

The Light appearing more and more to-
wards the perfect Day.

O R,

A farther Discovery of the present state
of the *I N D I A N S*

I N

New-England,

Concerning the Progresse of the *Gospel*
amongst them.

Manifested by Letters from such as preacht
to them there.

Published by *Henry Whitfeld*, late Pastor to the
Church of Christ at *Gilford* in *New-England*, who
came late thence.

*Zeph. 2. 11. The Lord will famish all the gods of the earth, and men
shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the Iles of the
Heathen.*

London, Printed by *T. R. & E. M.* for *John Bartlet*, and are to be
sold at the *Gilt Cup*, near *St. Austins gate* in *Pauls*
Church-yard. 1651.



To the Right Honorable
THE
PARLIAMENT
OF
England
And the
COUNCEL of STATE.

Right Honorable,

H*ow abundantly the Lord hath enlarged the hearts, and raised the resolutions of this present Parliament to serve him, the many good things, and great things done by you, sufficiently witness, and will be acknowledged, at least in another generation. It is not the smallest in the eyes of those that look up to God for you, both in Old England and New, that you have so readily contributed your power, upon the first notice of the manifestation of Gods gracious work upon the Indians, by an Act published by you, for promoting the same.*

In order whereunto I crave leave in all humility to
retire

The Epistle Dedicatory.

represent (*having lived some yeers in the Countrey, and lately came thence*) how happily the Lord carrieth on his work there, which I have done in this small Treatise following.

And for your more full satisfaction, give leave to remove such false surmises and aspersions, suggested on purpose to retaed the work. Some are heard to question the affections of New-England towards the Parliament, and present state; To which I must answer, that the Magistrates, Ministers, and generally the people of New-England, so farre as I know or have observed, or can learn, have been faithful and cordial to the Parliament from the first, and do own this present Government, and Common-wealth, giving in this as a reall argument, in being your Honours Remembrancers at the throne of grace, both praying to God for you in your straits, and praising God for the enlargement of his good hand upon you. Others endeavour more directly to prejudice the work, by suggesting that the charity of the wel-affected hath been abused, in that there is no such work, or that there is a greater noise made of it in the world then there is cause; To this I can safely answer, that there hath been, I beleeve in no mans observation, greater faithfulness found in any businesse, both for truth of relation in what hath passed, or disposing what hath been contributed; the persons that are concerned in it, whether they be the Corporation established by you, or that have the managing of it

The Epistle Dedicatory.

in New-England, being persons of known integrity, and much honoured of all that know them, in this very respect; Most of these accounts I have seen, both what monies have been received and disbursed, both what, how, and to whom. These also are ready to give your Honours satisfaction about this, if need require, and it will be an ease, and an honour to them to be called to such an account.

And now the way being thus cleared, I proceed to make it my humble request to your Honours, that you would be pleased to accept of this my humble acknowledgment, and thankful remembrance of what you have already done; and that it would not be troublesome to you to be intreated, and stirred up by my meanness, to proceed in the continuance of your favour, as to the whole Country, so especially towards this work, that your hands may be still held up to the farther advance, and perfecting these happy beginnings. And as you have given it feet, so you would give it wings, that it may get above all difficulties, which may be cast in the way. Truly the work is honorable, and worthy your care, and inmost affections, and to be laid in your bosomes, that it may feel the warmth and influence of your favour, and best respects, it tending so much to the good of the souls of these poor wild creatures, multitudes of them being under the power of Satan, and going up and downe with the chains of darknesse rattling at their beels. This I may also say for your Honours encouragement, there is

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ly, there being more persons, and places which have received the Gospel amongst them. Our Lord Christ and his truth gets ground, and the Devil loseth, they daily break from him, and renounce him, and all his cursed works of darknesse, as you will find in this following Narrative. And lastly, let me adde but this, The Lord hath given the uttermost ends of the earth to Jesus Christ for his inheritance, let therefore your hands go on (Noble Worthies) to help him in taking the possession of his own, who hath kept you in yours with an out-stretched arme. But I shall be no farther troublesome to your Honours; The most wise and strong God; for Christs sake, strengthen your hearts and hands, sit amongst you in your daily assemblings, and help you to guide the Ship of this Common-wealth, under your care, in these tossing and troublesome times, that there may be peace and safety found for such as are quiet in the Land; and let me have the favour to be looked upon by you, as

Your Honours to serve you

in the things of Jesus Christ;

Henry Whitfeld.



HHe Lord, *who is wonderful in Council, and excellent in working*, hath so wrought, that the scorching of some of *his people* with the *Sun of persecution*, hath been the enlightning of those who were *not his people*, with the *Sun of righteousness*. This present Narrative gives testimony, That our dear Brethren who withdraw from the heat of trouble in *Old England*, have been used as Instruments in the Lords hand to draw some (I might say many) of the poor Heathens to behold and rejoyce in the light of the everlasting Gospel in *New-England*. Surely 'tis cause of greater glorying that any of thoe Heathens have found the way of life and salvation among our brethren, then that our brethren have found place and safety (yea, then though they should finde the richest merchandize of gold and silver) among those Heathens. And how much doth it become Christians to let Heathens see that they seek *them* more then *theirs*; That the gaining of them to Christ is more in their eye, then any worldly gain.

Joseph Caryl.



Christian Reader.



Have adventured to put this *small Treatise* in thy hand, and to give some account of the publishing of it, conceiving it a means to advance that common comfort, which all good Christians do share in with the Angels of heaven, about the conversion of sinners to God. This will appear by shewing there is a doore of hope opened for the poore Indians, of whom it may be thou hast not yet heard; I thought also by relating the truth of things, as they stand at present, concerning the Indians you have heard of, and Gods dealing with them, I might undeceive such as are either apt, or do believe, that things reported of them are but a fable, and a device or engine used by some to cheat good people of their money, and so discourage them from yeelding any help towards this great work. The Lord forgive them this great sinne, that have raised these evill reports.

Understand therefore (good Reader) that my selfe intending (by Gods help) my returne into my native Countrey; It pleased the Lord by his providence, before we could come to the place where we were to take ship for England, that, by reason of contrary winds, we were faine to put in at an Iland called *Martins Vineyard*, which is the most Southerly Iland that lies in that tract of Land called *New England*. Some call it Marthaes Vineyard. where there is a small Plantation, and a Church gathered, where we stayed about ten dayes, in which time I had the more leasure and opportunity to informe my selfe of the state of the Indians there; having heard formerly that divers of them began to taste the knowledge of Christ: For this end I had recourse to Mr. Mahu, who is the Pastor of the Church, and having attained a good understanding in the Indian tongue, and can speak it well, hath laid the first foundation of the knowledge of Christ amongst the Indians there by preaching unto them; who gave me full information of what I desired. I had also speech with some of the Indians (Mr. Mahu being my Interpreter.) Above the rest my desire was to speak with the Indian who now preacheth unto them every Lords day twice, whose name is *Hiacoomes*, who seemed to me to be a man of a prompt understanding, of a sober and moderate spirit, and a

man well reported of for his conversation both by the English and Indians. I thought him to be about 30 yeers of age; with this man I had often speech, and I asked him divers questions about Christian Religion, and about his own estate before God. I remember once I asked him these questions. 1. Whether he had found sorrow for sin, as sin. 2. Whether he had sorrowed for his sins as they had pierced Christ. 3. Whether he had found the Spirit of God as an inward comforter to him; Vnto all which he gave me a very good satisfactory and Christian answer. After this I had the opportunity to go to a private meeting of the Indians (of which you shall understand more in the Letter following) with Mr. Mahu, where having spent three or foure houres in Questions and Answers, which passed too and fro between the Indians and my self; at our parting I desired that one of them would desire a blessing upon what they had heard for their edification, which was accordingly done; for they chose out a young man who prayed a quarter of an houre, and somewhat more, with great reverence and affection, as farre as I could judge by his voyce and outward deportment: Master Mahu also told me that he had many pertinent and significant expressions in his prayer; so that God hath poured on some of them the gift, and I hope the spirit of prayer.

The next day we rode to the Indian Lecture, where Mr. Mahu preached and catechised their children, who answered readily and modestly in the Princip'es of Religion; some of them answered in the English, some in the Indian tongue. Thus having seen a short model of his way, and of the paines he took, I made some enquiry about Mr. Mahu himself, and about his subsistence, because I saw but small and slender appearance of outward conveniences of life, in any comfortable way; the man himself was modest, and I could get but little from him; but after, I understood from others how short things went with him, and how he was many times forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children which depended upon him, to provide necessaries for them; having not halfe so much yeerly coming in, in a settled way, as an ordinary labourer gets there amongst them. Yet he is chearfull amidst these straits, and none hear him to complain: The truth is, he will not leave the work, in which his heart is engaged; for upon my knowledge, if he would have left the work, and imployed himself otherwhere, he might have had a more competent and comfortable maintenance. I mention this the rather, because I have some hope, that some pious minde, that reads this, might be inwardly moved to consider his condition, and come to his succor for his encouragement in this great

At my parting from this Iland I desired Mr. Mahu that he would take the pains to write me the Story of Gods dealing with the Indians, from the first time of their coming thither, to this present time; which he accordingly did, and I received before my going out of the Countrey; which Letter of his to me, finding many remarkable passages in it, I thought fit to publish it, that the Lord might have the glory of his free grace, in regard of these poor Heathens who seeme to be the dregs and refuse of Adams lost posterity; and to put an edge upon the prayers and prayes of Gods people, the fruit of which will returne into their owne bosomes. And if there be a right set of spirit in you, you will blesse God for such as present such kinde of matter to you, and do put an opportunity into your hands, whereby you may any way be instrumental to promote the Kingdome of our Lord Christ.

The Letter written with his own hand followeth.

