does his children?

A. Yes.

Q. Why is it right that God should command us to do what he pleases?

A. Because he made us, and gives us all our good things.

Q. Does God require us to do any thing that will hurt us, and take away our comfort and happiness? A. No.

Q. But God requires sinners to repent and be sorry for their sins, and to have their hearts broken; now, does not this hurt them, and take away their comfort, to be made sorry, and to have their hearts broken?

A. No, it does them good.

Q. Did God teach man his will at first by writing it down

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in a book, or did he put it into his heart, and teach him without a book what was right?

A. He put it into his heart, and made him know what he should do.

Q. Has God since that time written down his will in a book? A. Yes.

Q. Has God written his whole will in his book; has he there told us all that he would have us believe and do?

A. Yes.

Q. What need was there of this book, if God at first put his will into the heart of man, and made him feel what he should do?

A. There was need of it, because we have sinned, and made our hearts blind.

Q. And has God written down the same things in his book, that he at first put into the heart of man? A. Yes.

In this manner I endeavour to adapt my instructions to the capacities of the people; although they may perhaps seem strange to others who have never experienced the difficulty of the work. It is my great concern, I trust, that instruction be given them in such a manner, that they may not only be doctrinally taught, but duly affected thereby; that divine truth may come to them, not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance."

DIFFICULTIES IN EVANGELIZING THE INDIANS.

I shall now attempt something with regard to the last particular required by the Honourable Society in their letter, *viz.* To give some account of the "difficulties I have already met with in my work, and the methods I make use of for surmounting the same." What I have to say upon this subject, I shall reduce to the following heads.

First, I have met with great difficulty in my work among the Indians, *from the rooted aversion to Christianity that generally prevails among them.* They are not only brutishly stupid and ignorant of divine things, but many of them are obstinately set against Christianity, and seem to abhor even the Christian name.

This aversion arises partly from a view of the *immorality and vicious behaviour of many who are called Christians.* They observe that horrid wickedness in nominal Christians, which the light of nature condemns in themselves; and not

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having distinguishing views of things, they are ready to look upon all the white people alike, and to condemn them alike for the abominable practices of some.—Hence when I have attempted to treat with them about Christianity, they have frequently objected the scandalous practices of Christians, and cast in my teeth all they could think of that was odious in the conduct of any of them. They have observed to me that the white people lie, defraud, steal, and drink worse than the Indians; that they have taught the Indians these things, especially the latter of them; who before the coming of the English, knew of no such thing as strong drink; that the English have by these means made them quarrel and kill one another; and in a word, brought them to the practice of all those vices which now prevail among them. So that they are now more vicious, and much more miserable, than they were before the coming of the white people into the country.

These, and such like objections, they frequently make against Christianity, which are not easily answered to their satisfaction; many of them being *facts* too notoriously true. The only way I have to take in order to surmount this difficulty is, to distinguish between nominal and real Christians; and to shew them that the ill conduct of many of the former proceed not from their being Christians, but from their being Christians only in *name*, and not in *heart*. To this it has sometimes been objected, that if all those who will cheat the Indians are Christians only in name, there are but few left in the country to be Christians in heart. This and many other of the remarks they pass upon the white people, and their miscarriages, I am forced to own, and cannot but grant that many nominal Christians are more abominably wicked than the Indians. But then I attempt to show them, that there are some who feel the power of Christianity who are not so. And I ask them, when they ever saw me guilty of the vices they complain of, and charge Christians in general with? Still the great difficulty is, that the people who live back in the country nearest to them, and the traders that go among them, are generally of the most irreligious and vicious sort; and the conduct of one or two persons, however exemplary, is not sufficient to counterbalance the vicious behaviour of so many of the same denomination, and so to recommend Christianity to Pagans.

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Another thing that serves to make them more averse to Christianity is, *a fear of being enslaved.* They are perhaps some of the most jealous people living, and extremely averse to a state of servitude; hence they are always afraid of some design forming against them. Besides, they seem to have no sentiments of generosity, benevolence and goodness; so that if any thing be proposed to them for their good, they are ready rather to suspect that there is at bottom some design forming against them, than that such proposals flow from goodwill to them, and a desire of their welfare. Hence, when I have attempted to recommend Christianity to their acceptance, they have sometimes objected that the white people have come among them, have cheated them out of their lands, driven them back to the mountains, from the pleasant places they used to enjoy by the sea-side; that therefore they have no reason to think the white people are now seeking their welfare; but rather that they have sent me out to draw them together, under a pretence of kindness to them, that they may have an opportunity to make slaves of them, as they do of the poor negroes, or else to ship them on board their vessels, and make them fight with their enemies, *&c.* Thus they have oftentimes construed all the kindness I could shew them, and the hardships I have endured in order to treat with them about Christianity. "He never would (say they) take all this pains to do us good; he must have some wicked design to hurt us some way or other." To give them assurance of the contrary is not an easy matter, while there are so many, who according to their apprehension are only 'seeking their own,' not the good of others.

To remove this difficulty I inform them, that I am not sent out by those persons in these provinces, who they suppose have cheated them out of their lands; but by pious people at a great distance, who never had an inch of their lands, nor ever thought of doing them any hurt, but here will arise so many frivolous and impertinent questions, that it would tire one's patience, and wear out one's spirits to hear them. They would say, "But why did not these good people send you to teach us *before,* while we had our lands down by the sea-side. If they had sent you then, we should likely have heard you, and become Christians." The poor creatures still imagining that I should be much beholding to

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them, in case they would hearken to Christianity; and insinuating that this was a favour they could not now be so good as to shew me, seeing they had received so many injuries from the *white* people.

Another spring of aversion to Christianity in the Indians is, *their strong attachment to their own religious notions,* if they may be called religious, and the early prejudices they have imbibed in favour of their own frantic and ridculous kind of worship. What their notions of God are in their pagan state, it is difficult precisely to determine. I have taken much pains to inquire of my Christian people, whether before their acquaintance with Christianity, they imagined there was a plurality of great invisible powers, or whether they supposed but one such being, and worshipped him in a variety of forms and shapes; but I cannot learn any thing of them so as to be fully satisfied upon the point. Their notions in that state were so prodigiously dark and confused, that they seemed not to know what they thought themselves. But so far as I can learn, they had a notion of a plurality of invisible deities, and paid some kind of homage to them promiscuously, under a great variety of forms and shapes. It is certain that those who yet remain Pagans pay some kind of superstitious reverence to beasts, birds, fishes, and even reptiles; that is, some to one kind of animal, and some to another. They do not indeed suppose a divine power essential to, or *inhering* in these creatures, but that some invisible beings, not distinguished from each other by certain names, but only notionally, communicate to these animals a great power, either one or other of them, just as it happens, or perhaps sometimes all of them, and so make these creatures the immediate authors of good to certain persons. Hence such a creature becomes *sacred* to the persons to whom he is supposed to be the immediate author of good, and through him they must worship the invisible powers, though to others he is no more than another creature. Another animal perhaps is looked upon to be the immediate author of good to another person, and consequently he must worship the invisible powers in that animal. And I have known a pagan burn fine tobacco for incense, in order to appease the anger of that invisible power which he supposed presided over rattle-snakes, because one of these animals was killed by another Indian near his house.

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After the strictest inquiry respecting their notions of the Deity, I find that in ancient times, before the coming of the white people, some supposed there were four invisible powers who presided over the four corners of the earth. Others imagined the sun to be the only deity, and that all things were made by him: others at the same time having a confused notion of a certain body or fountain of deity, somewhat like the *anima mundi*, so frequently mentioned by the more learned ancient heathens, diffusing itself to various animals, and even to inanimate things, making them the immediate authors of good to certain persons, as was before observed, with respect to various supposed deities. But after the coming of the white people, they seemed to suppose there were three deities, and three only, because they saw people of three different kinds of complexion, *viz.* English, Negroes, and themselves.

It is a notion pretty generally prevailing among them, that it was not the *same God* made them, who made us; but that they were made after the white people; which further shews, that they imagine a plurality of divine powers. And I fancy they suppose their God gained some special skill by seeing the white people made, and so made *them* better: for it is certain they look upon themselves, and their methods of living, which they say their God expressly prescribed for them, as greatly preferable to the white people, and their methods. Hence they will frequently sit and laugh at them, as being good for nothing else but to plow and fatigue themselves with hard labour; while *they* enjoy the satisfaction of stretching themselves on the ground, and sleeping as much as they please; and have no other trouble but now and then to chase the deer, which is often attended with pleasure rather than pain. Hence also many of them look upon it as disgraceful for them to become Christians, as it would be esteemed among Christians for any to become Pagans. But though they suppose our religion will do well enough for us, because prescribed by *our* God, yet it is no ways proper for them, because not of the same make and original. This they have sometimes offered as a reason why they did not incline to hearken to Christianity.

They seem to have some confused notion about a future state of existence, and many of them imagine that the *chichung*, *i. e.* the shadow, or what survives the body, will at

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death go *southward*, and in an unknown but curious place, will enjoy some kind of happiness, such as hunting, feasting, dancing, and the like. And what they suppose will contribute much to their happiness in that state is, that they shall never be weary of those entertainments. It seems by this notion of their going southward to obtain happiness, as if they had their course into these parts of the world from some very cold climate, and found the further they went *southward* the more comfortable they were; and thence concluded, that perfect felicity was to be found further towards the same point.

They appear to entertain some faint and glimmering notion about rewards and punishments, or at least happiness and misery in a future state, that is, some that I have conversed with, though others seem to know of no such thing. Those who suppose this, seem to imagine that most will be happy, and that those who are not so will be punished only with privation, being only excluded the walls of that good world where happy souls shall dwell. These rewards and punishments they suppose to depend entirely upon their conduct, as to the duties of the *second* table, *i. e.* their behaviour towards mankind, and seem, so far as I can see, not to imagine that they have any reference to their *religious* notions or practices, or any thing that relates to the worship of God. I remember I once consulted a very ancient but intelligent Indian upon this point, for my own satisfaction. I asked him whether the Indians of old times supposed there was any thing of the man that would survive the body? He replied, Yes. I asked him where they supposed its abode would be? He replied, "It would go southward." I asked him further, whether it would be happy there? He answered, after a considerable pause, "that the souls of good folks would be happy, and the souls of bad folks miserable." I then asked him, who he called bad folks? His answer was, "Those who lie, steal, quarrel with their neighbours, are unkind to their friends, and especially to aged parents, and, in a word, such as are a plague to mankind." These were his 'bad folks;' but not a word was said about their neglect of divine worship, and their badness in that respect.

They have indeed some kind of religious worship, are frequently offering sacrifices to some supposed invisible

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powers, and are very ready to impute their calamities in the present world to the neglect of these sacrifices; but there is no appearance of reverence or devotion in the homage they pay them; and what they do of this nature, seems to be done only to appease the supposed anger of their deities, to engage them to be placable to themselves, and do them no hurt; or at most, only to invite these powers to succeed them in those enterprises they are engaged in respecting the present life. In offering these sacrifices, they seem to have no reference to a future state, but only to present comfort; and this is the account my interpreter always gives me of this matter. "They sacrifice, says he, that they may have success in hunting and other affairs, and that sickness and other calamities may not befal them, which they fear in the present world, in case of neglect; but they do not suppose God will ever punish them in the coming world for neglecting to sacrifice." Indeed they seem to imagine that those whom they call 'bad folks' are excluded from the company of good people in that state, not so much because God remembers and is determined to punish them for sin of any kind, either immediately against himself or their neighbour, as because they would be a 'plague' to society, and would render others unhappy if admitted to dwell with them. So that they are excluded rather of *necessity*, than by the act of a righteous Judge.

The Indians give much heed to *dreams*, because they suppose these invisible powers give them directions at such times about certain affairs, and inform them what animal they would chuse to be worshipped in. They are likewise much attached to the traditions and fabulous notions of their fathers, who have informed them of divers miracles that were anciently wrought among the Indians, which they firmly believe, and thence look upon their ancestors to have been the best of men. They also mention some wonderful things which, they say, have happened since the memory of some who are now living. One affirmed to me, that he himself had once been dead four days; that most of his friends were gathered together to his funeral, and that he should have been buried, but that some of his relations at a great distance, who were sent for upon that occasion, were not arrived; and before their coming, he came to life again. During this time, he says, he went to the place where the

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sun rises, (imagining the earth to be plain,) and directly over that place, at a great height in the air, he was admitted into a great house, which he supposes was several miles in length, and saw many wonderful things, too tedious as well as ridiculous to mention. Another person, a woman, whom I have not seen, but have been credibly informed of by the Indians, declares that she was dead several days; that her soul went *southward*, and feasted and danced with the happy spirits; and that she found all things exactly agreeable to the Indian notions of a future state.