S I R,



YOu being by especial providence of God, brought amongst us, and while you were here looking into the present mercy of God that these Indians were blessed with, you found an occasion farther to enquire what the former dispensations of God have bene to bring them hitherto. Now assuring my self that it is from your desire that the Lord may be glorified in the salvation of these poor Indian souls, I shall, by the assistance of God, declare the truth, and that which shall, by his grace, administer also a ground of prayer to be put unto the God of all blessings in Jesus Christ for us; and I hope, unto any, whom the Lord shall call to the like service, a blessed experience of the Lords workings, turning all things, yea seeming hindrances, to the furtherance of the work of grace amongst them.

Now for your satisfaction you may please to know that this work amongst the Indians had its first rise and beginning in the yeere 1643. When the Lord stirred up the heart of an Indian, who then lived neer to the English Plantation, whose name is *Hiacoomes*, a man of a sad & a sober spirit, unto whose *W. wam* or house some of the English repairing, & speaking to him about the way of the English, he came to visit our habitations and publike meetings,

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thinking that there might be better wayes and means amongst the English, for the attaining of the blessings of health and life, then could be found amongst themselves: Yet not without some thoughts and hopes of a higher good he might possibly gain thereby; at which time I took notice of him, and had oft discourse with him, inviting him to my house every Lords day at night. About this time it so fell out, that this Indian went with some English men to a little Island, where meeting a surly *Sagamore* whose name was *Pake Ponesso*, who reproached him for his fellowship with the English, both in their civil and religious wayes, railing at him for his being obedient to them: *Hiacomes* replied that he was gladly obedient to the English, neither was it for the Indians hurt he did so; Upon which the *Sagamore* gave him a great blow on the face with his hand; but there being some English men present, they would not suffer the *Sagamore* to strike him again. The poor Indian thus wronged, made this use of it, and said, *I had one hand for injures, and the other for God; while I did receive wrong with the one, the other laid the greater hold on God.*

There was a very strange disease this yeare amongst the Indians, they did run up and down till they could run no longer, they made their faces as black as a coale, snatched up any weapon, spake great words, but did no hurt; I have seen many of them in this case. The Indians having many calamities fallen upon them, they laid the cause of all their wants, sicknesses, and death, upon their departing from their old heathenish ways, only this man held out, and continued his care about the things of God: and being desirous to read, the English gave him a Primer, which he still carries about with him.

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Now whilst *Hiacomes* was feeling after God, he met with another tryall; for going into an Indian house where there were many Indians, they scoffed at him with great laughter, saying, *Here comes the English man, who by their noyse awaked his old enemy Pakeponesso, who was asleep, who joyning with the other Indians, told him, I wonder (said he) that you that are a young man, having a wife and two children, should love the English and their wayes, and forsake the Pawwames; what would you do if any of you should be sick? whither would you go for help? I say, if I were in your case there should nothing draw me from our gods and Pawwames.* At this time he replied nothing, but told a friend of his that he then thought in his heart that the God in heaven did know and heare

all the evill words that *Pakeponeſſo* ſpoke. Thus the changing of his way cauſed much hatred to him, neither was there ſo much as the leaſt appearance of any outward argument amongſt us, that might weigh againſt it.

After this there fell a great judgment of God on this Sagamore; for in the night when he and his company were in the *Wigwam, it beginning to raine, he and a young man ſtood up upon the floor of planks which lay about two foot from the ground, to put a Matt over the Chimnie, there came a great flaſh of lightning, and after it thunder not very loud, yet full of the vengeance of God, which killed the young man out-right, and ſtrook *Pakeponeſſo* down dead for a long time, and he fell off from the floore of planks along upon the ground with one legge in the fire, and being much burned, it was took out by ſome that lay in the other ſide of the Indian houſe. Now *Hiacoomes* as himſelf ſaith) did remember his former thoughts of God, and then thought God did answer him, and that he was brought more to rejoyce in God, and reſt more upon him.

Now in theſe times, as I did endeavour the good of theſe Heathens by diſcourſe with diſverſe of them, ſo in particular with *Hiacoomes*. who did communicate that knowledge he had amongſt thoſe he could; for ſome of them could not endure the light he brought; ſome were more attentive to hear, and more ready to follow the truth, yet they did not well behold the Majeſty of the Lord by theſe perſonal particular works; at laſt the Lord ſent an univerſal ſicknes, and it was obſerved by the Indians, that they that did but give the hearing of good counſel, did not taſte ſo deeply of it, but *Hiacoomes* and his family in a manner not at all. This put the Indians who dwell about ſix miles from us, upon ferious conſideration of the thing, being much affected, that he which had expoſed himſelf to ſuch reproaches and troubles, ſhould receive more bleſſings then themſelves; hereupon they ſent a meſſenger to *Hiacoomes*, who was with him about the break of day, and delivering his meſſage, told him that he was come to pray him to go preiently to *Myoxeo* the chief man of that place, and he ſhould have a reward for his labour; for the Indians were very deſirous to know from him all things that he knew, and did, in the wayes of God; ſo he being glad of the opportunity, went with the meſſenger, and when he came, there were many Indians gathered together, amongſt which was *Toranquatick* the Sagamore;

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then after many requests (the general whereof was this, that he would shew his heart unto them, how it stood towards God, and what they must do) he shewed unto them all things he knew concerning God the Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost; *Myoxeo* asking him how many Gods the English did worship, he answered one God, whereupon *Myoxeo* reckoned up about 37. principal gods he had, and shall I (said he) throw away these 37. gods for one? *Hiacoomes* replied, what do you think of your self? I have throwne away all these, and a great many more some yeers ago, yet am preserved as you see this day; you speak true said *Myoxeo*; therefore I will throw away all my gods too, and serve that one God with you. *Hiacoomes* told them all, he did fear this great God only, and also in a speciall manner that the Son of God did suffer death to satisfie the wrath of God his Father, for all those that did trust in him, and forsake their sinnes, and that the spirit of God did work these things in the hearts of men, and that himself did feare this great God only, was sorry for his sinnes, desiring to be redeemed by Jesus Christ, and to walk in Gods commandments; this, with many truths more he shewed unto them. As *Adams* transgression, and the misery of the world by it, and did conclude, that if they had such hearts as he, they should have the same mercies. He reckoned up to them many of their sins, as having many gods, going to Pawwawes; and *Hiacoomes* told me himself, that this was the first time that ever he saw the Indians sensible of their sins; formerly they did but hear it as a new thing, but not so nearly concerning them, for they were exceeding thankful, saying, also *now we have seen our sins*. Thus it pleased the Lord to give both light and courage to this poore Indian; for although formerly he had been a harmlesse man amongst them, yet, as themselves say, not at all accounted of, and therefore they often wondered that he which had nothing to say in all their meetings formerly, is now become the Teacher of them all; I must needs give him this testimony, after some yeers experience of him, that he is a man of a sober spirit, and good conversation, and as he hath, as I hope, received the Lord Jesus Christ in truth, so also I look upon him to be faithful, diligent, and constant in the work of the Lord, for the good of his own soul and his neighbours with him.

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Now, after these things it pleased God to move the heart of *Tomanquatick*, encouraged by some others amongst them, to desire me to preach unto them. At my coming, this man spake thus unto

me; That a long time ago they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge; but they are dead, and their wisdom is buried with them, and now men live a giddy life, in ignorance, till they are white headed, and though ripe in yeeres, yet then they go without wisdom to their graves. He told me that he wondered the English should be almost thirty yeeres in the Country and the Indians fools still; but he hoped the time of knowledge was now come; wherefore himself with others desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God to them in their own tongue; and when he came to me to accomplish his desire thereabout, he told me *That I should be to them as one that stands by a running river filling many vessels*, even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge; So I undertook to give them a meeting once a moneth; but as soone as the first Exercise was ended, they desired it oftner then I could well attend it, but once in a fortnight in our settled course. He hath also since told me the reason why he desired me to preach to them, as that he was greatly desirous to have the Indians grow more in goodnesse, to have their posterity inherit blessings when he was dead; and himself was desirous to put the Word of God to his heart, to repent, and throw away his sins, and to be better, and after he was dead, to inherit a life in heaven.

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Now there be three things in this beginning that were greatly inquired into. 1. Earthly riches, what they should get. 2. What approbation they should get from other Sagamores and Governors. 3. How they should come off from the Pawwawes; but in neither of these could they finde that which might give motion to a carnal minde; for the first kept off many, I have had much discourse with severall of them about it, wherein they have strongly stood for their own meetings, wayes and customes, being in their account more profitable then ours, wherein they meet with nothing but talking and praying. The second also remains an obstacle, the Sagamores generally are against the way. The third is the strongest cord that binds them to their own way, for the Pawwawes by their witchcraft keep them in feare, many of the Indians got over the two first difficulties, and in some measure the third; now there were about twelve which came to the meeting as it were halting between two opinions, others came to hear and see what was done, for although they had heard and seen something of the one God of heaven, yet such was their unspeakable dark-

ness, their captivity in sin, and bondage to the Pawwawes, that they hardly durst for feare take the best way, for though a few of them were better enlightned, yet the Heathen round about stuck fast in their old brutishnesse.

1647. We had not long continued the meeting, but the Sagamore *Towanquatick* met with a sad tryal, for he being at a Weare where some Indians were a fishing, where also was an English man, as he lay along upon a matt on the ground asleep, by a little light fire, the night being very dark, an Indian came down, as being ready fitted for the purpose, and being about six or eight paces from him, let flie a broad headed arrow, purposing by all probability to drench the deadly arrow in his heart blood, but the Lord prevented it; for notwithstanding all the advantages he had, instead of the heart he hit the eye-brow, which like a brow of steele turned the point of the arrow, which, glancing away, slit the top of his nose to the bottome. A great stire there was presently, the Sagamore fate up, and bled much, but was not much hurt through the mercy of God; the darknesse of the night hid the murtherer, and he is not discovered to this day. The next morning I went to see the Sagamore, and I found him praising God for his great deliverance, both himself and all the Indians, wondering that he was yet alive. The cause of his being shot, as the Indians said, was for his walking with the English; and it is also conceived, both by them and us, that his forwardnesse for the meeting was one thing, which (with the experience I have had of him since) gives me matter of strong perswasion that he beares in his brow the markes of the Lord Jesus.

After this, through the mercy of God, we proceeded on with the meeting, to the rejoycing of some Indians, and the envie of the rest, who derided and scoffed at those that did follow the Lecture, and in their way of wickednesse blaspheming the Name of God, which damped the spirits of some of them for a time in the wayes of God, and hindering others from locking thitherward, but the Lord gave courage and constancy to some of them, especially to *Hiacomes* and *Towanquatick* who was hurt with the arrow, who were not ashamed of the way of God.

1648. And hereupon they made farther progresse in the way of God, for without any knowledge thereof, they appointed a meeting, and there came some younger men, and brought with them the ancient men of their kindred and acquaintance to speak for them, whereof

the very old man that your self saw and heard at the meeting, was one, who began the meeting with a relation of the old customes of the ancient Heathen, preferring them before those wayes of their own they were now in, yet acknowledging they were farre inferior to those wayes of God they had now begun : Then twelve of the young men went and took *Sacochanimo* by the hand one by one and told him that they did love him, and would go with him in Gods way, and some of them made a long speech to him to this purpose; and the old men encouraged them in their way, & desired them never to forget those promises they had now made; then one of the young men told me the ground of their meeting, *viz.* They were sorry to see that the meeting did go on no more strongly, and that there were no more at it, and that they were desirous to strengthen themselves in the way of God, to have good hearts, and one heart, and to walk together in love in the wayes of God. So after they had eaten together the victuals of their own providing, and we had sung part of a Psalme in their own language, and I had prayed with them, they returned with the manifestation of much joy and thankfulness; and this I can say, they are generally constant in the way of God, and I have great hopes of some of them, blessed be his name.

After this it pleased the Lord to stirre up the hearts of the Indians to appoint another meeting, and many Indians being met, they fell to a great discourse about the Pawwawes power to kill men, and there were many stories told of the great hurt they had done by their witchcraft many wayes (here you must know, that though the Indians many of them were brought by the knowledge they had of God, to renounce the Pawwawes help in time of sicknesse or otherwise, yet they found it hard to get from under the yoke of cruelty that they and their forefathers had so long groaned under; for I know some, that then groaned under it, acknowledged they did see that in God which would free them from it, if they had but confidence to trust in him. Then the question was asked, Who is there that doth not fear the Pawwawes? answer was made by some who favoured them, there is not any man which is not afraid of the Pawwawes; then looking upon *Hiacoomes*, who was one that protested most against them, told him that the Pawwawes could kill him; he answered they could not; they asked him againe, why? he told them, because he did beleieve in God and trust in him, and that therefore all the Pawwawes could not do him any hurt;

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Then they all wondered exceedingly when he spake thus so openly. Then divers of them said one by one, though before I was afraid of the Pawwawes, yet now, because I hear *Hiacoomes* his words, I do not fear them, but beleieve in God too. Then the meeting at this time was carried on, and *Hiacoomes* is desired by the Indians to reckon up their sins unto them; he presently found 45. or 50. and as many good duties; his work was very well liked, and in the conclusion twenty two Indians were found to resolve against those evils, and to walk with God, and attend the word of God. But I may not here forget an Indian called *Hummanequem*, who exceeded all the rest, to the wonderment of the Indians; he with much sorrow, hatred, and courage, related about twenty of his own sins, and professed to follow the one God against all opposition; He told them he was brought into this condition by *Hiacoomes* his counsel from the Word of God, which at first he said he liked not, afterwayes laid it by him as a thing to be considered, not knowing well what to do; at last, looking over things again, he came to this resolution which you have now heard; I confesse this action makes me think he spake more then from a natural principle, considering that the man hath been since an earnest seeker of more light both publike and private; as also for refusing the help of a Pawwaw which lives within a bow shoot of his doore, when his wife was three dayes in travel, and waited patiently upon God, till they obtained a merciful deliverance by prayer.

And whilst we were making progresse in the work of the Lord on a Lecture day, an Indian stood up, and said he had been a sinner, and committed many evil things, but now was sorry for them, and did repent, desired to forsake his sins, and to walk in Gods way. Then he went to the Sagamore *Towanquetick*, and took him by the hand, saying, *I do love you, and do greatly desire to go along with you for Gods sake*; the like also he said to some others, and then came to me in like manner, saying, *I pray love me, and I do love you, and am desirous to go with you for Gods sake*; so he was received with many thanks, and since I know him to be diligent and laborious. I confesse I marvelled to see them act with such a spirit, but I considered, it was sutable to their own meeting in 48.

Now the Indian accompanied his friend that suddenly lost his two sons; he I say remaining still in his obstinacy, is also found out, and fees the wrath of God, being stricken with a dead Palfie, all one side.

side of him, but his eye and eare; The dead Palsie is a strange and unwonted disease amongst the Indians; I have beene sometimes with him; when I spake to him, he fetched many sighs; he is at this day a living and a dead monument of the Lords displeasure, having hurt himself most, and done them most good he hated.

Another thing is a remarkable combate between two Indians and a Pawwaw, who, on the Lords day after meeting, came in very angry, saying, I know the meeting Indians are lyars; you say you care not for the Pawwawes; then calling two or three of them by name, and railing at them, told them that they were deceived, for the Pawwawes could kill all the meeting Indians if they did set about it; with that one of the young men replied with much courage, saying, it is true, I do not fear the Pawwawes, neither do I desire any favour at their hands, pray kill me if you can. And *Hiacoomes* told him also that he would be in the midst of all the Pawwawes of the Iland that they could procure, and they should do their utmost they could against him, and when they did their worst by their witchcrafts to kill him, he would without feare set himself against them, by remembering *Jehovah*; he told him also that he did put all the Pawwawes under his heel, pointing unto it; which answers did presently silence the Pawwawes devillish spirit, and had he nothing to say, but that none but *Hiacoomes* was able so to do.

I have observed the wise disposing hand of God in another Providence of his; there have not as I know, any man, woman or child died of the meeting Indians since the meeting began, untill now of late the Lord took away *Hiacoomes* his child which was about five dayes old; he was best able to make a good use of it, and to carry himself well in it, and so was his wife also; and truly they gave an excellent example in this also, as they have in other things; here were no black faces for it as the manner of the Indians is, nor goods buried with it, nor hellish howlings over the dead, but a patient resigning of it to him that gave it; There were some English at the burial, and many Indians to whom I spake something of the Resurrection, and as we were going away, one of the Indians told me he was much refreshed in being freed from their old customes, as also to hear of the Resurrection of good men and their children to be with God.

There are now by the grace of God thirty nine Indian men of

this meeting, besides women that are looking this way, which we suppose to exceed the number of the men, though not known by open entrance into Covenant as the men, but are now near it. These in general have the knowledge of the fundamental points of Religion; your self when you were with us, had some tryal of it; it was a great while my maine work to administer light in general to them; and there now, through mercy, appears some life, hoping that some of them have received this great mercy of God in Christ. This is a great encouragement to me, as also that their hearts are engaged in the way of the Lord for the salvation of their own souls upon Gods ends. One of these meeting Indians said (and I hope feelingly) that if all the world, the riches, plenty, and pleasures of it were presented without God, or God without all these, I would take God. And another said, that if the greatest Sagamore in the Land should take him in his armes, and proffer him his love, and riches and gifts to turn from his way, he would not go with him from this way of God. I heard one of them of his own accord (and to the same purpose) in complaining against head knowledge and lip prayers, without heart holiness, loathing the condition of such a man, saying, I desire my heart may taste the word of God, repent of my sinnes, and leane upon the Redemption of the Lord Jesus Christ. Some of them having a discourse with *Vzamequin* a great Sachem or Governour on the maine Land (coming amongst them) about the wayes of God, he enquired what earthly good things came along with them, and demanding of them what they had gotten by all they had done this way? one of them replied, we serve not God for cloathing, nor for any outward thing. I have observed many such like passages; but my occasions at present will not permit me to set them down, I only bring you those things which are most ready in my minde.

The last thing that I took special notice of, is, the receiving of the five men when your self was present, into the meeting Indian number, one of them (the young man you saw) was sent at first about two or three months before by one of the greatest Pawwawes upon the Island to learn and spy what was done at the meeting, and carry him word, but at the last he learned so much as he then openly profest to hate the Pawwawes and their witchcrafts, and that he did repent of his sinnes, and desired to go with the meeting Indians in Gods wayes; another said he desired to joyn with the meeting Indians that he might have a renewed good heart, the
other

other were much like affected, only one of them reckoned up the commandments, and as he proceeded he protested against the sins forbidden, and professed obedience to the duties commanded; the last answered the question put to him by your self, *viz.* by what power they did think to do this? who answered, First, by his good desire; and secondly, by the help and blessing of Jesus Christ.

Just now whilst I am a writing, there comes an Indian unto me, and tels me his minde in these words, I shall long for your returne back again out of the Bay, that we may hear the good word of God; the former sins of my heart in the time of my youth I now remember; when I hear the word of God, and when I walk in the woods alone, I have much talk with God, and great re; entrance for my sins, and now I throw behind me all my strange gods, and my heart goes right to God in prayer.