To these superstitious notions and traditions, and this kind of ridiculous worship, the Indians are extremely attached; and the prejudice they have imbibed in favour of these things, renders them not a little averse to the doctrines of Christianity. Hence some of them have told me, when I have endeavoured to instruct them, "that their fathers had taught them already, and that they did not want to learn now."

It will be too tedious to give any considerable account of the methods I make use of for surmounting this difficulty. I will just say that I endeavour as much as possible to shew them the *inconsistency* of their own notions, and so to confound them out of their own mouths. But I must also say, I have sometimes been almost nonplussed with them, and scarcely knew what to answer them; but never have been more perplexed than when they have pretended to yield to me as knowing more than they, and consequently have asked me numbers of impertinent and yet difficult questions; such as, "How the Indians came first into this part of the world, away from all the white people, if what I said was true," *viz.* that the same God made them who made us? "How the Indians became *black*, if they had the same original parents with the *white* people?"

What further contributes to their aversion to Christianity is, *the influence that their powwows, conjurers or diviners, have upon them.* These persons are supposed to have a power of foretelling future events, of recovering the sick, at least oftentimes, and of charming, inchanting, or poisoning persons to death by their magic divinations. Their spirit, in its various operations, seems to be a Satanical imitation of the spirit of prophecy which the church in early ages enjoyed. Some of these diviners are endowed with this spirit

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in infancy; others in adult age. It seems not to depend upon their own will, nor to be acquired by any endeavours of the person who is the subject of it, thought it is supposed to be given to children sometimes in consequence of some means which the parents use with them for that purpose. One of these is, to make the child swallow a small living frog, after having performed some superstitious rites and ceremonies upon it. They are not under the influence of this spirit always alike, but it comes upon them at times; and those who are endowed with it, are accounted singularly favoured.

I have laboured to gain some information respecting their conjuration, and have for that end consulted with the man mentioned in my Journal of May 9, who since his conversion to Christianity, has endeavoured to give me the best intelligence he could of this matter. But it seems to be such a "*mystery of iniquity*," that I cannot well understand it, and know not oftentimes what ideas to affix to the terms he makes use of; and so far as I can learn, he himself has not any clear notions of the thing, now his spirit of divination is gone from him. However, the manner in which he says he obtained this spirit of divination was this: he was admitted into the presence of a great man, who informed him that he loved, pitied and desired to do him good. It was not in this world that he saw the great man, but in a world above at a vast distance from this. The great man, he says, was clothed with the day; yea, with the brightest day he ever saw; a day of many years, yea, of everlasting continuance. This whole world he says was drawn upon him, so that *in* him, the earth, and all things in it, might be seen. I asked him if rocks, mountains, and seas was drawn upon or appeared in him? He replied, every thing that was beautiful and lovely in the earth was upon him, and might be seen by looking on him, as well as if one was on the earth to take a view of them there. By the side of the great man, he says, stood his shadow or spirit; for he used *chichung*, the word they commonly make use of to express that of the man which survives the body, which word properly signifies a shadow. This shadow he says was as lovely as the man himself, and filled all places, and was most agreeable as well as wonderful to him.—Here he says, he tarried some time, and was unspeakably entertained and

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delighted with a view of the great man, of his shadow or spirit, and of all things in him. And what is most of all astonishing, he imagines all this to have passed before he was born. He never had been, he says, in this world at that time. And what confirms him in the belief of this is, that the great man told him, that he must come down to earth, be born of such a woman, meet with such and such things, and in particular, that he should once in his life be guilty of murder. At this he was displeased, and told the great man, he would never murder. But the great man replied, "I have said it, and it shall be so;" and it accordingly happened. At this time, he says, the great man asked him what he would chuse in life. He replied, first to be a hunter, and afterwards to be a powwow or diviner. The great man told him he should have what he desired, and that his shadow should go along with him down to earth, and be with him for ever. There was, he says, all this time no words spoken between them. The conference was not carried on by any human language, but they had a kind of mental intelligence of each other's thoughts, dispositions and proposals. After this he saw the great man no more; but supposes he now came down to earth to be born. The spirit or shadow of the great man still attended him, and ever after continued to appear to him in dreams and other ways, until he felt the power of God's word upon his heart; since which it has entirely left him.

This spirit he says, used sometimes to direct him in dreams to go to such a place and hunt, assuring him he should there meet with success, and so it proved. When he had been there some time, the spirit would order him to another place. Thus he had success in hunting, according to the great man's promise made to him at the time of his chusing this employment.

Sometimes this spirit came upon him in a *special* manner, and he was full of what he saw in the great man. Then he says he was all light, and not only light himself, but it was light all around him, so that he could see through men, and knew the thoughts of their hearts. These "depths of Satan" I leave to others to fathom or to dive into as they please, and do not pretend for my own part to know what ideas to affix to such terms, and cannot well guess what conceptions of things these creatures have at these times when they call

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themselves 'all light.' But my interpreter informs me, that he heard one of them tell a certain Indian the secret thoughts of his heart, which he had never divulged. The case was this: the Indian was bitten with a snake, and in extreme pain. The diviner being applied to for his recovery, told him that at such a time he had promised the next deer he killed should be sacrificed to some great power, but he had broken his promise. And now, said he, that great power has ordered this snake to bite you for your neglect. The Indian confessed it was so, but said he had never told any body of it. But as Satan, no doubt, excited the Indian to make that promise, it was no wonder he should be able to communicate the matter to the conjurer.

These things serve to fix them down in their idolatry, and to make them believe there is no safety to be expected but by their continuing to offer such sacrifices. And the influence that these powwows have upon them, either through esteem or fear, is no small hindrance to their embracing Christianity.

To remove this difficulty, I have laboured to shew the Indians, that these diviners have no power to recover the sick, when the God whom Christians serve has determined them for death, and that the supposed great power who influences these diviners has himself no power in this case; and that if they seem to recover any by their magic charms, they are only such as the God I preached to them had determined should recover, and who would have recovered without their conjurations. And when I have apprehended them afraid of embracing Christianity, lest they should be inchanted and poisoned, I have endeavoured to relieve their minds by asking them, why their powwows did not inchant and poison me, seeing they had as much reason to hate me for preaching to them, and desiring them to become Christians, as they could have to hate them in case they should actually become such. And that they might have an evidence of the power and goodness of God engaged for the protection of Christians, I ventured to bid a challenge to all their powwows and great powers to do their worst on me first of all, and thus laboured to tread down their influence.

Many things further might be offered upon this head, but thus much may suffice for a representation of their aversion

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to, and prejudice against Christianity, the springs of it, and the difficulties thence arising.

Secondly, Another great difficulty I have met with in my attempts to Christianize the Indians, has been to *convey divine truths to their understandings, and to gain their assent to them as such.*

In the first place, I laboured under a very great disadvantage for want of an interpreter, who had a good degree of doctrinal as well as experimental knowledge of divine things. In both these respects my present interpreter was very defective when I first employed him, as I noted in the account I before gave of him. And it was sometimes extremely discouraging to me, when I could not make him understand what I designed to communicate; when truths of the last importance appeared "foolishness to him" for want of a spiritual understanding and relish of them; and when he addressed the Indians in a lifeless indifferent manner, without any heart or fervency; especially when he appeared irresolute about making attempts for the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, as he frequently did. For though he had a desire that they should conform to Christian manners, as I elsewhere observed, yet being abundantly acquainted with their strong attachment to their own superstitious notions, and the difficulty of bringing them off, and having no sense of divine power and grace, nor dependence upon an almighty Arm for the accomplishment of this work, he used to be discouraged, and tell me, "It signifies nothing for us to try, they will never turn," *&c.* So that he was a distressing weight and burden to me. And here I should have sunk scores of times, but that God in a remarkable manner supported me; sometimes by giving me full satisfaction that he himself had called me to this work, and thence a secret hope that sometime or other I might meet with success in it; or if not, that "my judgment should notwithstanding be with the Lord, and my work with my God." Sometimes by giving me a sense of his almighty power, and that "his hand was not shortened." Sometimes by affording me a fresh and lively view of some remarkable freedom and assistance I had been repeatedly favoured with in prayer for the ingathering of these heathens some years before, even before I was a missionary, and a refreshing sense of the stability and faithfulness of the divine promises, and that the *prayer of faith*

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should not fail. Thus I was supported under these trials; and the method God was pleased to take for the removal of the difficulty, respecting my interpreter, I have sufficiently represented elsewhere.

Another thing that rendered it very difficult to convey divine truth to the understanding of the Indians, was the *defectiveness* of their language, the want of terms to express and convey ideas of spiritual things. There are no words in the Indian language to answer our English words, "Lord, Saviour, salvation, sinner, justice, condemnation, faith, repentance, justification, adoption, sanctification, grace, glory, heaven," with scores of the like importance.

The only methods I can make use of for surmounting this difficulty are, either to describe the things at large designed by these terms, as if I was speaking of regeneration, to call it the "heart's being changed" by God's Spirit, or the "heart's being made good." Or else I must introduce the English terms into their language, and fix the precise meaning of them, that they may know what I intend whenever I use them.

But what renders it much more difficult to convey divine truth to the understanding of these Indians is, that there seems to be *no foundation in their minds to begin upon;* I mean no truths that may be taken for granted as being already known, while I am attempting to instil others. Divine truths having such a necessary connection with and dependence upon each other, I find it extremely difficult in my first addresses to pagans to begin and discourse of them in their proper order and connection, without having reference to truths not yet known,—without taking for granted such things as need first to be taught and proved. There is no point of Christian doctrine but what they are either wholly ignorant of, or extremely confused in their notions about. Hence it is necessary they should be instructed in every truth, even in those that are the most easy and obvious to the understanding, and which a person educated under gospel-light would be ready to pass over in silence, as not imagining that any rational creature could be ignorant of.

The way I have usually taken in my first addresses to pagans has been to introduce myself by saying, that I was come among them with a desire and design of teaching them some things which I presumed they did not know, and which

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I trusted would be for their comfort and happiness; desiring they would give their attention, and hoping they might meet with satisfaction in my discourse. I have then proceeded to observe, that there are two things belonging to every man, which I call the soul and body. These I endeavour to distinguish from each other, by observing that there is something in them that is capable of joy and pleasure, when their bodies are sick and much pained; and on the contrary, that they find something within them that is fearful, sorrowful, ashamed, *&c.* and consequently very uneasy, when their bodies are in perfect health. I then observe to them, that this which rejoices in them (perhaps at the sight of some friend who has been long absent) when their bodies are sick and in pain,—this which is sorrowful, frighted, ashamed, *&c.* and consequently uneasy, when their bodies are perfectly at ease,—this I call the soul. And though it cannot be seen like the other part of the man, *viz.* the body, yet it is as real as their thoughts and desires, which are likewise things that cannot be seen.

I then further observe, that this part of the man which thinks, rejoices, grieves, *&c.* will live after the body is dead. For the proof of this, I produce the opinion of their fathers, who (as I am told by very aged Indians now living) always supposed there was something of the man that would survive the body. And if for the proof of any thing I assert, I can say as St. Paul to the Athenians, "As certain also of your own sages have said," it is sufficient. Having established this point, I next observe, that what I have to say to them respects the *conscious* part of this man, and that with relation to its state after the death of the body; and that I am not come to treat with them about the things that concern the present world.

This method I am obliged to take, because they will otherwise entirely mistake the design of my preaching, and suppose the business I am upon is something that relates to the present world, having never been called together by the white people upon any other occasion, but only to be treated with about the sale of lands or some other secular business. I find it almost impossible to prevent their imagining that I am engaged in the same or such like affairs, and to beat it into them, that my concern is to treat with them about their invisible part, and that with relation to its future state. But

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having thus opened the way by distinguishing between sou and body, and shewing the immortality of the former, and that my business is to treat with them in order to their happiness in a future state; I proceed to discourse of the bei g and perfections of God, particularly of his eternity, unity, self-sufficiency, infinite wisdom, and almighty power. It is necessary in the first place to teach them, that God is from everlasting, and so distinguished from all creatures; though it is very difficult to communicate any thing of that nature to them, they having no terms in their language to signify an eternity *a parte ante*. It is likewise necessary to discourse of the divine unity, in order to confute the notions they seem to have of a plurality of gods. The divine all-sufficiency must also necessarily be mentioned, in order to prevent their imagining that God was unhappy while alone, before the formation of his creatures. Something also respecting the divine wisdom and power seems necessary to be insisted upon, in order to make way for discoursing on God's works.

Having offered some remarks on the divine perfections, I proceed to open the work of *creation* in general, and in particular God's creation of man in a state of uprightness and happiness, placing them in a garden of pleasure; the means and manner of their apostacy from that state, and the loss of that happiness. But before I can relate the history of the fall, I am obliged to make a large digression, in order to give an acconnt of the origin of the tempter, and the circumstances under which he seduced our first parents. Then I go on to show, the ruins of our fallen state, the mental blindness and vicious dispositions our first parents then contracted to themselves, and propagated to all their posterity; the numerous calamities brought upon them and theirs by this apostacy from God, and the exposedness of the whole human race to eternal perdition. I then labour to shew the necessity of an almighty Saviour to deliver us from this deplorable state, as well as of a divine *revelation* to instruct and direct us in the will of God.

By such an introductory discourse, the way is prepared for opening the gospel-scheme of salvation through the great Redeemer, and for treating on those doctrines that immediately relate to our renovation by the divine Spirit, and preparation for a state of everlasting blessedness.

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In giving such a relation of things to pagans, it is not a little difficnlt, as was observed before, to deliver truths in their proper order, without interfering, and without taking for granted things not as yet known; to discourse of them in a familiar manner, suited to the capacities of heathen; to illustrate them by easy and natural similitudes; to obviate or answer the objections they are disposed to make against the several particulars of it, as well as to notice and confute their contrary notions.

What has sometimes been very discouraging in my first discourses to them is, that when I have distinguished between the *present* and *future* state, and shown them that it was my business to treat of those things that concern the life to come, they have some of them mocked, looked upon them as things of no importance; have scarcely had a curiosity to hear, and perhaps walked off before I had half done my discourse. In such a case no impressions can be made upon their minds to gain their attention. They are not awed by hearing of the anger of God against sinners, of everlasting punishment as the portion of those who neglect the gospel, nor allured by hearing of the blessedness of those who embrace and obey it. To gain their attention to my discourses, has often been as difficult as to give them a just notion of their design, or to open truths in their proper order.

Another difficulty naturally falling under this head is, that *it is next to impossible to bring them to a rational conviction that they are sinners by nature, and that their hearts are corrupt and sinful,* unless one could charge them with some gross acts of immorality, such as the light of nature condemns. If they can be charged with behaviour contrary to the commands of the second table, with manifest abuses of their neighbour, they will generally own such actions to be wrong; but then they seem to think it was only the *actions* that were sinful, and not their *hearts.* But if they cannot be charged with such scandalous actions, they have no consciousness of sin and guilt at all, as I had occasion to observe in my Journal of March 24. So that it is very difficult to convince them rationally of that which is readily acknowledged, though, alas! rarely felt in the Christian world, *viz.* 'That we are all sinners.'

The method I take to convince them that we are sinners

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by nature is, to lead them to an observation of their little children, how they will appear in a rage, fight and strike their mothers, before they are able to speak or walk, while they are so young that it is plain they are incapable of learning such practices. The light of nature in the Indians condemning such behaviour in children towards their parents, they must own these tempers and actions to be wrong and sinful; and the children having never learned these things, they must have been in their natures, and consequently they must be allowed, to be " by nature the children of wrath." The same I observe to them with respect to the sin of lying, to which their children are much inclined. They tell lies without being taught so to do, from their own natural inclination, as well as against restraints, and after corrections for that vice, which proves them sinners by nature.

To shew them that their hearts are all corrupted and sinful, I observe to them that this may be the case, and they not be sensible of it through the blindness of their minds. That it is no evidence they are not sinful, because they do not know and feel it. I then mention all the vices I know the Indians to be guilty of, and so make use of these sinful *streams* to convince them the *fountain* is corrupt. And this is the end for which I mention their wicked practices to them, not because I expect to bring them to an effectual reformation merely by inveighing against their immoralities; but hoping they may hereby be convinced of the corruption of their hearts, and awakened to a sense of the depravity and misery of their fallen state. Also to convince them that they are sinners, I sometimes open to them the great command of loving God with all the heart; shewing them the reasonableness of loving him who has made, preserved, and dealt so bountifully with us. I then labour to shew them their utter neglect, and that they have been so far from loving God in this manner, that on the contrary, he has not been " in all their thoughts."

These, and such like, are the means I have made use of in order to remove this difficulty; but if it be asked after all, how it was surmounted; I must answer, God himself was pleased to do it with regard to a number of these Indians, by taking the work into his own hand, and making them feel at heart, that they were both sinful and miserable. And in the '*day of God's power,*' whatever was spoken to them

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from God's word, served to convince them they were sinners, even the most melting invitations of the gospel, and to fill them with solicitude to obtain a deliverance from that deplorable state.

Further, it is extremely difficult to give them any just notion of *the undertaking of Christ in behalf of sinners*; of his obeying and suffering in their room and stead, in order to atone for their sins and procure their salvation; and of their being justified by his righteousness imputed to them.—They are in general wholly unacquainted with civil laws and proceedings, and know of no such thing as one person's being substituted as a surety in the room of another, nor have any kind of notion of civil judicatures, of persons being arraigned, tried, judged, condemned, or acquitted. Hence it is very difficult to treat with them upon any thing of this nature, or that bears any relation to legal procedures. And though they cannot but have some dealings with the white people, in order to procure clothing and other necessaries of life, yet it is scarcely ever known that any one pays a penny for another, but each one stands for himself. Yet this is a thing that may be supposed, though seldom practised among them, and they may be made to understand, that if a friend of theirs pays a debt for them, it is right that upon that consideration they themselves should be discharged.

This is the only way I can take in order to give them a proper notion of the undertaking and satisfaction of Christ in behalf of sinners. But here naturally arise two questions. First, 'What need there was of Christ's obeying and suffering for us; why God would not look upon us to be good creatures (to use my common phrase for justification) on account of our own good deeds?' In answer to which I sometimes observe, that a child's being ever so orderly and obedient to its parents to-day, does by no means satisfy for its contrary behaviour yesterday; and that if it be loving and obedient at some times only, and at other times cross and disobedient, it never can be looked upon as a good child for its own doings, since it ought to have behaved in an obedient manner always. This simile strikes their minds in an easy and forcible manner, and serves in a measure to illustrate the point. For the light of nature teaches them, that their children ought to be obedient to them, and that at all times;

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and some of them are very severe with them for the contrary behaviour. This I apply in the plainest manner to our behaviour towards God; and so shew them that it is impossible for us, since we have sinned against God, to be justified before him by our own doings, since present and future goodness, although perfect and constant, could never satisfy for past misconduct.

A second question is, 'If our debt was so great, and if we all deserved to suffer, how one person's suffering was sufficient to answer for the whole.' Here I have no better way to illustrate the infinite value of Christ's obedience and sufferings, arising from the dignity and excellency of his person, than to shew them the superior value of gold to that of baser metals, and that a small quantity of this will discharge a greater debt than a vast quantity of the common copper pence. After all, it is extremely difficult to treat with them upon this great doctrine of justification by imputed righteousness.

I scarcely know how to conclude this head, so many things occurring that might properly be added here: but what has been mentioned may serve for a specimen of the difficulty of conveying divine truths to the understandings of these Indians, and of gaining their assent to them as such.

Thirdly, Their *inconvenient situations, savage manners, and unhappy method of living*, have been an unspeakable difficulty and discouragement to me in my work.

They generally live in the wilderness, and some that I have visited at great distances from the English settlements, which has obliged me to travel much, and oftentimes over hideous rocks, mountains and swamps,—frequently to lie out in the open woods,—deprived me of the common comforts of life, and greatly impaired my health.

When I have got among them in the wilderness, I have often met with great difficulty in my attempts to discourse to them. I have spent hours with them in attempting to answer their objections, and remove their jealousies, before I could prevail upon them to give me a hearing upon Christianity; have been often obliged to preach in their houses in cold and windy weather, when they have been full of smoak and cinders, as well as unspeakably filthy; which has many times thrown me into violent sick head-aches.

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While I have been preaching, their children have frequently cried to such a degree that I could scarcely be heard, and their pagan mothers would take no manner of care to quiet them. At the same time perhaps some have been laughing and mocking at divine truths; others playing with their dogs, whittling sticks, and the like; and this, in many of them, not from spite and prejudice, but for want of better manners.

A view of these things has been not a little sinking and discouraging to me; it has sometimes prevailed so far as to render me entirely dispirited, and wholly unable to go on with my work; and given me such a melancholy turn of mind, that I have many times thought I could never more address an Indian upon religious matters.

The solitary manner in which I have generally been obliged to live, on account of their inconvenient situations, has been not a little pressing. I have spent the greater part of my time, for more than three years past, entirely alone, as to any agreeable society; and a very considerable part of it I have lived in houses by myself, without having the company of any human creature. Sometimes I have scarcely seen an Englishman for a month or six weeks together. I have also had my spirits so depressed with melancholy views of the temper and conduct of pagans, when I have been for some time confined with them, that I have felt as if banished from all the people of God.

I have likewise been wholly alone in my work, there being no other Missionary among the Indians in either of these provinces. And other ministers, neither knowing the peculiar difficulties, nor most advantageous methods of performing my work, have not been able to afford me much assistance or support in any respect. Feeling the great disadvantages of being alone in this work, has discovered to me the wisdom and goodness of the great Head of the church, in sending forth his disciples two and two, in order to proclaim the sacred mysteries of his kingdom; and has made me long for a colleague to be a partner of my cares, hopes and fears, as well as labours amongst the Indians. This has excited me to use means in order to procure such an assistant, though I have not as yet been so happy as to succeed in that respect.

I have not only met with great difficulty in travelling to,

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and for some time residing among the Indians far remote in the wilderness, but also in living with them in one place and another more statedly. I have been obliged to remove my residence from place to place; have procured, and after some poor fashion, furnished three houses for living among them, in the space of about three years past. One at Kaunaumeek, about twenty miles distant from the city of Albany; one at the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania; and one at Crosweeksung in New-Jersey. The Indians in the latter of these provinces, with whom I have lately spent most of my time, being not long since removed from the place where they lived the last winter, (the reason of which I mentioned in my Journal of March 24, and May 4,) I have now no house at all of my own, but am obliged to lodge with an English family at a considerable distance, to the great disadvantage of my work among them, they being like children that continually need advice and direction, as well as incitement to their worldly business. The houses I have formerly lived in are at great distances from each other; the two nearest of them being more than seventy miles apart, and neither of them within fifteen miles of the place where the Indians now live.

The Indians are very poor and indigent, and so destitute of the comforts of life at some seasons of the year especially, that it is impossible for a person who has any pity for them, and concern for the Christian interest, to live among them without considerable expense, especially in time of sickness. If any thing be bestowed on one, as in some cases it is peculiarly necessary, in order to remove their Pagan jealousies, and engage their friendship to Christianity; others, be there never so many of them, expect the same treatment. And while they retain their pagan tempers, they discover little gratitude, or even manhood, amidst all the kindnesses they receive. If they make any presents, they expect double satisfaction; and Christianity itself does not at once cure them of these ungrateful and unmanly tempers.

They are in general unspeakably indolent and slothful; have been bred up in idleness; know little about cultivating land, or indeed of engaging vigorously in any other business. So that I am obliged to instruct them in, as well as press them to the performance of their work, and take the oversight of all their secular concerns. They have little or no

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ambition or resolution; not one in a thousand of them that has the spirit of a man. It is next to impossible to make them sensible of the duty and importance of being active, diligent and industrious in the management of their worldly business; and to excite any spirit and promptitude of that nature in them. When I have laboured to the utmost of my ability to shew them of what importance it would be to the Christian interest among them, as well as to their worldly comfort, for them to be laborious and prudent in their business, and to furnish themselves with the comforts of life; how this would incline the pagans to come among them, and so put them under the means of salvation; how it would encourage religious persons of the white people to help them, as well as stop the mouths of others that were disposed to cavil against them; how they might by this means pay their just debts, and so prevent trouble from coming upon themselves, and reproach upon their Christian profession:—when I have endeavoured to represent this matter in the most advantageous light I possibly could, they have indeed assented to all I said, but been little moved, and consequently have acted like themselves, or at least too much so. It must at the same time be acknowledged, that those who appear to have a sense of divine things, are considerably amended in this respect; and it is hopeful that time will make a yet greater alteration upon them for the better.

The concern I have had for the settling of these Indians in New-Jersey in a compact form, in order to their being a Christian congregation, in a capacity of enjoying the means of grace; the care of managing their worldly business in order to this end, and to their having a comfortable livelihood, have been more pressing to my mind, and cost me more labour and fatigue, for several months past, than all my other work among them.

Their wandering to and fro in order to procure the necessaries of life, is another difficulty that attends my work. This has often deprived me of opportunities to discourse to them; has thrown them in the way of temptation, either among pagans further remote where they have gone to hunt, who have laughed at them for hearkening to Christianity; or among white people still more horribly wicked, who have often made them drunk; and then got their commodities,

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such as skins, baskets, brooms, shovels, and the like, with which they designed to have bought corn and other necessaries of life for themselves and families, for it may be nothing but a little strong liquor, and then sent them home empty. So that for the labour perhaps of several weeks, they have got nothing but the satisfaction of being drunk once; and have not only lost their labour, but which is infinitely worse, the impressions of divine things that were made upon their minds before. But I forbear enlarging upon this head. The few hints I have given may be sufficient to give thinking persons some apprehensions of the difficulties attending my work, on account of the inconvenient situations and savage manners of the Indians, as well as of their unhappy method of living.