The way that I am now in (through the grace of God) for the carrying on of this great work, is by a Lecture every fortnight, whereunto both men women and children do come; and first I pray with them, teach them, chatechise their children, sing a Psalm, and all in their own language. I conferre every last day of the week with *Hiacomes* about his subject matter of preaching to the Indians the next day, where I furnish him with what spiritual food the Lord is pleased to afford me for them, wherein God hath much assisted him for his own and their spiritual good and advantage, who is diligent and conscionable to hold forth the grace of Christ to the Indians. For this purpose your fervent and frequent prayers together with all those who rejoyce in advancing the Scepter of Christ, are by me earnestly desired, and for me that I may preach him amongst the Heathen, to the praise of the excellency of his own power, and not mine; and that the Indians in this small beginning, being Gods husbandry, and Gods building, may be a fruitful glorious spreading Vine, and builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit, unto whom I commend you in Jesus, and in him rest

From Great Harbour
in Martins Vineyard.
Sept. 7. 1652

*Tours in the Lord to
be commanded,*

THOMAS MAYHLOW

NOW to speak somewhat farther of the proceeding of the things of Christ amongst the Indians of Mactacusetts and thereabouts since the last books came forth; Somewhat I saw and understood concerning those Indians which are under the care of Mr. Eliot, unto whom I repaired at my coming from Martins Vineyard, who acquainted me with the state of things amongst the Indians as they were at present; at which time I rode with him to the Water town Indians, and heard him preach to them, and catechize their children in the Indian tongue; who wrote also by me to Mr. Winslow, the Agent of the Countrey; which Letter, together with some other sent since the last publication by the Presse, the Corporation of New England desired me that they might be joynd and printed with this written by Master Mahu; which letters here follow.

Much honoured Sir,

Your very loving acceptance of my Letters doth engage me very much unto you, but especially your cordial rejoycing in the progresse of this work of the Lord among these poor Indians. Sir, I shall first answer some material things in your Letter. First, for that opinion of *Rabbi-ben-Israel* which you mention, I would intreat you to request the same godly Minister (nay I hope he hath already done it) to send to him to know his grounds, and how he came to that Intelligence, when was it done, which way were they transported into *America*, by whom, and what occasion, how many, and to what Parts first, or what steps of intimation of such a thing may there be. I had some thoughts in my heart to search the Original of this People, that I might finde under what Covenant and Promise their fore-fathers have been, for the help of my faith; for *Jehovah* remembers and giveth being to ancient Promises. What had become of us sonnes of *Japhet*, if the Lord had not remembred that (and such like ancient Promises) *God shall persuade Japhet to dwell in the Tents of Shem*. If these people be under a Covenant and Promise as ancient as *Shem* and *Eber*, it is a ground of faith to expect mercy for them.

Now this I have thought, that it seemeth to me as clear in the Scripture, that these are the children of *Shem* as we of *Japhet*, and *Shem* was a great man in the Church, and to whom *Abraham* paid *Tythes*; for I beleeve he was *Melchisedceck*; yea it seemeth to me probable that these people are Hebrews, of *Eber*, whose sonnes the
 Scripture

Scripture sends farthest East (as it seemeth to me) and learned *Broughton* put some of them over into *America*, and certainly this Country was peopled Eastward from the place of the *Arks* resting, seeing the finding of them by the West is but of yesterday: Now *Eber* was also a great man in the Church; *Abraham* the Hebrew, faith the text; and how often in the Scriptures doth the Lord use that blessed word of *Grace* and *Covenant*, *I am the God of the Hebrewes*? besides there be sundry Prophecies in Scripture, unto the goings down of the Sunne; and let it be considered whether *America* be not to be accounted among the places that are the goings down of the Sunne unto those places where those Promises were promulgated; And when the Lord enlarged the Promise to *Jacob* (as the light and extent of grace hath ever been encreasing and enlarging) he promised to make him a Nation and a multitude of Nations, which so farre as we regard a litted accomplishment, is in part accomplisht in the Nation of the Jewes, and the other part remaineth (as it may seem) to be accomplisht in the lost Israelites scattered in the world, principally, if not wholly, amongst the sons of *Japhet* and *Shem*; and our God who can and will gather the scattered and lost dust of our bodies at the Resurrection, can and will finde out these lost and scattered Israelites, and in finding of them, bring in with them the Nations among whom they were scattered, and so shall *Jacobs* Promise extend to a multitude of Nations indeed; and this is a great ground of faith for the conversion of the Easterne Nations, and may be of help to our faith for these Indians; especially if *Rabbi Ben-Israel* can make it appeare that some of the Israelites were brought into *America*, and scattered here, or if the Lord shall by any meanes give us to understand the same.

These meditations upon Scripture grounds do minister comfort & encouragement to my heart with others also, as, *That all Languages shall see his Glory, and that all Nations and Kingdoms shall become the Kingdoms of the Lord Iesus*; and this I desire to do, to look unto Scripture grounds only; *Oh this precious this perfect Word of God!* You intimate also how zealously worthy Mr. *Owen* did persecute this work; the Lord reward him, and the Lord accept him in all his holy labours. Likewise you intimate how acceptable this work is to the Parliament, that blessed Assembly, whom the Lord Christ hath delighted to make instrumental to begin to set up the longed for, prayed for, and desired Kingdome of the Lord Iesus.

Jesus; for we may see in some measure the accomplishment of that Propheſie of Chriſt, *Luke 21. 25.* The peaceable ſummer beginning to ariſe out of theſe diſtreſſed times of perplexity, all thoſe ſignes preceding the glorious coming of Chriſt are accompliſhing, and a thick black cloud is gathered, a cloud of blood, confuſion, Heresies and Errors, and the thickeſt and moſt portentous black part of that cloud is the Toleration of the moſt groſſe and convicted impieties under the pretence of conſcience, which miſ-application of the Sword of Authority (if it ſhould awhile prevaile) cannot be innocent, and will undoubtedly prolong the ſtorme and delay of the reigne of Chriſt; But notwithstanding all this black cloud, who ſeeth not the glorious coming of the Lord Jeſus breaking through this cloud, and coming with power and great glory? He is King of Kings and reigneth over Kings; for where Juſtice reignes, Chriſt doth reigne; and that Antichriſtian principle for man to be above God, whether the Pope in the Church, or Monarches in the Common-wealth, is thrown to the ground. He that is above the Law, is above the Word; and he that is above the Word, is above Chriſt; Chriſt reigneth not over ſuch as be above his Law: But behold, now Chriſt reigneth, and gloriously breaks forth in the brightneſſe of his coming, and will in his time ſcatter all this thick black cloud, yea the thickeſt of it. Now this glorious work of bringing in and ſetting up the glorious kingdome of Chriſt, hath the Lord of his free grace and mercy put into the hands of this renowned Parliament and Army; Lord put it into all their hearts to make this deſigne of Chriſt their main firſt and chiefeſt endeavour, according to the Word, *Seek firſt the Kingdom of heaven and the righteousneſſe thereof, and all other things ſhall be added.* And when the Lord Jeſus is about to ſet up his bleſſed Kingdome among theſe poore Indians alſo, how well doth it become the ſpirit of ſuch instruments in the hand of Chriſt to promote that work alſo, being the ſame buſineſſe in ſome reſpect which themſelves are about by the good hand of the Lord.

Surely Sir, your chief work of this nature now is to follow this Indian work which ſticks in the birth for want of means. You would marvel if I ſhould tell you how they long to come into a way of civility by co-habitation, and by forming government among themſelves, that ſo they being in ſuch order might have a Church and the Ordinances of Chriſt among them; but want of a Magazine of all ſorts of tools and materials for ſuch a work, is the preſent impediment.

The

The Lord is wiser then man, and his time is best; I will not say any thing now for farther direction about what is requisite for the work which the Lord is preparing their hearts unto; my former Letters have said enough that way; partly to you, and partly to Mr. *Pelham*, whose Letters I hope you have seen as containing sundry things necessary for your view; and I doubt not but your wisdom will readily adde what is lacking in what I have projected; only let me say this, that I dayly still see more evidence that that is the very way which the Lord would have us take at present.

Let me, I beseech you, trouble you a little farther with some considerations about this great Indian work which lyeth upon me, as my continual care, prayer, desire and endeavour to carry on, namely for their schooling and education of youth in learning, which is a principal means for promoting of it for future times; If the Lord bring us to live in a Towne and Society, we must have speiall care to have Schools for the instruction of the youth in reading, that they may be able to read the Scriptures at least. And therefore there must be some Annual renew for the maintaining of such Schoolmasters and Dames: Besides, I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire, and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargable, and I having yet but little skill in their language (having little leasure to attend it by reason of my continual attendance on my Ministry in our own Church) I must have some Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine Translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence; and all this is chargable; therefore I look at that as a special matter on which cost is to be bestowed, if the Lord provide means, for I have not means of my own for it. I have a family of many children to educate, and therefore I cannot give over my Ministry in our Church whereby my family is sustained to attend the Indians to whom I give, and of whom I receive nothing, nor have they any thing to give: so that want of money is the only thing in view that doth retard a more full prosecution of this work unto which the Lord doth ripen them apace.

Moreover, there be sundry prompt, pregnant witted youths, not vitiously inclined, but well disposed, which I desire may be wholly

sequestred to learning, and put to Schoole for that purpose, had we means; and I suppose ten pounds *per Annum* to be paid in *England*, will maintaine one Indian youth at Schoole, and halfe ascore such Gifts or Annuities would by the blessing of God greatly further this work so farre as concerns that particular.

I had thought to have set down some of their Questions, whereby you might perceiue how these dry bones begin to gather flesh and sinnewes; but partly I have them not ready, for I have not leisure to set them down at present, and they soone slip my memory, and I did it in all my last Letters, and may do it again, if the Lord will, hereafter. And therefore thus much at present, being cald off to hasten to seale up my Letters, the Lord Jesus blesse you, sanctifie and keep you in all your labours and travels, and accept you, and all your works, and return you again unto us in due season here to see Gods blessing with your eyes upon those poore souls, for whose sakes you have laboured, and the Lord supply your absence to all yours; and so commending you to the Lord and to the word of his grace which is able to sanctifie and save you, I rest

Roxburg, this 8.
of the 5. 49.