Fourthly, The last difficulty I shall mention, as having attended my work is, *what has proceeded from the attempts that some ill-minded persons have designedly made, to hinder the propagation of the gospel, and a work of divine grace among the Indians.*

The Indians are not only of themselves prejudised against Christianity, on the various accounts I have already mentioned, but as if this was not enough, there are some in all parts of the country where I have preached, who have taken pains industriously to bind them down in pagan darkness; 'neglecting to enter into the kingdom of God themselves, and labouring to hinder others.' After the beginning of the religious concern among the Indians in New-Jersey, some endeavoured to prejudise them against me and the truths I taught them, by the most unmanly and false suggestions of things that had no manner of foundation but in their own brains. Some particulars of this kind I formerly noticed in one of the remarks made upon my Journal concluded the 20th of November last. I might have added yet more, and of another nature, than those already mentioned, had not modesty forbidden me to mention what was too obscene to be thought of. But through the mercy of God they were never able, by all their abominable insinuations and downright lies, to create in the Indians those jealousies they desired to possess them with, and so were never suffered to hinder the work of grace among them.

But when they saw they could not prejudise the Indians against me, nor hinder them from receiving the gospel, they

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then noised it through the country that I was undoubtedly a *Roman Catholic;* that I was gathering together, and training up the Indians in order to serve a popish interest; that I should quickly head them, and cut people's throats. The pretended reason for this opinion was, that they understood I had a commission from Scotland. They could therefore with great assurance say, "All Scotland is turned to the *Pretender*, and this is but a popish plot to make a party for him here." And some, I am informed, actually went to the civil authority with complaints against me, only they laboured under this unhappiness, that when they came they had nothing to complain of, and could give no colour of reason why they attempted any such thing, or desired the civil authority to take cognizance of me, having not a word to alledge against my preaching or practice; only they surmised that because the Indians appeared so very loving and orderly, they had a design of imposing upon people by that means, and so of getting a better advantage to cut their throats! What temper they would have had the Indians to possess, in order to have given no occasion, nor have left any room for such a suspicion, I cannot tell. I presume if they had appeared with the contrary temper, it would quickly have been observed of them, that they were now grown surly, and in all probability were preparing to 'cut people's throats.' From a view of these things, I have had occasion to admire the wisdom and goodness of God in providing so full and authentic a commission for the undertaking and carrying on of this work, without which, notwithstanding the charitableness of the design, it had probably met with molestation.

The Indians who have been my hearers in New-Jersey, have likewise been sued for debt, and threatened with imprisonment more since I came among them, as they inform me, than in seven years before. The reason of this I suppose was, they left frequenting those tippling houses where they used to consume most of what they gained by hunting and other means; and these persons seeing that 'the hope of future gain was lost,' were resolved to make sure of what they could. And perhaps some of them put the Indians to trouble, purely out of spite at their embracing Christianity. This has been very distressing to me; for I was sensible, that if they did imprison any one who embraced or hearkened

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to Christianity, the news of it would quickly spread among the pagans hundreds of miles distant, who would immediately conclude that I had involved them in this difficulty, and thence be filled with prejudice against Christianity, and strengthened in their jealousy that the whole of my design was to ensnare and enslave them. I knew that some of the Indians upon Susquahannah had made this objection against hearing me preach, *viz.* That they understood a number of Indians in Maryland, some hundred of miles distant, who been uncommonly free with the English, were after awhile put in jail and sold. Hence they concluded, it was best for them to keep at a distance, and have nothing to do with Christians.

In order to remove this difficulty, I pressed Indians with all possible speed to pay their debts; exhorting those of them that had skins or money, and were themselves in a good measure free from debt, to help others that were oppressed. Frequently upon such occasions I have paid money out of my own pocket, which I have not as yet received again. These are some of the difficulties I have met with from the conduct of those who, notwithstanding their actions tend so much to hinder the propagation of Christianity, would I suppose be loth to be reputed Pagans.

Thus I have endeavoured to answer the demands of the Honourable Society in relation to each of the particulars mentioned in their letter. If what I have written may be in any measure agreeable and satisfactory, and serve to excite in them or any of God's people, a spirit of prayer and supplication for the furtherance of a work of grace among the Indians here, and the propagation of it to their distant tribes, I shall have abundant reason to rejoice and bless God in this as well as in other respects.

DAVID BRAINERD.

June 20, 1746.

P. S. Since the conclusion of the preceding Journal, which was designed to represent the operations of one year only, from the first time of my preaching to the Indians in New-Jersey, I administered the Lord's supper a second time in my congregation, *viz.* on the 13th of July. There were more than thirty communicants of the Indians, though divers were absent who should have communicated: so consider-

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ably has God enlarged our number since the former solemnity of this kind, described somewhat particularly in my Journal. This appeared to be a season of divine power and grace, not unlike the former; a season of refreshing to God's people in general, and of awakening to some others, although the divine influence manifestly attending the several services of the solemnity, seemed not so great and powerful as at the former season.

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ATTESTATION

OF THE

REV. WILLIAM TENNENT.

SINCE my dear and Reverend brother Brainerd has at length consented to the publication of his Journal, I gladly embrace this opportunity of testifying, that our glorious Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ has given such a display of his almighty power and sovereign grace, not only in the external reformation, but in a judgment of charity, the saving conversion of a considerable number of Indians, that it is really wonderful to all beholders. Some alas, notwithstanding sufficient grounds of conviction to the contrary, have joined with the avowed enemy of God and man, in endeavouring to prevent this glorious work, by such ways and means as are mentioned in the aforesaid Journal, to which I must refer the reader for a faithful though very brief account of the time when, the place where, the means by which, and manner how, this wished for work has been begun and carried on, by the great Head of the church. And this I can more confidently do, not only because I am intimately acquainted with the author of the Journal, but on account of my own personal knowledge of the matters of fact recorded in it respecting the work itself. Living not far from the Indians, I have been much conversant with them, both at their own place and in my own parish, where they generally convene for public worship in Mr. Brainerd's absence; and I think it my duty to acknowledge that their conversation hath often, under God, refreshed my soul.

It is also my opinion, that the change wrought in those savages, namely, from the darkness of Paganism, to the knowledge of the pure gospel of Christ; from sacrificing to devils, to "present themselves, body and soul, a living sacrifice to God," and that not only from the persuasion of their minister, but from a clear heart-affecting sense of its being their "reasonable service:" this change, I say, is so great, that none could effect it but he "who worketh all things after the good pleasure of his own will." And I would humbly hope, that this is only the first-fruits of a much greater harvest to be brought in from among the Indians, by HIM

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who has promised to give his Son "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost ends of the earth for his possession:"—and hath also declared, "That the whole earth shall be filled with the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea. Even so, Lord Jesus, come quickly. Amen and Amen."

WILLIAM TENNENT.

Freehold, Aug. 16, 1746.

Attestation of the Rev. Charles Macnight.

AS it must needs afford a sacred pleasure to such as cordially desire the prosperity and advancement of the Redeemer's kingdom and interest in the world, to hear that our merciful and gracious God is in very deed fulfilling such precious promises as relate to the poor heathen, by sending his everlasting gospel among them, which, with the concurrence of his holy Spirit, is removing that worse than Egyptian darkness, whereby the god of this world has long held them in willing subjection; so this narrative will perhaps be more acceptable to the world, when it is confirmed by the testimony of such as were either eye witnesses of this glorious dawn of gospel light among the benighted pagans, or personally acquainted with those of them, in whom a gracious change has been evidently wrought. I therefore the more willingly join with my brethren Mr. William Tennent and Mr. Brainerd, in affixing my attestation to the foregoing narrative, and look upon myself as concerned in point of duty both to God and his people to do so, seeing that I live contiguous to the Indian settlement, and have had frequent opportunities of being present at their religious meetings, where I have with pleasing wonder beheld, what I am strongly inclined to believe were the effects of God's almighty power accompanying his own word; more especially on the 8th of August 1745, in which, while the word of God was preached by Mr. Brainerd, there appeared an uncommon solemnity among the Indians in general. I am however wholly unable to give a full representation of the surprising effects of God's almighty power that appeared among them when public service was over. While Mr. Brainerd urged upon some of them the absolute necessity of

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a speedy closure with Christ, the holy Spirit seemed to be poured out upon them in a plenteous measure, insomuch that the Indians present in the *wigwam* seemed to be brought to the jailor's case, Acts xvi. 30, utterly unable to conceal the distress and perplexity of their souls. This prompted the pious among them to bring the dispersed congregation together, who soon seemed to be in the greatest extremity; some earnestly begging for mercy, under a solemn sense of their perishing condition, while others were unable to arise from the earth, to the great wonder of those white people that were present, (one of whom is by this means, I trust savingly brought to Christ since;) nay, so very strange was the concern that appeared among these poor Indians in general, that I am ready to conclude, it might have been sufficient to have convinced an Atheist, that the Lord was indeed in the place. For my part I am fully persuaded that this glorious work is true and genuine, whilst with satisfaction I behold several of these Indians discovering all the symptoms of inward holiness in their lives and conversation.

I have had the satisfaction also of joining with them in their service on the 11th of August 1746, which was a day set apart for imploring the divine blessing on the labours of their minister among other tribes of Indians at Susquahannah, in all which they conducted themselves with a very decent and becoming gravity; and as far as I am capable of judging, they may be proposed as examples of piety and godliness to all the white people around them, which indeed is justly "marvellous in our eyes," especially considering what they lately have been.

May the glorious God shortly bring about that desirable time, when our exalted Immanuel shall have "the heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost parts of the earth for his possession!"

CHARLES MACNIGHT.

August 29. 1746.

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Attestation of the Elders and Deacons of the Presbyterian Church in Freehold.

WE whose names are underwritten, being elders and deacons of the Presbyterian church in Freehold, do hereby testify, that in our humble opinion, God, even our Saviour, has brought a considerable number of the Indians in these parts to a saving union with himself.

This we are persuaded of from a personal acquaintance with them, whom we not only hear speak of the great doctrines of the gospel with humility, affection and understanding, but we see them walk (as far as man can judge) soberly, righteously and godly. We have joined with them at the Lord's supper, and do from our hearts esteem them our brethren in Jesus. These who were not God's people, may now be called the children of the living God: it is the Lord's doing; and it is marvellous in our eyes. Oh that he may go on "conquering and to conquer," until he has subdued all things to himself! This is and shall be the unfeigned desire and prayer of,

Walter Ker,
Robert Cummins,
David Rhe,
John Henderson,
John Anderson,
Joseph Ker,
} *Elders.*

William Ker,
Samuel Ker,
Samuel Craig,
} *Deacons.*

Freehold,
Aug. 16, 1746.

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A

SERMON

PREACHED

IN NEWARK, June 12, 1744,

AT THE ORDINATION

OF

REV. DAVID BRAINERD,

A Missionary among the Indians.

BY E. PEMBERTON, A. M.

Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in the City of New-York.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

AN APPENDIX,

On Indian affairs.

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SERMON.

LUKE xiv. 23.

And the Lord said unto the servant, Go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in, that my house may be filled.

GOD erected this visible world as a monument of his glory,—a theatre for the display of his adorable perfections. The heavens proclaim his wisdom and power in shining characters, and the whole earth is full of his goodness. Man was in his original creation excellently fitted for the service of God, and for perfect happiness in the enjoyment of the divine favour. But sin has disturbed the order of nature, defaced the beauty of the creation, and involved man, the lord of this lower world, in the most disconsolate circumstances of guilt and misery.

The all-seeing eye of God beheld our deplorable state; infinite pity touched the heart of the Father of mercies, and infinite wisdom laid the plan of our recovery. The Majesty of heaven did not see meet to suffer the enemy of mankind, eternally to triumph in his success; nor leave his favourite workmanship, irrecoverably to perish in the ruins of the apostasy. By a method which at once astonishes and delights the sublimest spirits above, he opened a way for the display of his mercy, without any violation of the sacred claims of his justice; in which the honour of the law is vindicated, and the guilty offender acquitted; sin is condemned, and the sinner eternally saved. To accomplish this blessed design, the beloved Son of God assumed the nature of man; in our nature died a spotless sacrifice for sin; by the atoning virtue of his blood he "made reconciliation for iniquity," and by his perfect obedience to the law of God, "brought in everlasting righteousness."

Having finished his work upon earth, before he ascended to his heavenly Father, he commissioned the ministers of his kingdom to "preach the gospel to every creature." He sent them forth to make the most extensive offers of salvation to rebellious sinners, and by all the methods of holy violence to "compel them to come in," and accept the in-

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vitations of his grace. We have a lively representation of this in the parable, in which our text is contained.

Under the figure of a marriage-supper, the evident design is, to set forth the plentiful provision which is made in our Lord Jesus Christ for the reception of his people, and the freedom and riches of divine grace, which invites the most unworthy and miserable sinners to partake of this sacred entertainment. The first invited guests were the Jews, the favourite people of God, who were heirs of divine love, while the rest of the world were "aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise:" but these, through the power of prevailing prejudice, and the influence of carnal affections, obstinately rejected the invitation, and were therefore finally excluded from these invaluable blessings.

But it was not the design of infinite wisdom that these costly preparations should be lost, and the table he had spread remain unfurnished with guests. Therefore he sent forth his servant "into the streets and lanes of the city," and commanded him to bring in "the poor, the maimed, the halt, and the blind;" *i. e.* the most necessitous and miserable of mankind;—yea, to "go out into the highways and hedges," to the wretched and perishing Gentiles, and not only invite, but even "compel them to come in, that his house might be filled."—The words of the text represent to us,

I. The melancholy state of the Gentile word. They are described as "in the highways and hedges," in the most perishing and helpless condition.

II. The compassionate care which the blessed Redeemer takes of them in these deplorable circumstances. He "sends out his servants" to them, to invite them to partake of the entertainments of his house.

III. The duty of the ministers of the gospel, to "compel them to come in," and accept of his gracious invitation.

These I shall consider in their order, and then apply them to the present occasion.

I. I am to consider the melancholy state of the Heathen world, while in the darkness of nature, and destitute of divine revelation.

It is easy to harangue upon the excellency and advantage of the light of nature. It is agreeable to the pride of man-

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kind to exalt the powers of human reason, and pronounce it a sufficient guide to eternal happiness. But let us inquire into the records of antiquity, let us consult the experince of all ages; and we shall find that those who had no guide but the light of nature, no instructor but unassisted reason, have wandered in perpetual uncertainty, darkness and error. Or let us take a view of the present state of those countries that have not been illuminated by the gospel; and we shall see, that notwithstanding the improvements of near six thousand years, they remain to this day covered with the grossest darkness, and abandoned to the most immoral and vicious practices.

The beauty and good order every where discovered in the visible frame of nature, evinces beyond all reasonable dispute, the existence of an infinite and almighty Cause, who first gave being to the universe, and still preserves it by his powerful providence. Says the apostle to the Gentiles, (Rom. i. 20.) "The invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." And yet many, even among the philosophers of the Gentile nations, impiously denied the eternal Deity, from whose hands they received their existence; and blasphemed his infinite perfections, when surrounded with the clearest demonstrations of his power and goodness.—Those who acknowledged a Deity, entertained the most unworthy conceptions of his nature and attributes, and worshipped the creature, in the place of the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Not only the illustrious heroes of antiquity, and the public benefactors of mankind, but even the most despicable beings in the order of nature, were enrolled in the catalogue of their gods, and became the object of their impious adoration. "They changed the glory of the incorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, to birds and four-footed beasts, and creeping things." Rom. i. 23.

A few of the sublimest geniues of Rome and Athens, had some faint discoveries of the spiritual nature of the human soul, and formed some probable conjectures, that man was designed for a future state of existence. When they considered the extensive capacities of the human mind, and the deep impressions of futurity engraven in every breast, they could not but infer that the soul was immortal, and at death

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would be translated to some new and unknown state. When they saw the virtuous oppressed with various and successive calamities, and the vilest of men triumphing in prosperity and pleasure, they entertained distant hopes that in a future revolution, these seeming inequalities would be rectified, these inconsistencies removed,—the righteous distinguishingly rewarded, and the wicked remarkably punished. But after all their inquiries upon this important subject, they attained no higher than some probable conjectures, some uncertain expectations. And when they came to describe the nature and situation of these invisible regions of happiness or misery, they made the wildest guesses, and ran into the most absurd and vain imaginations. The heaven they contrived for the entertainment of the virtuous, was made up of sensual pleasures, beneath the dignity of human nature, and inconsistent with perfect felicity: the hell they described for the punishment of the vicious, consisted in ridiculous terrors, unworthy the belief of a rational and religious creature.

Their practices were equally corrupt with their principles. As the most extravagant errors were received among the established articles of their faith, so the most infamous vices obtained in their practice, and were indulged not only with impunity, but authorised by the sanction of their laws. They stupidly erected altars to idols of wood and stone; paid divine honours to those, who in their lives had been the greatest monsters of lust and cruelty; yea, offered up their sons and daughters as sacrifices to devils. The principles of honour, the restraints of shame, the precepts of their philosophers, were all too weak to keep their corruptions within any tolerable bounds. The wickedness of their hearts broke through every inclosure, and deluged the earth with rapine and violence, blood and slaughter, and all manner of brutish and detestable impurities. It is hardly possible to read the melancholy description of the principles and manners of the Heathen world, given us by St. Paul, without horror and surprise. To think, that man, once the friend of God, and the lord of this lower world, should thus deny the God that made him, and bow down to *dumb idols*; should thus by lust and intemperance, degrade himself into the character of the *beast*, "which hath no understanding;" and by pride, malice and revenge, transform himself into the

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very image of the devil, "who was a murderer from the beginning."

This was the state of the Gentile nations when the light of the gospel appeared, to scatter the darkness that overspread the face of the earth. And this has been the case, so far as has yet appeared, of all the nations ever since, upon whom the Sun of righteousness has not arisen with healing in his wings. Every new-discovered country opens a new scene of astonishing ignorance and barbarity; and gives us fresh evidence of the universal corruption of human nature.

II. I proceed now to consider the compassionate care and kindness of our blessed Redeemer towards mankind, in these deplorable circumstances. He "sends out his servants," to invite them "to come in," and accept the entertainments of his house.

God might have left his guilty creatures, to have eternally suffered the dismal effects of their apostasy, without the least imputation of injustice, or violence of his infinite perfections. The fall was the consequence of man's criminal choice, and attended with the highest aggravations. The angels that sinned were made examples of God's righteous severity, and are reserved "in chains" of guilt, "to the judgment of the great day." Mercy, that tender attribute of the divine nature, did not interpose in their behalf, to suspend the execution of their sentence, or avert God's threatened displeasure: their punishment is unalterably decreed, their judgment is irreversible; they are the awful monuments of revenging wrath, and are condemned "to blackness of darkness for ever."—Now justice might have shewn the same inflexible severity to rebellious man, and have left the universal progeny of Adam to perish in their guilt and misery. It was unmerited mercy that distinguished the human race, in providing a Saviour for us; and the most signal compassion that revealed the counsels of heaven for our recovery.

But though justice did not oblige the divine Being to provide for our relief, yet the goodness of the indulgent Father of the universe inclined him to shew pity to his guilty creatures, who fell from their innocence, through the subtlety and malice of seducing and apostate spirits. It was agreeable to the divine wisdom to disappoint the devices of Satan,

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the enemy of God and goodness, and recover the creatures he had made from their subjection to the powers of darkness. He therefore gave early discoveries of his designs of mercy to our first parents, and immediately upon the apostasy opened a door of hope for their recovery. He revealed a Saviour to the ancient Patriarchs, under dark types, and by distant promises; made clearer declarations of his will, as the appointed time drew near, for the accomplishment of the promises, and the manifestation of the Son of God in human flesh. "And when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons."

This divine and illustrious person left the bosom of his Father, that he might put on the character of a servant;—descended from the glories of heaven, that he might dwell on this inferior earth;—was made under the law, that he might fulfil all righteousness;—submitted to the infirmities of human nature, to the sorrows and sufferings of an afflicted life, and to the agonies of a painful ignominious death on a cross, that he might destroy the power of sin, abolish the empire of death, and purchase immortality and glory for perishing man.

While our Lord Jesus resided in this lower world, he preached the glad tidings of salvation, and published the kingdom of God; confirming his doctrine by numerous and undoubted miracles, and recommending his instructions by the charms of a spotless life and conversation. He sent forth his apostles to pursue the same gracious design of gospellizing the people and furnished them with sufficient powers to proselyte the nations to the faith. He also appointed a standing ministry, to carry on a treaty of peace with rebellious sinners, in the successive ages of the church; to continue, till the number of the redeemed is completed, and the whole election of grace placed in circumstances of spotless purity and perfect happiness.

These ministers are stiled "the servants of Christ," by way of eminence. They are in a peculiar manner devoted to the service of their divine Master; from him they receive their commission; by him they are appointed to represent his person, preside in his worship, and teach the laws of his kingdom. To assume this character without being divinely cal-

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led, and regularly introduced into this sacred office, is a bold invasion of Christ's royal authority, and an open violation of that order which he has established in his church. —These not only derive their mission from Christ, but it is *his doctrine* they are to preach, and not the inventions of their own brain:—it is *his glory* they are to promote, and not their own interest or honour:—their business is not to propagate the designs of a party, but *the common salvation*, and to "beseech all, in Christ's name, to be reconciled unto God."

The apostles, the primitive heralds of the everlasting gospel, were sent to make the first tender of salvation to "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." They were commanded to begin at Jerusalem, the centre of the Jewish commonwealth: but when the Jews obstinately persisted in their impenitence and unbelief, they were commissioned "to preach the gospel to every creature under heaven:" the sinners of the Gentiles were invited to "come in," and accept of the offers of salvation.

The prophets pointed out a Messiah that was to come, and proclaimed the joyful approach of a Redeemer, at the time appointed in the sovereign counsels of Heaven. The ministers of the gospel now are sent to declare, that the prophecies are accomplished, the promise fulfilled, justice satisfied, salvation purchased; and all that will "come in," shall receive the blessings of the gospel. They are not only freely to invite sinners of all orders and degrees, of all ages and nations; but to assure them that "all things are now ready," and to use the most powerful and persuasive methods, that they may engage them to comply with the heavenly call.

III. I am next to shew, that it is the great duty of the ministers of the gospel "to compel sinners to come in," and accept of the blessings of the gospel.

This is so plainly contained in my text, that I shall not multiply arguments to confirm it. My only business shall be to explain the nature of this compulsion, or shew in what manner sinners are to be "compelled to come in" to the Christian church.—And sure I am, I must answer, negatively, not by the deceitful methods of fraud and disguise, nor the inhuman practices of persecution and violence. This text

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indeed has often been alledged by the persecuting bigots of all ages, and applied to support the cause of religious tyranny; to the infinite scandal of the Christian name, and the unspeakable detriment of the Christian interest. By this means the enemies of our most holy faith have been strengthened in their infidelity, the weak have been turned aside from the truth as it is in Jesus, and the peaceable kingdom of the Messiah transformed into a field of blood,—a scene of hellish and horrid cruelties. If this were the *compulsion* recommended in the gospel, then absolute unrelenting tyrants would be the proper and most infallible teachers; then racks and tortures would be the genuine and most successful method of propagating the faith. But surely every thing of this kind, every violent and driving measure, is in direct opposition to the precepts and example of our blessed Saviour, and contrary to the very genius of his gospel,—which proclaims, "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good-will towards men."

The princes of this world exercise a temporal dominion over mankind, and by fines levied on their estates, and punishments inflicted upon their bodies, force men to an outward subjection to their authority and government. But the kingdom of our Lord is of a spiritual nature: he erects his empire in the hearts of men, and reigns over "a willing people in the day of his power." External violence may necessitate men to an external profession of the truth, and procure a dissembled compliance with the institutions of Christ; but can never enlighten the darkness of the mind, conquer the rebellion of the will, nor sanctify and save the soul. It may transfigure men into accomplished hypocrites, but will never convert them into real saints.

The gospel was originally propagated by the powerful preaching of Christ and his apostles, by the astonishing miracles which they wrought in confirmation of their doctrine, and the exemplary lives by which they adorned their profession and character. Instead of propagating their religion by the destructive methods of fire and sword, they submitted to the rage and cruelty of a malignant world with surprising patience, and sacrificed their very lives in the cause of God, without any intemperate discoveries of anger and resentment. Instead of calling for "fire from heaven" to destroy their opposers, they compassionated their igno-

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rance, instructed them with meekness, counselled and exhorted them with " all long-suffering and doctrine," and even spent their dying breath in praying for their conviction and conversion, that they might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.

In imitation of these primitive doctors of the Christian church, these wise and successful preachers of the gospel, it is the duty of the ministers of the present day to use the same methods of compassion and friendly violence. A disinterested zeal for the glory of God, a stedfast adherence to the truth, and unshaken fidelity in our Master's cause, with universal benevolence to mankind, must constantly animate our public discourses, and be conspicuous in our private conversation and behaviour. We must diligently endeavour to convince the understandings, engage the affections, and direct the practice of our hearers. Upon this head, it may not be amiss to descend to a few particulars.