Your ~~Brother~~ Brother and
fellow labourer for the good
of the poor Indians.

JOHN ELIOT.

Worthy and much esteemed in the Lord.

IT is no small encouragement unto my spirit, not only to go on unweariably in this enterprize which the Lord hath set my heart upon; but also to expect a great blessing therein; only I must intimate two *Redundances*, one is page 8. where there is a great (!) redundant which maketh the sence untrue; but if left out, the sence is both good and true; for (*I*) was not the Nominative case or efficient of that Verb, or Act of intreating Mr. *Mabu* to teach them, but it was the Indians Act, and so I said, and so is the sence if that (great *I*) be left out. A second *Redundancie* is page 17. (though misfigured and no matter) where you put the title of *Evangelist* upon me, which all men take, and you seeme so to put it for that extra-

ordinary office mentioned in the *New Testament*; I do beseech you to suppress all such things, if ever you should have occasion of doing the like; let us speak and do, and carry all things with all humility; it is the Lord who hath done what is done, and it is most becoming the spirit of Jesus Christ to lift up Christ, and our selves lie low; I wish that that word could be obliterated if any of the books remain.

Now seeing it is so great a comfort to you to hear how the Lord is pleased to carry on this work, I shall relate unto you some passages, whereby you may see in what frame they be; I had, and still have, a great desire to go to a great fishing place, *Namaska* upon *Merimak*; and because the Indians way lyeth beyond the great River which we cannot passe with our horses, nor can we well go to it on this side the river, unlesse we go by *Nashaway*, which is about, and bad way, unbeaten, the Indians not using that way; I therefore hired a hardy man of *Nashaway* to beat out a way and to mark trees, so that he may Pilot me thither in the spring, and he hired Indians with him and did it; and in the way passed through a great people called *Somabagen* Indians, some of which had heard me at *Pautuket* and at *Nashaway*, and had carried home such tydings, that they were generally stirred with a desire that I would come and teach them; and when they saw a man come to cut out a way for me that way, they were very glad; and when he told them I intended to come that way the next spring, they seemed to him full of joy, and made him very welcome. But in the Spring, when I should have gone, I was not well, it being a very sickly time; so that I saw the Lord prevented me of that journey; yet when I went to *Pautuket* another fishing place, where from all parts about they met together, thither came divers of these *Somabagen* Indians, and heard me teach, and I had conference with them; and among other things, I asked whether *Somabagen* Indians were desirous to pray to God; they answered; yea, I asked how many desired it; they answered *wamu*, that is, *All*, and with such affection as did much affect those Christian men that I had with me in company.

The chief *Sachim* of this place *Pautuket*, and of all *Merimak* in *Papassaconnoway*, whom I mentioned unto you the last yeere, who gave up himself and his sonnes to pray unto God; this man did this yeer shew very great affection to me, and to the Word of God; he did exceeding earnestly, importunately invite me to come and live there and teach them; he used many arguments, many where-

of I have forgotten : but this was one, that my coming thither but once in a yeere, did them but little good, because they soone had forgotten what I taught, it being so seldome, and so long betwixt the times; further he said, That he had many men, and of them many waight, and would not beleve him that praying to God was so good, but if I would come and teach them, he hoped they would beleve me; He farther added, that I did, as if one should come and throw a fine thing among them, and they earnestly catch at it, and like it well, because it looks finely, but they cannot look into it to see what is within it, and what it is within, they cannot tell whether something or nothing, it may be a stock or a stone is within it, or it may be a precious thing; but if it be opened, and they see what is within it, and see it precious, then they should beleve it (so said he) you tell us of praying to God, (for so they call all Religion) and we like it well at the first sight, and we know not what it is within, it may be excellent, or it may be nothing, we cannot tell, but if you would come unto us, and open it unto us, and shew us what it is within, then we should beleve that it is so excellent as you say, when we see it opened; Such elegant arguments as these did he use, with much gravity, wisdom and affection; and truly my heart much yearneth towards them, and I have a great desire to make our Indian Towne that way; yet the Lord by the Eye of Providence seemeth not to look thither, partly because there is not a competent place of due encouragement for subsistence; which would spoyle the work; and partly because our Indians which are our first and chief materials in present view, are loth to go Northward, though they say they will go with me any whether; but it concerneth me much not to lead them into temptation of scarcity, cold and want, which may damp the progresse of the Gospel; but I rather think where ever I begin the first Towne, (if I live) I must begin more townes then one, or oh that the Lord would raise up more and more fit labourers into this harvest.

Another Indian, who lived remote another way, asked me if I had any children? I answered yea; he asked how many? I said fixe; he asked how many of them were sonnes? I told him five; then he asked whether my sonnes should teach the Indians to know God as I do? at which question I was much moved in my heart, for I have often in my prayers dedicated all my sonnes unto the Lord to serve him in this service, if he will please to accept them therein; and my purpose is to do my uttermost to traine them up in learning, whereby they may be fitted in the best manner I can to serve the
 Lord

Lord herein, and better preferment I desire not for them then to serve the Lord in this travel; and to that purpose I answered him, and my answer seemed to be well pleasing to them, which seemed to minister to my heart some encouragement, that the Lords meaning was to improve them that way, and he would prepare their hearts to accept the same.

There is another aged *Sachem* at *Quabagud* three score miles Westward, and he doth greatly desire that I would come thither and teach them, and live there; and I made a journey thither this summer, and I went by *Nashaway*; but it so fell out that there were some stirres betwixt the *Nazaganset* and *Monabegen* Indians, some murder committed, &c. which made our Church doubtful at first of my going, which when the *Nashaway Sachem* heard, he commanded twenty armed men (after their manner) to be ready, and himself with these twenty men; besides sendry of our neer Indians went along with me to guard me, but I took some English along with me also, so that hereby their good affection is manifested to me, and to the work I have in hand; here also I found sundry hungry after instruction, but it pleased God to exercise us with such tedious raine, and bad weather, that we were extreme wet, in somuch that I was not dry night nor day from the third day of the week unto the sixth, but so travelled, and at night pull off my boots, wring my stockins, and on with them again, and so continued; the rivers also were raised, so as that we were wet in riding through; but that which added to my affliction was, my horse tyred, so that I was forced to let my horse go empty, and ride on one of the mens horses which I took along with me, yet God stept in and helped; I considered that word of God, *2 Tim 2, 3. Endure hardship as a good Souldier of Christ*; with many other such like meditations, which I think not meet to mention now. And I thank the Lord, neither I nor my company took any hurt, but the Lord brought us in safety and health home again.

Because, both Mr. *Pelham* and your self do so heartily, and with such good affection send commendations and greetings unto our Indians which pray unto God, I will tell you what a good occasion was ministred unto me, through the goodnesse of God, by a question which one of them propounded the next meeting (as I remember) after I had received my Letters, and I must first tell you the occasion of the question.

There had been at that time some strange Indians among them

which came to see them who pray'd to God, as one from *Martins Vineyard*, who is helpful to Mr. *Mahu* to tell him words, &c. and I think some others, *when those strangers came*, and they perceived them to *affect Religion*, and had mutual conference about the same, there was very great *gladneſſe of heart* among them, and they made these strangers exceeding welcome; Hereupon did the Question arise, namely what is the reason, that when a strange Indian comes among us whom we never saw before, *yet if he pray unto God, we do exceedingly love him: But if my own Brother, dwelling a great way off, come unto us, he not praying to God, though we love him, yet nothing so as we love that other stranger who doth pray unto God.*

This question did so clearly demonstrate that which the Scripture calleth *love of the Brethren*, that I thought it was useful; first, to try others of them, whether they found the same in their hearts; I therefore asked them, how they found it in their hearts? And they answered, that they all found it so in their hearts, and that it had been a matter of discourse among themselves, *wondering at it, what the reason of it should be*, which was no small comfort and encouragement unto my spirit; Then in my answer I asked them what should be the reason that the godly people in *England*, 3000. miles off, who never saw them, yet hearing that they pray to God, do exceedingly rejoyce at it, and love them, and send them tokens of their love, and then I reckoned up what had been sent them, and mentioned some names to them, and farther told them that their love was so great unto them, that they would send them over a great deale more; and in special, I hoped they would send us such materials as be requisite to make a Towne, and mentioned some such things as I have named in the Catalogue I sent to you, and asked them if they could tell the reason of it; they answered no; this being the same with their question; and then I shewed the unity of Spirit, &c. And thus you see the occasion and way of communicating the good will and love of the Saints in *England*. unto them, so as that they might taste a spiritual blessing, and finde some edification of their souls by those outward blessings which they received. And whereas some, (as I am informed) who came from us to *England*, are no better friends to this work then they should; and may speak slightly of it: I do intreat that such may be asked but this question; Did they so much regard to look after it here, as to go three or four miles to some of
our

our meetings, and to observe what was said and done there? if not, how can they tell how things be? if they say they were, I desire to know what they except against? If they say the Indians be all nought because such as come loytering and fitching about in our Townes are so; With them to consider how unequal that judgment is, if all the English should be judged by the worst of them; and any should say they be all such, this were to condemne the righteous with the wicked. Had I leasure, I would insert a few more of their questions, that you might perceiue how flesh and sinewes begin to gather upon these dry bones; but I cannot at this time attend it; the present work of God among them is to gather them together to bring them to Political life, both in Ecclesiastical society and in Civil, for which they earnestly long and enquire, and some aged ones say, *Oh that God would let me live to see that day*; I allude to that in *Ezekiel*, not because I have any light to perswade me these are that people there mentioned, only they be dry and scattered bones, if any be in the world; and the work of God upon all such dry bones I beleeve will be in many things *Symmetricall*; But the work of the day is to civilize them, and it will be very chargeable, and because in your Letters to Mr. *Cotton*, you desired that he and I should speak with the Commissioners what was fitting to send over for this work, we could not speak with the Commissioners of other Colonies, nor write to have any seasonable return, nor could we communicate the state of the businesse unto them, but what was feasible we have done.