1. Ministers are to " compel sinners to come in," by setting before them their guilty and perishing condition by nature.—Sinners are naturally fond of carnal ease and security; they are delighted with their pleasant and profitable sins; they even " drink in iniquity like water," with great greediness, with insatiable thirst, and incessant gratification, but without fear or remorse. On this account there is the highest necessity to sound an alarm in their ears, that they may be awakened, to see and consider their dangerous state; or else they will never be excited to " flee from the wrath to come," The secure sinner is insensible of his want of a Saviour " the whole need not a physician, but they that are sick."

To this end the ministers of the gospel are to set " the terrors of the Lord" in array against the sinner, and let him hear the thunder of divine curses that utter their voice against the unbelieving. They are to represent in the clearest light, and with the most convincing evidence, the evil of sin, and the danger it exposes to; that " wrath from heaven is revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men;" that the flaming sword of incensed justice is unsheathed, and the arm of the Almighty ready to destroy such as are " going on still in their trespasses," impenitent and secure. They are not only thus to shew them their danger, but to set before them at the same time their wretched and helpless circumstances; that there is no human

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eye can successfully pity them, nor any created arm can bring them effectual deliverance; that while in a state of unregenerate nature, they are destitute of strength to perform any acceptable service to the blessed God, and unable to make any adequate satisfaction to his offended justice; that indeed they can neither avoid the divine displeasure, nor endure the punishment that is due to their crimes.—Thus by a faithful application of the law and its threatenings, we should endeavour by God's blessing, to make way for the reception of the gospel and its promises. This was the wise method observed by our blessed Saviour, the first preacher of the gospel; and by the apostles, his inspired successors. So John the Baptist, who served as the morning-star to usher in the appearance of the Sun of righteousness, did thus "prepare the way of the Lord," by enlightening the minds of men in the knowledge of their guilt and misery, and inciting them to flee from the "damnation of hell." The three thousand that were converted to the faith at one sermon, in the infancy of the Christian church, were first awakened with a sense of their aggravated guilt, in "crucifying the Lord of glory;" and were brought in agony and and distress to cry out, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?"

This method, I confess, is disagreeable to the sentiments and inclinations of a secure world; and may expose us to the reproach of those "that are at ease in Zion;" but it is agreeable to the dictates of an enlightened mind, conformable to the plan laid down in the sacred scriptures, and has in all ages approved itself the most successful method of promoting the interests of real and vital religion.

2. They are to "compel sinners to come in", by a lively representation of the power and grace of our Almighty Redeemer.—Not all the thunder and terror of curses from mount Ebal, not all the tremendous wrath revealed from heaven against the ungodly, not all the anguish and horror of a "wounded spirit" in an awakened sinner, are able to produce an unfeigned and effectual compliance with the gospel terms of mercy. The ministry of the *law* can only give the *knowledge of sin*, rouse the sinner's conscience and alarm his fears: it is the dispensation of *grace* that sanctifies and saves the soul. Nor is the former needful but in order to the latter. So much conviction as gives us a sight of our sin and misery,

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as inclines us to "flee from the wrath to come," and disposes us to submit to the gospel method of salvation by grace through faith, by sovereign mercy through the Mediator, so much is necessary; and more is neither requisite, nor desirable.

It is not the office of preachers to be perpetually employed in the language of terror, or exhaust their strength and zeal on awakening and distressing subjects. No; but as it is their distinguishing character that they are ministers of the gospel, so it is their peculiar business to "preach the unsearchable riches of Christ." The person, offices, and love of the great Redeemer, the merits of his obedience, the purchase of his cross, the victories of his resurrection, the triumphs of his ascension, and prevalence of his intercession, the power of his Spirit, greatness of his salvation, freeness of his grace, *&c.*; these are to be chosen and delightful subjects of their discourses.—They are to represent him as one who has completely answered the demands of the law, rendered the Deity propitious to the sinner, and on this account is able eternally to save us from the vengeance of an offended God;—who is clothed with almighty power, to subdue the inveterate habits of sin, sanctify our polluted nature, and restore us to spiritual health and purity;—who is Lord of the visible and invisible worlds, who knows how to defeat the most artful devices of Satan, and will finally render his people victorious over their most malicious and implacable adversaries;—who having "made reconciliation for iniquity" upon the cross, is pleading the merits of his blood in heaven, and powerfully interceding for all suitable blessings in behalf of his people;—"who is there exalted as a Prince and a Saviour to give repentance and remission of sins; and is able to save to the uttermost all those that come to God through him;"—in fine, who from his illustrious throne in glory stoops to look down with pity upon guilty and perishing sinners, stretches forth the sceptre of grace, and opens the everlasting arms of his mercy to receive them. These peculiar doctrines of the gospel they are frequently to teach, upon these they are to dwell with constant pleasure, that sinners may be persuaded to hearken to the inviting voice of divine love, and put their trust in this almighty and compassionate Saviour. In order to this,

3. They are to shew sinners the mighty encouragement

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that the gospel gives them to accept of Christ, and salvation through his merits and righteousness.—As for ignorant presumers, these hear the glad tidings of the gospel with a fatal indifference; and say in their hearts, "they shall have peace," though they go on in their evil way, stupidly "neglecting so great salvation," and regardless of eternal things. But awakened minds are rather apt to draw the darkest conclusions with respect to their case, and to judge themselves excluded from the invitations of the gospel. Sometimes they imagine, that the number and aggravations of their sins exceed the designs of pardoning mercy:—at other times, that they have so long resisted the heavenly call, that now the gate of heaven is irrecoverably barred against them:—and Satan further suggests, that it would be the height of *presumption* in them to lay claim to the blessings of the gospel, till *better prepared* for the divine reception.

Upon such imaginary and false grounds as these, multitudes of the invited guests make *excuses*, and exclude themselves from the "marriage-supper of the Lamb." It is therefore the business of the servants of Christ to shew that "there is yet room," even for the greatest and vilest sinners to *come in*, and partake of the gospel festival; that "all things are now ready" for their welcome entertainment;—that the *door* is still *open*, and there is free access, not only for those who have escaped the grosser pollutions of the world, but even "for the chief of sinners," whose guilt is of a crimson colour and a scarlet dye;—that neither the number nor aggravations of their iniquities will exclude them a share in the divine mercy, if now they submit to the sceptre of grace;—that whatever their condition and circumstances may be, it is of present obligation upon them to accept the gospel call, and their instant duty to "come in." The Master invites them to come to him, that they may have life: and whosoever do so, the Master of the house has assured them, that "he will in no wise cast them out."

4. They are to exhibit the unspeakable advantages that will attend a compliance with the gospel call.——I know indeed, the religion of Jesus is by its enemies often represented in the most frightful and hideous colours; particularly as laying an unreasonable restraint on the liberties of mankind, and sinking them into melancholy enthusiasts. It becomes us therefore, who are "set for the defence of the gospel," to endeavour the removing of this groundless prejudice, and to

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convince mankind by the light of reason and scripture, that "the ways of wisdom are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace:" that verily, a life of faith in the blessed Redeemer is the way to be happy, both here and hereafter.

What more honourable, than to be "a child of God, an heir of the kingdom of heaven!" What more pleasing, than to look back, and behold our past iniquities all buried in the depths of eternal oblivion; than to look forward, and view our dear Saviour acknowledging us his friends and favourites, and adjudging us to a state of unperishing glory? What more advantageous, than to have the divine favour engaged for our protection, the promises of divine grace for our consolation, and an assured title to an inheritance undefiled, incorruptible, and eternal? This is the portion of the true believer; these the privileges that attend a compliance with the gospel call.

These things are to be represented in such a manner as may tend to captivate the hearts of men, and engage them in a solicitous care and resolution to renounce the degrading servitude of sin, and resign themselves to the power of redeeming grace. Thus by the most effectual and persuasive methods, the ministers of Jesus are to *compel* sinners "to come in, that his house may be filled."

It was not in my design to consider the duty of the ministry in its full extent; but only to insist upon those things which more properly belong to my subject, and lie directly in the view of my text.

It will now doubtless be expected, that I APPLY my discourse, more immediately to the *present occasion*.

And suffer me, dear Sir, in the first place, to address myself to you, who are this day coming under a public consecration to the service of Christ, to bear his name among the Gentiles; to whom the Master is now sending you forth, to compel them to come in, that his house may be filled. We trust, you are "a chosen vessel," designed for extensive service in this honourable though difficult employment. We adore the God of nature, who has furnished you with such endowments as suit you to this important charge. We adore the great Head of the church for the nobler gifts and graces of his Spirit; by which, we trust, you are enabled to engage in this mission with an ardent love to God, the universal Father of mankind; with a disinterested zeal for the honour

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of Christ, the compassionate friend of sinners, and with tender concern for the perishing souls of a "people that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death;" who have for so many ages been wandering out of the way of salvation, "without Christ, and without God in the world."

The work of the ministry in every place has its difficulties and dangers, and requires much wisdom, fortitude, patience and self-denial, to discharge it in a right manner, with an encouraging prospect of success. But greater degrees of prudence, humility and meekness, mortification to the present world, holy courage and zeal for the honour of God our Saviour, are necessary where any are called to minister the gospel to those who through a long succession of ages have dwelt in the darkness of heathenism; have from their infancy imbibed inveterate prejudices against the Christian faith, and from time immemorial been inured to many superstitious and idolatrous practices, directly opposite to the nature and design of the gospel.

What heavenly skill is required, to convey the supernatural mysteries of the gospel into the minds of uninstructed Pagans, who are "a people of a strange speech and hard language?" What deep *self-denial* is necessary, to enable you cheerfully to forsake the pleasures of your native country, with the agreeable society of your friends and acquaintance, to dwell among those who inhabit not indeed "the highways and hedges," but uncultivated desarts, and the remotest recesses of the wilderness? What unwearied *zeal* and *diligence*, to proselyte those to the faith of the gospel who have quenched the light of reason, and by their inhuman and barbarous practices have placed themselves upon a level with the brute-creation?

Methinks, I hear you crying out, "Who is sufficient for these things!" And indeed, if you had no strength to depend upon but only your own, no encouragement but from human assistance; you might justly sink down in disconsolate despair, and utter the passionate language of Moses: "Oh my Lord, send, I pray thee, by the hand of him whom thou wilt send:" thy servant is insufficient for so great a work.—But it is at the command of Christ, the great Head of the church, that you go forth; who by a train of surprising providences has been preparing your way for this important embassy; and therefore you may be assured, that he will support you in the faithful discharge of your duty, accept

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your unfeigned desires to promote the interests of his kingdom, and finally reward your imperfect services with his gracious approbation. You have his divine promise for your security and consolation; "Lo! I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." This will afford you light in every darkness, defence in every danger, strength in every weakness, a final victory over every temptation. If Christ be with you, "in vain do the heathen rage;" in vain will their confederated tribes unite their forces to obstruct and discourage you. Infinite wisdom will be your guide, almighty power your shield, and God himself "your exceeding great reward." The presence of your divine Master will make amends for the absence of your dearest friends and relatives. This will transform a wild and uncultivated desart into a paradise of joy and pleasure; and the lonely huts of savages into more delightful habitations than the palaces of princes.

Let not then any difficulties discourage, any dangers affright you. Go forth *in the name* and *strength* of the Lord Jesus, to whom you are now to be devoted in the sacred office of the ministry. "Be not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile." Let zeal for the honour of God, and compassion for the souls of men, animate your public discourses and private addresses to the people committed to your charge. Always remember, that your character is *a minister of Jesus;* and therefore with the inspired teacher of the Gentiles, you "are to know nothing among them, save Christ and him crucified." Frequently consider, that the gospel is a divine discipline to purify the heart, and set up the kingdom of the Redeemer in the souls of men. It is not sufficient therefore to bring sinners to a profession of the name of Christ, and an outward subjection to the institutions of divine worship: "You are sent to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God,—that they may receive forgiveness of sins, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith that is in Christ." Unless this be effected, whatever other improvements they gain, they are left under the dominion of sin, and exposed to the wrath of God; and their superior degrees of knowledge will only serve to light them down to the regions of death and misery.—*This* then is to be the principal design of your ministry: for *this* you are to labour

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with unwearied application, and with incessant importunity to encompass the throne of that God whose peculiar prerogative it is "to teach us to profit;" whose grace alone can make them "a willing people in the day of his power."

For your encouragement I will only add, that when I consider the many prophecies in sacred scripture, of the triumphant progress of the gospel in the last ages of the world, I cannot but lift up my head with joy, in humble expectation that the day draws near, yea is even at hand, when the promises made to the Son of God shall be more illustriously fulfilled:—"when he shall have the heathen for his inheri-"tance, and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession;—"when his name shall be great among the Gentiles, and be "honoured and adored from the rising of the sun to the "going down of the same." But if the appointed time is not yet come, and the attempts made to introduce this glorious day fail of desired success, still "your judgment will be with the Lord, and your reward with your God." If the Gentiles, "be not gathered" in, you will "be glorious in the eyes of the Lord," who accepts and rewards his servants according to the sincerity of their desires, and not according to the success of their endeavours.

I shall conclude with a few words to the people.

God our Saviour, in infinite condescension, hath sent his servants to invite you to come in, and receive the blessings which infinite wisdom has contrived, and astonishing grace prepared for your entertainment. And surely, my brethren, it is your important duty, and incomparable interest, not to despise the salvation of God sent unto the Gentiles, nor "make light" of the gospel message to you.

God has been pleased to employ as messengers of his grace, men of "like passions" with yourselves, subject to the common infirmities of human nature: but the message comes from him who is King of kings, and Lord of lords; whom you are under the strongest obligations to hear and obey, in point of interest, gratitude and duty.

What gracious and condescending methods has he taken, to allure and invite you! Has he not descended from heaven to earth, from the boundless glories of eternity to all the sufferings and afflictions of this mortal life, that he might purchase and reveal salvation; that he might engage your love, and persuade you to comply with his saving designs?

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Does he not send his "ambassadors to beseech you in his stead, to be reconciled to God?"

What excuses have you to make, that will stand the trial of an enlightened conscience, or justify you at the awful tribunal of God? Will the vanishing enjoyments of sin and sense, or the perishing riches of this transitory world, make amends for the loss of the divine favour, or support you under the terrors of eternal damnation?

Are there any honours comparable to the dignity and character of a child of God; a title to the privileges of his house and family? Are there any pleasures equal to the smiles of God's reconciled face, the refreshing visits of his love, the immortal joys of his salvation?

But how deplorable, how desperate will be your case, if you finally refuse the gospel invitation, and perish in your natural state of guilt and misery. The compassionate Jesus who now addresses you in the inviting language of love, will then speak to you with the voice of terror, and "swear in his wrath, that you shall never enter into his rest; that you shall never taste of his supper," the rich provision which he has made for the eternal entertainment of his guests. "When once the Master of the house is risen up, and hath shut to the door," you will in vain stand without, and knock for admission.

In a word, *Now* he declares by his servants that "all things are ready," and all that are bidden shall be welcome upon their coming in, to be partakers of the benefit. The blood of Christ is now ready to cleanse you from all your guilt and pollution; his righteousness is now ready to adorn your naked souls with the garment of salvation; his Spirit is now ready to take possession of you, and make you eternal monuments of victorious and redeeming grace. "The Spirit and the bride say, Come; and whosoever of the lost and perishing sons of Adam will, let him come," and participate of the blessings of the gospel "freely, without money, and without price." The arms of everlasting mercy are open to receive you; the treasures of divine grace are open to supply your wants; and every one of you that now sincerely accepts this gracious invitation, shall hereafter be admitted "to sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven."

For which, God of his infinite mercy prepares us all, through Jesus Christ: to whom be glory and dominion world without end. Amen.

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APPENDIX,

Containing a short Account of the Endeavours that have been used by the Missionaries of the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge, to introduce the Gospel among the Indians upon the Borders of New-York, &c.

THE deplorable state of the Indians in these parts of America, having been represented to the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian knowledge; the said Society cheerfully came to the proposal of maintaining two missionaries among these miserable Pagans, to endeavour their conversion "from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God;" and sent their commission to some ministers and other gentlemen here to act as their Correspondents, in providing, directing and inspecting the mission.

As soon as the Correspondents were thus authorised, they immediately looked out for two candidates of the evangelical ministry, whose zeal for the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom, and whose compassion for poor perishing souls, would prompt them to such an exceeding difficult and self-denying undertaking. They first prevailed with Mr. Azariah Horton to relinquish a call to an encouraging parish, and to devote himself to the Indian service. He was directed to Long-Island, in August 1741, at the east end of which are two small towns of the Indians, and from the east to the west end of the island, lesser companies settled at a few miles distance from one another, for the length of above a hundred miles.—

At his first coming among them he was well received by most, and heartily welcomed by some of them. Those at the east end of the island especially gave diligent and serious attention to his instructions, and were many of them put upon solemn inquiries about "what they should do to be saved." A general reformation of manners was soon observable among most of these Indians. They were serious and solemn in their attendance, upon both public and private instructions. A number of them were under very deep convictions of their miserable perishing state; and about twenty of them give lasting evidences of their saving conversion to God. Mr. Horton has baptized thirty five adults, and forty four children. He took pains to learn them to read; and

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some of them have made considerable proficiency. But the extensiveness of his charge, and the necessity of his travelling from place to place, makes him incapable of giving so constant attendance to their instruction in reading as is needful. In his last letter to the Correspondents, he complains of a great *defection* from their first reformation and care about their souls, occasioned by strong drink being brought among them, and their being thereby allured to a relapse into their darling vice of drukenness: a vice to which the Indians are every where so greatly addicted, and so vehemently disposed, that nothing but the power of divine grace can restrain that impetuous lust, when they have opportunity to gratify it.

He likewise complains that some of them are grown more careless and remiss in the duties of religious worship, than they were when first acquainted with the great things of their eternal peace. But as a number retain their first impressions, and as they generally attend with reverence upon his ministry, he goes on with encouraging hopes of the presence and blessing of God with him in his difficult undertaking.

This is a general view of the state of the mission upon Long-Island, collected from several of Mr. Horton's letters; which is all that could now be offered, not having as yet a particular account from Mr. Horton himself.

It was some time after Mr. Horton was employed in the Indian service, before the Correspondents could obtain another qualified candidate for this self-denying mission. At length they prevailed with Mr. David Brainerd, to refuse several invitations to places where he had a promising prospect of a comfortable settlement among the English, to encounter the fatigues and perils that must attend his carrying the gospel of Christ to these poor miserable savages. A general representation of his conduct and success in that undertaking, is contained in a letter we lately received from himself, which is as follows.

To the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton.

Rev. Sir,

SINCE you are pleased to require of me some brief and general account of my conduct in the affair of my mission amongst the Indians, the pains and endeavours I have used to propagate Christian knowledge among them, the difficul-

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ties I have met with in pursuance of that great work, and the hopeful and encouraging appearances I have observed in any of them; I shall now endeavour to answer your demands, by giving a brief but faithful account of the most material things relating to that important affair, with which I have been and am still concerned. And this I shall do with more freedom and cheerfulness, both because I apprehend it will be a likely means to give pious persons, who are concerned for the kingdom of Christ, some just apprehension of the difficulties that attend the propagation of it amongst the poor Pagans; and it is hoped, will engage their more frequent and fervent prayers to God, that those may be succeeded who are employed in this arduous work; and also because I persuade myself, that the tidings of the gospel's spreading among the poor Heathen, will be to those who are waiting for the accomplishment of the "glorious things spoken of the city of our God," as "good news from a far country;" and that *these* will be so far from "despising the day of small things," that on the contrary, the least dawn of encouragement and hope in this important affair, will rather inspire their pious breasts with warmer desires, that "the kingdoms of this world may speedily become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ."

I shall therefore immediately proceed to the business before me, and briefly touch upon the most important matters concerning my mission, from the beginning to this present time.

On March 15, 1743, I waited on the Correspondents for the Indian mission at New-York; and the week following attended their meeting at Woodbridge in New-Jersey, and was speedily dismissed by them with orders to attempt the instruction of a number of Indians in a place some miles distant from the city of Albany. On the first of April following I arrived among the Indians, at a place called by them Kaunaumeek, in the county of Albany, about twenty miles distant from the city eastward.

The place was sufficiently lonesome and unpleasant, being encompassed with mountains and woods, twenty miles distant from any English inhabitants; six or seven from any Dutch, and more than two from a family that came some time since from the Highlands of Scotland, and had then lived about two years in this wilderness. In this family I

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lodged about the space of three months, the master of it being the only person with whom I could readily converse in those parts, except my Interpreter; others understanding very little English.

After I had spent about three months in this situation, I found my distance from the Indians a very great disadvantage to my work amongst them, and very burdensome to myself. I was obliged to travel forward and backward almost daily on foot, having no pasture in which I could keep a horse for that purpose. After all my pains, I could not be with the Indians in the evening and morning, which were usually the best hours to find them at home, and when they could best attend my instructions. I therefore resolved to remove, and live with or near the Indians, that I might watch all opportunities, when they were generally at home, and take the advantage of such seasons for their instruction. I accordingly removed soon after; and for a time, lived with them in one of their *wigwams*. I then built a small house, where I spent the remainder of that year entirely alone; my interpreter, who was an Indian, choosing rather to live in a wigwam among his own countrymen.

This way of living was attended with many difficulties. I found myself in a place where I could get none of the necessaries and common comforts of life; no, not so much as a morsel of bread, but what I brought from places fifteen and twenty miles distant; and was often obliged for some time together to content myself without, for want of an opportunity to procure the things I needed. But though the difficulties of this solitary way of living are not the least, or most inconsiderable, (and doubtless are in fact many more and greater to those who *experience*, than they can readily *appear* to those who only view them at a distance;) yet I can truly say, that the burden I felt respecting my *great work* among the poor Indians, the fear and concern lest they should be prejudised against Christianity, and their minds embittered against me and my labours among them, by means of the insinuations of some who though they are called Christians, seem to have no concern for Christ's kingdom, but had rather that the Indians should remain Heathens, that they may with the more ease cheat, and so enrich themselves by them;—I say, the fear and concern I felt in these respects were much more pressing to me,

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than all the difficulties that attended the circumstances of my living.

As to the state or temper of mind in which I found these Indians, at my first coming among them, I may justly say, it was much more desirable and encouraging than what appears among those who are altogether uncultivated. Their heathenish jealousies and suspicion, and their prejudices against Christianity, were in a great measure removed by the long-continued labours of the Rev. Mr. Sargeant among a number of the same tribe, in a place little more than twenty miles distant. The Indians were in some good degree prepared to entertain the truths of Christianity, instead of objecting against them, and appearing almost entirely untractable, as is common with them at first, and as perhaps these appeared a few years ago. Some of them at least appeared very well disposed toward religion, and were much pleased with my coming among them.

In order "to turn them from darkness to light," I studied what was most plain and easy, and best suited to their capacities. I endeavoured to set before them from time, as they were able to receive them, the most important and necessary truths of Christianity; such as immediately concerned their conversion to God, and such as I judged had the greatest tendency to effect that glorious change in them. Especially I made it the scope and drift of all my labours, to lead them into a thorough acquaintance with these two things. *First*, The sinfulness and misery of their state by nature; the evil of their hearts, the heavy guilt they were under, and their exposedness to everlasting punishment; also their utter inability to save themselves, either from their sins or from those miseries which are the just punishment of them; their unworthiness of any mercy at the hand of God, on account of any thing they themselves could do to procure his favour, and consequently their extreme need of Christ to save them.

Secondly, I frequently endeavoured to open to them the *fulness*, *all-sufficiency* and *freeness* of that *redemption*, which the Son of God has wrought out by his obedience and sufferings for perishing sinners; how this provision was suited to all their wants; and how he called and invited them to accept of everlasting life freely, notwithstanding all their sinfulness, inability and unworthiness.

After I had been with the Indians several months, I com-

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posed some Forms of Prayer, adapted to their circumstances and capacities; which with the help of my interpreter, I translated into the Indian language; and soon learned to pronounce their words, so as to pray with them in their own tongue. I also translated several Psalms into their language, and soon after we were able to sing in the worship of God. When the people had gained some acquaintance with the truths of Christianity, so that they were capable of receiving and understanding many others, which at first could not be taught them, by reason of their ignorance of those that were necessarily to be previously known, and upon which others depended; I then gave them an Historical account of God's dealings with his ancient professing people the Jews; some of the rites and ceremonies they were obliged to observe, as their sacrifices, *&c.*; and what these were designed to represent; also some of the surprising miracles God wrought for their salvation, while they trusted in him, and the sore punishments he sometimes brought upon them, when they forsook and sinned against him. Afterwards I proceeded to give them a relation of the birth, life, miracles, sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ; as well as his ascension, and the wonderful effusion of the holy Spirit consequent upon it.

Having thus endeavoured to prepare the way by such a general account of things, I next proceeded to read and expound to them the gospel of St. Matthew, at least the substance of it, which afforded them a more distinct and particular view of what they had before learned. These expositions I attended almost every evening, when there was any considerable number of them at home; except when I was obliged to be absent myself, in order to learn the Indian language with the Rev. Mr. Sargeant. There was likewise an English School constantly kept by my interpreter among the Indians; which I used frequently to visit, in order to give the children and young people some instructions and exhortations suited to their age.