Now dear Sir, it may be you will desire to know what kinde of Civil Government they shall be instructed in; I acknowledge it to be a very weighty consideration; and I have advised with Mr. *Cotton* and others about it, and this I propound as my general rule through the help of the Lord; they shall be wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State; they shall have no other Law-giver; the Lord shall be their Law-giver, the Lord shall be their Judge, the Lord shall be their King, and he will save them; and when it is so the Lord reigneth, and unto that frame the Lord will bring all the world ere he hath done, but it will be more difficult in other Nations who have been adulterate with their *Aniichristian* or humane wisdom; they will be loth to lay downe their imperfect own Star-light of excellent Lawes, in their conceits, for the perfect Sun-light of the Scripture, which through blindnesse they cannot see.

England long since had happy experience of it, and it is often in my heart to desire they would pitch there in this present great change they are about; this is certaine, that all formes and Lawes of mans invention will shake, be unsetled; and many will doubt of subjecting to any way man can devise; and they will never rest till they come up to the Scriptures, and when they produce Scripture grounds for all they do, it will answer and satisfie all godly consciences, and awe the rest, and stop their mouths unlesse they will cavill against divine wisdom. It is the very reason why the Lord in this houre of temptation will bring Nations into distresse and perplexity, that so they may be forced to the Scriptures; the light whereof hath sole authority to extricate them out of their deep perplexities; and therefore all Governments are and will be shaken, that men may be forced to pitch upon the firme and unshaken foundation, *the Word of God*; this is doubtlesse the great designe of Christ in these later dayes; Oh that mens eyes were open to see it, and when the world is brought into this frame, then Christ reigneth; and when this is, Government shall be in the hands of the Saints of the most high.

But I forget my self; this is not my present work, it is my desire and prayer; my work is to endeavour the setting up Christ Kingdome among the Indians.

Sir, you tell me of one that will publish reasons to prove (at least) some of the ten Tribes are in *America*, it would be glad tydings to my heart; and when Mr. *Dudley* heard of it, he said that Captaine *Cromwell*, who lately dyed at *Boston*, told him that he saw many Indians to the Southward Circumcised, and that he was oft conversant among them, and saw it with his eyes, and was undoubtedly certaine of it; this is Captaine *Cromwells* testimony, and it seemeth to be one of the most probable arguments that ever I yet heard of; unlesse the Lord shall please to clear it up that they are some of those dry bones which *Ezekiel* speaketh of.

Mr. *Mahew*, who putteth his hand unto this Plough at *Martins Vineyard*, being young, and a beginner here, hath extreme want of books; he needeth *Commentaries* and *Common Places* for the body of Divinity, that so he might be well grounded and principled; if therefore the Lord bring any meanes into your hand, I desire you would (by the help of some godly Divine) send him over such books as may be necessary for a young Scholer; I will name no books, he needs all; I beseech you put some weight upon it, for I desire

he

he might be furnished in that kinde, and other supplies will be needful for him.

And for my self I have this request (who also am short enough in books) that I might be helped to purchase my brother *Weld* his books, the summe of the purchase is (34. li.) I am loth they should come back to *England* when we have so much need of them here, and without ready money there I cannot have them; if therefore so much money might be disbursed for me, it would be a blessing to me, but it is on condition that all his books here be comprehended, else I will not give so much for them.

One thing more I shall mention, *viz.* if the work go on, and you send us means, then this may be considerable, which some have advised me, whether it might not be good to send me over a Carpenter or two young men-servants; but if you should approve it, I desire they may be godly, and well conditioned, of a good spirit, for they must be employed among the Indians, and if they should be naught, and of an ill disposition they might do a great deal of hurt, but if they be honest & meek and well spirited, it may be a great furtherance of the work, I wholly leave it to your wisdom.

Having some leasure by the Ships delay I will insert a few questions which they have propounded. *viz.*

If a man know Gods Word, but beleeve it not, and he teach others, is that good teaching? and if others beleeve that which he teacheth, is that good beleeving, or faith? upon this question I asked them, how they could tell when a man knoweth Gods Word that he doth not beleeve it? They answered me, When he doth not do in his practice answerable to that which he knoweth.

If I teach on the Sabbath that which you have taught us, and forget some, Is that a sin? and some I mistake and teach wrong, Is that a sin?

Do all evil thoughts come from the Devill, and all good ones from God?

What is watchfulnesse?

How shall I finde happinesse?

What should I pray for at night, and what at morning, and what on the Sabbath day?

What is true Repentance, or how shall I know when this is true?

How must I wait on God?

Shall we see Christ at the day of Judgment?

Can we see God?

When I pray for a soft heart, why is it still hard?

Can one be saved by reading the book of the creature? This question was made when I taught them, That God gave us two books, and that in the book of the creature, every creature was a word or sentence, &c.

You said God promised Moses to go with him, how doth he go with us?

When such die as never heard of Christ, whether do they go?

When the wicked die, do they first go to heaven to the judgment seat of Christ to be judged, and then go away to hell?

What is the meaning of the word Hebrews?

Why doth God say, I am the God of the Hebrews?

When Christ arose, whence came his soul? When I answered from heaven; It was replied, How then was Christ punished in our stead? Or when did he suffer in our stead, afore death, or after?

When I pray every day, why is my heart so hard still, even as a stone?

How doth God arise, and we worship at his feet, what meaneth it? This was when I preached out of Psa. 132.

Why did they eat the Pascheover, with loynes girt, and shoes on their feet?

What meaneth, arise O Lord into thy resting place?

What meaneth, hunger and thirst after righteousness, and they blessed?

What meaneth, thou shalt not covet any thing that is thy neighbours?

If one purpouseth to pray, and yet dieth before that time, whether goeth his soul?

If I teach on the Sabbath something that some other Englishman taught me, the Indians do not like it, if it be not that which you have taught, is this well?

Why must we be like Salt?

If I do not love wicked men, nor good men, am I good?

What meaneth that, love enemies and wicked men?

Doth God know who shall repent, and beleve, and who not? When I answered in the affirmative, then it was replied, Why then did God use so much meanes with Pharaoh?

What meaneth that his wife shall be like a Vine, and his children like

What meaneth, that blessed are they that mourn?

When I see a good example, and know that it is right, why do I not do the same?

What meaneth lifting up hands to God?

What anger is good, and what is bad?

Do they dwell in severall houses in heaven, or altogether, and what do they?

How do you know what is done in heaven?

If a child die before he sinne, whether goeth his soul? By this question, it did please the Lord, clearly to convince them of original sin, blessed be his name.

If one that prayes to God, sins like him that prayes not, is not he worse? And while they disc oursed of this point, and about hating of wicked persons, one of them shut it up with this, *They must love the man and do him good, but hate his sin.*

Why do English men so eagerly kill all snakes?

May a man have good words and deeds and a bad heart, and another have bad words and deeds, and yet a good heart?

What is it to eat Christ his flesh and drink his blood, what meaneth it?

What meaneth a new heaven and a new earth?

Much honoured and respected in the Lord Jesus.

YOUR faithful and unwearied paines about the Lords work for the good of his dear children here, and for the furtherance of the Kingdome of Christ among these poor Indians, shall doubtlesse be had in remembrance before the Lord, not through merit, but mercie.

By former Letters sent by Mr. *Saltonstall*; I informed you of the present state of the Indian work, and though I might adde farther matters, yet I shal forbear, only this, still they continue constant, and earnestly desire to set upon the way of cohabitation & prepare for their enjoyment of that great blessing to gather a Church of Christ among them; and since the writing of my last a *Nipnet Sachem* hath submitted himself to pray unto the Lord, and much desireth

one of our chief ones to live with him and teach him and those that are with him.

You wrote (I thank you) much encouraging to lose no time, and follow the work, though I borrow materials, but I durst not do so, the work is great, as I informed you in my former Letters; and I fear, lest it should discourage you, nor would I be too hasty to run before the Lord do clearly (by Scripture rules) say go; nor on the other side would I hold them too long in suspence, there may be weaknesse that way to their discouragement, but it is the Lords work, and he is infinite in wisdome, and he will suit the work in such a time and place as shall best attain his appointed ends and his great glory.

Touching the way of their Government, I also intimated the purpose of my heart, that I intend to direct thew according as the Lord shall please to help and assist to set up the Kingdome of Jesus Christ fully, so that Christ shall reigne both in Church and Common-wealth, both in Civil and Spiritual matters; we will (through his grace) fly to the Scriptures, for every Law, Rule, Direction, Form, or what ever we do. And when every thing both Civil & Spiritual are done by the direction of the word of Christ, then doth Christ reigne, and the great Kingdome of Jesus Christ which we weight for, is even this that I do now mention; and by this means all Kingdomes and Nations shall become the Kingdomes of Christ, because he shall rule them in all things by his holy word; humane wisdome in learned Nations will be loth to yeeld to Christ so farre, much lesse will Princes and Monarches readily yeeld so farre to stoop to Christ, and therefore the Lord will shake all Nations, and put them into distresse and perplexity, and in the conclusion they will be glad to stoop to Christ. But as for these poore Indians they have no principles of their own, nor yet wisdome of their their own (I meane as other Nations have) wherein to stick; and therefore they do most readily yeeld to any direction from the Lord, so that there will be no such opposition against the rising Kingdome of Jesus Christ among them; yet I foresee a cloud of difficulties in the work, and much obscurity and trouble in some such respects, as I think not meet to mention, only by faith I do see through this cloud: I beleve the faithful promises of Christ shall be accomplit among them, and the Lord Jesus shall reigne over them gloriously, *Oh my heart yearneth over distressed perplexed England.* and my continual prayer unto the Lord for them is, that he would be pleased to open their hearts and eyes, and let them see

their opportunity to let in Christ, and to advance his Kingdome over them; yea, my hope is, that he will not leave tampering with them untill he hath brought it to passe; Oh the blessed day in *England* when the Word of God shall be their *Magna Charta* and chief Law Book; and when all Lawyers must be Divines to study the Scriptures; and should the Gentile Nations take up *Moses* policie so farre as it is morall and conscionable, make the Scriptures the foundation of all their Lawes, who knoweth what a door would be opened to the Jewes to come in to Christ; I wrote likewise by my last to intreat for some encouragement to Master *Mahu* who preacheth to the Indians, and that some monies may be laid out in books for him; for young Sholars in *New-England* are very poor in books, as he is in extreme want.

Dear Sir,

Be helpful in prayer to our work, and above all gatherings, gather prayers; I mean, put the Saints in minde that they pray much about it, as they do both there and here.

Truly Sir,

The spirit of prayer that is daily going about this matter, is a very great encouragement for all our meetings, through mercie, ring of it; I would intimate some more questions which they have propounded since my last, for they are fruitful that way, but partly I fear I shall want time, yet my heart saies, it may comfort you, and therefore I will set down a few, so many as I have noted down since my last.

If but one parent beleve, what state are our children in?

How doth much sinne make grace abound? I having made use of that Text.

If so old a man as I repent, may I be saved? The wisdome of God drew forth this question next to interpret the former.

When we come to beleve, how many of our children doth God take with us, whether all only young ones, or at what age?

What meaneth that, Let the trees of the Wood rejoyce?

What meaneth that, That the Master doth not thank his servant for waiting on him?

What meaneth that, We cannot serve two masters?

Can they in Heaven see us here on Earth?

Do they see and know each other? Shall I know you in heaven?

Do they know each other in Hell?

When English-men choose Magistrates and Ministers, how do they know

know who be good men, that they dare trust?

Seeing the boody sinne, why should the soule be punished, and what punishment shall the body have?

If all the world be burnt up, where shall hell be?

What is it to beleewe in Christ?

What meaneth, that Christ meriteth eternal life for us?

What meaneth that, Covet not thy neighbours house, &c?

What meaneth that, I he woman brought to Christ a box of Oyle, and washt his feet With tears, &c?

What meaneth that of the two debtors, one oweth much, another but little?

If a wicked man prayeth, and teacheth, doth God accept, or what saies God?

At what age may maids marry?

If a man be wise, and his Sachem weak must he yet obey him?

We are commanded to honour the Sachem, but is the Sachem commanded to love us?

When all the world shall be burnt up, what shall be in the roome of it; an old wonans question yester day?

What meaneth God, when he sayes, yee shall be my Jewels? This was asked from my text last time, *Exod. 19. 5.* for so I rendred the word peculiar treasure:

You may perceive many of the questions arise out of such texts as I handle, and I do endeavour to communicate as much Scripture as I can; *The word of the Lord converteth, sanctifieth and maketh wise the simple*; sometimes they aske weaker questions then these, which I mention not, you have the best; and when I am about writing, I am more careful in keeping a remembrance of them; it may be the same question may be again and again asked at several places, and by several persons; The Lord teach them to know Christ, *whom to know is eternal life*; I shall intreat your supplications at the throne of grace, under the tender wing whereof I leave you, being forced by the time, and rest

Roxbury this 29. of
the 10th 49.

Your respectful and loving
brother and fellow-labourer
in the Indian work;

JOHN ELIOT.

Much.

Much honoured and beloved in Christ, &c.

I Heard of the health and welfare of your family not long since, though the sharpnesse and depth of snowes this later part of winter did more shut up and hinder intercourse then ever I knew in *New-England*

I shall principally attend to give you intelligence about the Indians, touching whom, I know not that you are like to have intelligence by others; The Lord hath shewed them a very great testimony of his mercy this winter, in that when formerly the English had the Pox much, they also had the same; but now though it was scattered in all or most of the Townes about them, yet the Lord hath preserved them from it; And that which maketh this favour of God the more evident and conspicuous, is this; That there is a company of profane Indians that lately are come to a place near *Wamouth*, not farre from our Indians, who do not onely refuse to pray unto God, but oppose and apprehend that they were sent thither, if not by the policie of some *Pawwams*, yet by the instigation of Sathan, on purpose to seduce the younger sort from their profession, and discourage others; and indeed they being sooner, had that effect evidently in some of the younger sort. Now it pleased God that this company of wicked Indians, were smitten with the Pox, and sundry cut off, and those which were cut off, were of the worst and mischievous of them all; which Providences, all the good Indians do take a great notice of, and doth say that the Lord hath wrought a wonder for them; and it seemeth to me that the Lord hath blest this good Providence of his to be a strong ingagement of their hearts to the Lord.

The work of the Lord through his grace doth still go on: as formerly, and they are still full of questions, and mostly they now be, to know the meaning of such Scriptures as I have translated and read, and in a poor measure expounded to them, they long for to proceed in that work which I have in former Letters mentioned; namely to cohabit in a Towne, to be under the government of the Lord, and to have a Church and the Ordinances of Christ among them; this Spring the Lord seemed to put some of them upon such streights, about a convenient place of planting, as if his Providence had meant to call us to a present setting upon the work, but partly by reason of the undetermination about the place:

where, but principally for want of means, wherewith it is yet deferred, though I see a necessity to speed it forward, for they have been now long in the expectation, and if I should still fail them, it would both discourage them, and embolden their adversaries to despise the work (for all the Country of Indians are in an expectation of it) yea by this delay that hath been, Sathan hath taken this advantage to my great grief; That whereas at my first preaching at *Nashawog* sundry did embrace the word, and called upon God, and *Pau waning* was wholly silenced among them all; yet now, partly being forty miles off; and principally by the slow progresse of this work, Sathan hath so emboldened the Pawwawes, that this winter, (as I hear to my grief) there hath been Paw-wauing again with some of them.

The reason why there is still a delay of laying the foundation of the work is this, because we must see first whether any supply is like to be had from *England* (for our sins and bad times may disappoint our greatest hopes) and if any, what measure, that we may by that be guided what foundation and beginning to make; their condition and the necessary frame of this work requireth a liberall stock to begin withall, and liberall supply to carry it on; And therefore to begin the work before the Lord hath discovered his providing providence this way, by the rule of prudence may not be; nor can I manifest unto the Church that God doth call me to that work, untrill I may lay before them, (at least some) present means to begin the work, and some probable hopes of supply; and untill that be done, the Church hath no rule to give me up to that work; nor I a rule to require it; only I do (through the Lords help) continually go on to teach them, as for these three yeers and a half I have done, instructing them, and preparing them as well as I can against such time as the Lord, who hath promised to guide us by his eye and voyce, shall manifestly call us to go forward with that work which we wait to see accomplished.

I forbear to mention any thing about the materials requisite, and manner of proceedings, having done that in my former Letters, by the first ship especially, and also by the second; both which Vessels I trust the Lord hath brought in safe to you long ere this time. I was in great hopes to have heard some encouragement by fishing ships, but not one being this yeere come, nor tydings any other way, we are put to sad thoughts how it may fare with *England*, but we cease not to pray continually in that behalf, and

this expectation of mine is one ingagement of my heart to be the more earnest both for *England* and for your self also.

*Roxbury this 18. of
the 2^d 1650.*

*Your loving friend and brother
in our Lord Jesus*

JOHN ELIOT.

Much respected and beloved in our Lord Jesus.

God is greatly to be adored in all his Providences, and hath evermore wise and holy ends to accomplish that which we are not aware of ; and therefore although he may seem to crosse our ends with disappointments after all our pains and expectations, yet he hath farther and better thoughts then we can reach unto, which will cause us to admire his love and wisdom , when we see them accomplished; and yet he is gracious to accept of our sincere labours for his name, though he disappoint them in our way, and frustrate our expectations in our time; yea, he will fulfill our expectations in his way, and in his time, which shall finally appeare to the eye of faith, a better way then ours, and a fitter time then ours; his wisdom is infinite.

For the work of the Lord among the Indians, I thank his Majesty he still smileth on it, he favoureth and blesseth it; through his help that strengtheth me, I cease not in my poor measure to instruct them; and I do see that they profit and grow in knowledge of the truth, and some of them in the love of it, which appeareth by a ready obedience to it; and to testifie their growth in knowledge, I will not (though I could do it if need were) trouble you with their questions; but I will only relate one story which fell out about the fifth month of this yeere; Two of my hearers traveled to *Providence* and *Warwick*, where *Gorton* liveth, and there they spent a Sabbath, and heard them in some exercises, and had much conference with them; for it seemeth they perceiving that they had some knowledge in Religion, and were of my hearers; they endeavour to possesse their minds with their opinions. When they came home, the next Lecture day, before I began the exercise, the company being not fully come together, one of them asked me

this question; *What is the reason, that seeing those English people, where he had been, had the same Bible that we have, yet do not speake the same things?* I asked the reason of his question; he said, *because his brother and he had been at Providence and at Warwick, and he perceived by speech with them, that they differ from us; he said they heard their publike exercise, but did not understand what they meant, (though the man understandeth the English Language pretty well) But afterwards said he, we had much speech;* I asked him in what points; and so much as his brother and he could call to minde, he related as followeth.