The degree of knowledge to which some of them attained, was considerable. Many of the truths of Christianity seemed fixed in their minds, especially in some instances; so that they would speak to me of them, and ask such questions about them, as were necessary to render them more plain and clear to their understandings. Some of the children also

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and young people who attended the school, made considerable proficiency in their learning; so that had they understood the English language well, they would have been able to read somewhat readily in a psalter.

But that which was most of all desirable, and gave me the greatest encouragement amidst many difficulties and disconsolate hours was, that the truths of God's word seemed at times to be attended with some power upon the hearts and consciences of the Indians. This appeared evident in a few instances, in which some were awakened to a sense of their miserable state by nature, and appeared solicitous for deliverance from it. Several came of their own accord to discourse with me about their souls; and others with tears inquired, "what they should do to be saved;" and whether the God that Christians served, would be merciful to those that had been frequently drunk? And though I cannot say, I have satisfactory evidence of their being "renewed in the spirit of their mind," and savingly converted to God; yet the Spirit of God did in such a manner attend the means of grace, and so operate upon their minds as to afford encouragement to hope that God designed good to them, and that he was preparing his way into their souls.

There likewise appeared a reformation in the lives and manners of the Indians. Their idolatrous sacrifices, of which there was but one or two, that I know of, after my coming among them, were wholly laid aside, as well as their heathenish custom of dancing, hallooing, &c. And I could not but hope, that they were reformed in some measure from the sin of drunkenness. They likewise manifested a regard to the Lord's day; and not only behaved soberly themselves, but took care also to keep their children in order. Yet after all I must confess, that as there were many hopeful appearances among them, so there were some things more discouraging. And while I rejoiced to observe any serious concern among them about their souls, still I was not without continual fear and concern, lest such encouraging appearances might prove "like a morning-cloud that passeth away."

When I had spent near a year with the Indians, I informed them that I expected to leave them in the spring then approaching, and to be sent to another tribe of Indians at a great distance. On hearing this they appeared very sorrow-

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ful, and some of them endeavoured to persuade me to continue with them; urging that they had now heard so much about their souls' concerns, that they could never more be willing to live as they had done without a minister, and further instructions in the way to heaven. I told them they ought to be willing that others also should hear the gospel, seeing they needed it as much as themselves. Yet further to dissuade me from going, they added, that those Indians, to whom I had thoughts of going, as they had heard, were not willing to become Christians as they were, and therefore urged me to tarry with them. I then told them that they might receive further instruction without me; but the Indians to whom I expected to be sent could not, there being no minister near to teach them. I then advised them, in case I should leave them and be sent elsewhere, to remove to Stockbridge, where they might be supplied with land and conveniences of living, and be under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Sargeant. They seemed disposed to comply with this advice.

On April 6. 1744, I was directed by the Correspondents for the Indian mission to take leave of the people, with whom I had then spent a full year, and to go as soon as convenient to a tribe of Indians on Delaware river in Pennsylvania. On the 29th I took my leave of the people, who were mostly removed to Stockbridge, under the care of the Rev. Mr. Sargeant. I then set out on my journey toward Delaware; and on May 10th, met with a number of Indians in a place called Minnissinks, about a hundred and forty miles from Kaunaumeek, the place where I spent the last year, and directly in my way to Delaware river. With these Indians I spent some time, and first addressed their *king* in a friendly manner. After some discourse, and attempts to contract a friendship with him, I told him I had a desire, for his benefit and happiness, to instruct them in Christianity. He laughed at it, turned his back upon me, and went away. I then addressed another principal man in the same manner, who said he was willing to hear me. After some time I followed the king into his house, and renewed my discourse to him; but he declined talking, and left the affair to another, who appeared to be a rational man. He began and talked very warmly near a quarter of an hour. He inquired why I desired the Indians to become Christians, seeing the Chris-

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tians were so much worse than the Indians. The Christians, he said, would lie, steal and drink, worse than the Indians. It was they who first taught the Indians to be drunk: and they stole from one another to that degree, that their rulers were obliged to hang them for it, and yet it was not sufficient to deter others from the like practice. But the Indians, he added, were none of them ever hanged for stealing, and yet they did not steal half so much; and he supposed that if the Indians should become Christians, they would then be as bad as these. They would live as their fathers lived, and go where their fathers were when they died. I then freely owned, lamented, and joined with him in condemning the ill conduct of some who are called Christians: told him, these were not Christians in heart; that I hated such wicked practices, and did not desire the Indians to become such as these. When he appeared calmer, I asked him if he was willing that I should come and see them again: he replied, he should be willing to see me again as a friend, if I would not desire them to become Christians. I then bid them farewel, and prosecuted my journey toward Delaware. On May 13th I arrived at a place called by the Indians, Sakhauwotung, within the Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania.

Here also, when I came to the Indians, I saluted their king, and others, in a manner I thought most engaging; and soon after informed the king of my desire to instruct them in the Christian religion. After he had consulted a few minutes with two or three old men, he told me he was willing to hear. I then preached to the few that were present; they appeared very attentive, and well disposed. The king in particular seemed both to wonder, and at the same time to be well pleased with what I taught them, respecting the divine Being, &c. Since that time he has ever shewn himself friendly, giving me free liberty to preach in his house, whenever I think fit.—Here therefore I have spent the greater part of the summer past, preaching usually in the king's house.

The number of Indians in this place is but small; most of those that formerly dwelt here are dispersed, and removed to places farther back in the country. There are not more than ten houses that continue to be inhabited; and some of these are several miles distant from others, which makes it difficult for the Indians to meet together so frequently as could be wished.

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When I first began to preach here, the number of hearers was very small; often not exceeding twenty or twenty-five; but towards the latter part of the summer their number increased, so that I have frequently had forty persons or more at once. The effects of God's word upon some of the Indians in this place, are somewhat encouraging. Several of them are brought to renounce idolatry, and to decline partaking of those feasts which they used to offer in sacrifice to certain unknown powers. Some few among them have for a considerable time manifested a serious concern about their eternal welfare, and still continue to "inquire the way to Zion" with such diligence, affection and becoming solicitude, as gives me reason to hope, that "God who (I trust) has begun this work in them," will carry it on until it shall issue in their conversion to himself. These not only detest their old idolatrous notions, but strive also to bring their friends off from them: and as they are seeking salvation for their own souls, so they seem desirous that others might be excited to do the same.

In July last I heard of a number of Indians residing at a place called Kauksesauchung, more than thirty miles westward from the place where I usually preach. I visited them, found about thirty persons, and proposed to preach to them. They readily complied, and I preached to them only twice, they being just then removing from this place, where they only lived for the present, to Susquahannah-river where they belonged.

While I was preaching they appeared sober and attentive, and were somewhat surprised, having never before heard of these things. Two or three, who suspected that I had some ill design upon them, urged that the white people had abused them, and taken their lands from them; and therefore they had no reason to think that they were now concerned for their happiness; but on the contrary, that they designed to make them slaves, or get them on board their vessels, and make them fight with the people over the water, as they expressed it, meaning the French and Spaniards. However, most of them appeared very friendly, and told me they were then going directly home to Susquahannah. They desired I would make them a visit there, and manifested a considerable desire of farther instruction. This invitation gave me some encouragement in my great work, and made me hope

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that God designed to "open an effectual door" for spreading the gospel among the poor heathen farther westward.

In the beginning of October last, with the advice and direction of the Correspondents for the Indian mission, I undertook a journey to Susquahannah. After three days tedious travel, two of them through a wilderness almost unpassable by reason of mountains and rocks, and two nights lodging in the open wilderness, I came to an Indian settlement on the side of Susquahannah-river, called Opeholhaupung. Here were twelve Indian houses, and about seventy souls, old and young, belonging to them. Here also, soon after my arrival, I visited the king; addressing him with expressions of kindness, and informing him of my desire to teach them the knowledge of Christianity. He hesitated not long before he told me, that he was willing to hear. I then preached; and continued there several days, preaching every day, as long as the Indians were at home. And they in order to hear me, deferred the design of their general hunting, which they were just then entering upon, for the space of three or four days.

The men, I think, universally, except one, attended my preaching. The women, supposing the affair to be of a public nature, belonging only to the men, and not what every individual person should concern himself with, could not readily be persuaded to come and hear: but, after much pains used with them for that purpose, some few ventured to come and stand at a distance.

When I had preached to the Indians several times, some of them very frankly proposed what they had to object against Christianity; and so gave me a fair opportunity for using my best endeavours to remove from their minds those scruples and jealousies they laboured under. When I had endeavoured to answer their objections, some appeared much satisfied. I then asked the king whether he was willing I should visit and preach to them again, if I should live to the next spring. He replied, he should be heartily willing for his own part, and wished the young people would learn, *&c.* I then put the same question to the rest: some answered they should be very glad, and none manifested any dislike to it.

Other things in their behaviour appeared comfortable and encouraging. Upon the whole I could not but rejoice that I had taken the journey among them, though it was attended

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with many difficulties and hardships. The instructions I gave them tended in some measure to remove their heathenish jealousies and prejudices against Christianity; and I could not but hope that the God of all grace was preparing their minds to receive "the truth as it is in Jesus." If this may be the happy consequence, I shall not only rejoice in my past labours and fatigues; but shall I trust also "be willing to spend and be spent," if I may thereby be instrumental "to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God."

Thus, Sir, I have given you a faithful account of what has been most considerable respecting my mission among the Indians; in which I have studied all convenient brevity. I shall only now take leave to add a word or two respecting the *difficulties* that attend the Christianizing of these poor Pagans.

In the first place, their minds are filled with prejudices against Christianity, on account of the vicious lives and unchristian behaviour of some that are called Christians. These not only set before them the worst examples, but some of them take pains, expressly in words, to dissuade them from becoming Christians; foreseeing, that if these should be converted to God, the hope of their unlawful gain would thereby be lost.

Again, these poor heathens are extremely attached to the customs, traditions, and fabulous notions of their fathers. And this one seems to be the foundation of all their other notions, *viz.* that "it was not the same God made them, who made the white people," but another, who commanded them to live by hunting, *&c.* and not conform to the customs of the white people. Hence when they are desired to become Christians, they frequently reply, that "they will live as their fathers lived, and go to their fathers when they die." If the miracles of Christ and his apostles be mentioned, to prove the truth of Christianity; they also mention miracles which their fathers told them were anciently wrought among the Indians, and which Satan makes them believe were so.—They are much attached to idolatry; frequently making feasts, which they eat in honour to some unknown beings, who they suppose speak to them in dreams; promising them success in hunting and other affairs, in case they will sacri-

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fice to them. They also offer sacrifices to the spirits of the dead; who, they suppose, stand in need of favours from the living, and yet are in such a state as that they can well reward all the offices of kindness that are shewn them. And they impute all their calamities to the neglect of these sacrifices.

Furthermore, they are much awed by those among themselves, who are called powwows, who are supposed to have a power of inchanting, or poisoning them to death, or at least in a very distressing manner; and they apprehend it would be their sad fate to be thus inchanted, in case they should become Christians.

Lastly, Their manner of living is likewise a great disadvantage to the design of their being Christianized. They are almost continually roving from place to place; and it is but rare that an opportunity can be had with some of them for their instruction. There is scarce any time of the year in which the men can be found generally at home, except about six weeks before and in the season of planting their corn, and about two months in the latter part of summer, from the time they begin to roast their corn, until it is fit to gather in.

As to the hardships that necessarily attend a mission among them, the fatigues of frequent journeying in the wilderness, the unpleasantness of a mean and hard way of living, and the great difficulty of addressing a "people of a strange language," these I shall at present pass over in silence; designing what I have already said of difficulties attending this work, not for the discouragement of any, but rather for the incitement of all, who "love the appearing and kingdom of Christ," to frequent the throne of grace with earnest supplications, that the Heathen, who were anciently promised to Christ "for his inheritance," may now actually and speedily be brought into his kingdom of grace, and made heirs of immortal glory. I am,

Sir,

Your obedient, humble servant,

DAVID BRAINERD.

Forks of Delaware in Pennsylvania, Nov. 5, 1744.

P. S. It should have been observed in the preceding account, that although the number of Indians in the place I visited on Susquahannah-river, in October last is but small,

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yet their numbers, in the adjacent places are very considerable; who it is hoped might be brought to embrace Christianity by the example of others. But being at present somewhat more savage, and unacquainted with the English, than these I visited, I thought it not best to make my first attempts among them; hoping I might hereafter be better introduced to them by means of these. Several of the neighbouring settlements are much larger than this: so that there are, probably, several hundreds of the Indians not many miles distant. D. B.

FINIS.

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