First, said he, *they said thus, they teach you that there is a Heaven and a Hell, but there is no such matter;* I asked him what reason they gave; *he answered, that he said there is no other Heaven, then what is in the hearts of good men; nor no other Hell, then what is in the hearts of bad men;* Then I asked, and what said you to that; *saith he, I told them, I did not beleve them, because Heaven is a place whether good men go after this life is ended; and Hell is a place whether bad men go when they die, and cannot be in the hearts of men;* I approved of this answer. I asked what else they spake? he answered, *they spake of Baptism, and said, that they teach you that Infants must be baptized, but that is a very foolish thing;* I asked him what reason they gave? He said, *because Infants neither know God nor Baptisme, nor what they do, and therefore it is a foolish thing to do it;* I asked him what he said to that? He said, *he could not say much, but he thought it was better to baptize them while they be young, and then they are bound and engaged; but if you let them alone till they be grown up, it may be they will flie off, and neither care for God nor for Baptisme;* I approved of this answer also, and asked what else they spake of? He said farther, *they spake of Ministers, and said, they teach you that you must have Ministers, but that is a needlesse thing,* I asked what reason they gave? He said, *they gave these reasons, First, Ministers know nothing but what they learn out of Gods book, and we have Gods book as well as they, and can tell what God saith. Again, Ministers cannot change mens hearts, God must do that, and therefore there is no need of Ministers.* I asked him what he said to that? He said, *that he told them, that we must do as God commands us, and if he commands to have Ministers, we must have them. And farther I told them, I thought it was true, that Ministers cannot change mens hearts; but when we do as God bids us, and hear Ministers preach, then God will change our hearts.* I approved this answer also.

I asked

I asked what else they spake of? He said, *They teach you that you must have Magistrates, but that is needlesse, nor ought to be.* I asked what reason they gave? He said, *That they gave this reason, because Magistrates cannot give life, therefore they may not take away life; besides, when a man sinneth, he doth not sinne against Magistrates, and therefore why should they punish them? but they sinne against God and therefore we must leave them to God to punish them.* I asked him what he said to that, he answered, *I said to that as to the former, we must do as God commands us; If God command us to have Magistrates, and commands them to punish sinners, them we must obey.* I approved this also.

I asked farther what they said; then both of them considered a while, and said, *they could remember no more,* only they said somewhat of the Parliament of *England*, which they did not understand. And by such time as we had done this conference, the company was gathered together, and we went to Prayer, and I did solemnly blesse God who had given them so much understanding in his truth, and some ability to discern between Truth and Error, and an heart to stand for the Truth, and against Error; and I cannot but take it as a Divine Testimony of Gods blessing upon my poor labours; I afterwards gave him an answer to his first question, *viz. Why they having the same Bible with us, yet spake not the same things?* And I answered him by that Text, *2 Thes. 2. 10, 11. Because they received not the love of the truth that they might be saved, for this cause God shall send them strong delusions that they should beleieve a lye.* This text I opened unto them; I will adde no more at present to manifest their proficiency in knowledge.

The present work of the Lord that is to be done among them, is to gather them together from their scattered kinde of life; First, unto Civil Society, then to Ecclesiastical, and both by the Divine direction of the Word of the Lord; they are still earnestly desirous of it; and this Spring that is past, they were very importunately desirous to have been upon that work, and to have planted corne in the place intended; but I did dissuade, and was forced to use this reason of delay, because I hoped for tools, and meanes from *England*, whereby to prosecute the work this Summer. But when ships came, and no supply, you may easily think what a damping it was; and truly my heart smote me, that I had looked too much at man and meanes, in stopping their earnest affections

with that barre which proved a Blank. I began without any such respect, and I thought that the Lord would have me so to go on, and only look to him for help, whose work it is; and when I had thus looked up to the Lord, I advised with our Elders and some other of our Church, whose hearts consented with me; then I advised with divers of the Elders at *Boston* Lecture, and Mr. *Cortons* answer was, *my heart sayeth, go on, and look to the Lord onely for help*, the rest also concurring; So I commended it to our Church, and we sought God in a day of fasting and prayer about it, (together with other causes) and have been ever since a doing, according to our abilities; and this I account a favour of God, that that very night, before we came from our place of meeting, we had notice of a Ship from *England*. whereby I received Letters, and some encouragement in the work from private friends; a mercy which God had in store, but unknown to some, and so contrived by the Lord, that I should receive it as a fruit of prayer.

The place also is of Gods providing, as a fruit of prayer; for when I, with some that went with me, had rode to a place of some hopefull expectation, when we came to it, it was in no wise suitable; I went behind a Rock, and looked to the Lord, and committed the matter to him; and while J was travelling in Woods, Christian friends were in prayer at home; and so it was, that though one of our company fell sick in the Woods, so that we were forced home with speed; yet in the way home, the Indians in our company, upon enquiry describing a place to me, and guiding us over some part of it, the Lord did both by his providence then, and by after more diligent search of the place, discover that there it was his pleasure we should begin this work. When grasse was fit to cut, J sent some Indians to mow, and others to make some hay at the place, because we must oft ride thither in the Autumn when grasse is withered and dead, and especially in the Spring before any grasse is come, and there is provision for our horses; this work was performd well, as I found when I went up to them with my man to order it. We must also of necessity have an house to lodge in, meet in, and lay up our provisions and clothes, which cannot be in *Wigwams*. I set them therefore to fell and square timber for an house, and when it was ready, I went, and many of them with me, and on their shoulders carried all the timber together, &c: These things they chearfully do; but this also I do, I pay them wages carefully for all such works I set them about, which is a good encouragement

ment to labour. I purpose, God willing, to call them together this Autumne to break and prepare their own ground against the Spring, and for other necessary works, which are not afew, in such an enterprize. There is a great river which divideth between their planting grounds and dwelling place, through which, though they easily wade in Summer, yet in the Spring its deep, and unfit for daily passing over, especially of women and children; therefore I thought it necessary, that this Autumne we should make a foot Bridge over, against such time in the Spring as they shall have daily use of it; I told them my purpose and reason of it, wished them to go with me to do that work, which they cheerfully did, and with their own hands did build a Bridge eighty foot long, and nine foot high in the midst, that it might stand above the floods; when we had done, I cald them together, prayed, and gave thanks to God, and taught them out of a portion of Scripture, and at parting I told them, I was glad of their readinesse to labour, when I advised them thejeunto; and in as much as it hath been hard and tedious labour in the water, if any of them desired wages for their work, I would give it them; yet being it is for their owne use, if they should do all this labour in love, I should take it well, and as I may have occasion, remember it; they answered me, they were farre from desiring any wages when they do their own work; but on the other side they were thankful to me that I had called them, and counselled them in a work so needful for them, where-to I replied, I was very glad to see them so ingenuous.

This businesse of praying to God (for that is their general name of Religion) hath hitherto found opposition only from the *Pawmaves* and profane spirits; but now the Lord hath exercised us with another and a greater opposition; for the *Sachems* of the Country are generally set against us, and counter-work the Lord by keeping off their men from praying to God as much as they can; And the reason of it is this, They plainly see that Religion will make a great change among them, and cut them off from their former tyranny; for they used to hold their people in an absolute servitude, insomuch as what ever they had, and themselves too were at his command; his language was, as one said (*omne meum*;) now they see that Religion teaches otherwise, and puts a bridle upon such usurpations; Besides their former manner was, that if they wanted money, or if they desired any thing from a man, they would take occasion to rage and be in a great anger; which when they

did:

and perceive, they would give him all they had to pacifie him; for else their way was to suborne some villain (of which they have no lack) to finde some opportunity to kill him; *This keeps them in great awe of their Sachems*, and is one reason why none of them desire any wealth, only from hand to mouth, because they are but servants, and they get it not for themselves; But now if their *Sachem* be in rage, and give sharp and cruell language, instead of seeking his favour with gifts (as formerly) they will admonish him of his sinne; tell him that is not the right way to get money; but he must labour, and then he may have money, that is Gods command, &c. And as for Tribute, some they are willing to pay, but not as formerly. Now these are great temptations to the *Sachems*, and they had need of a good meaire both of wisdom and grace to swallow this Pill, and it hath set them quite off; And I suppose that hence it is, that (I having requested the Court of Commissioners for a general way to be thought of to instruct all the Indians in all parts, and I told the Indians that I did so, which they would soon spread; and still in my prayers, I pray for the *Monohogens, Narragansets, &c.*) the *Monohogen* Indians were much troubled lest the Court of Commissioners should take some course to teach them to pray to God; and *Unkus* their *Sachem* went to *Hartford* this Court (for there they sate) and expressed to Elder *Goodwin* his feare of such a thing, and manifested a great unwillingnesse thereunto; this one of our Commissioners told me at his coming home.

This temptation hath much troubled *Cutshamoquin* our *Sachem*, and he was raised in his spirit to such an height, that at a meeting after Lecture, he openly contested with me against our proceeding to make a Town; and plainly told me that all the *Sachems* in the Country were against it, &c. When he did so carry himself, all the Indians were filled with fear, their countenances grew pale, and most of them slunk away, a few stayed, and I was alone, not any English man with me; But it pleased God (for it was his guidance of me, and assistance) to raise up my spirit, not to passion, but to a bold resolution, telling him it was Gods work I was about, and he was with me, and I feared not him, nor all the *Sachems* in the Country, and I was resolved to go on do what they can, and they nor he should hinder that which I had begun, &c. And it pleased God that his spirit shrunk and fell before me, which when those Indians that tarried saw, they smiled as they durst, out of his sight,

fight, and have been much strengthened ever since; and since I understand that in such conflicts their manner is, that they account him that shrinks to be conquered, and the other to conquer; which alas I knew not, nor did I aime at such a matter, but the Lord carried me beyond my thoughts and wont; after this brunt was over, I took my leave to go home, and *Cutshamoquin* went a little way with me, and told me that the reason of this trouble was, because the Indians that pray to God, since they have so done, do not pay him tribute as formerly they have done; I answered him that once before when I heard of his complaint that way, I preached on that text, *Give unto Caesar what is Caesars, and unto God what is Gods*; and also on *Rom. 13.* naming him the matter of the texts (not the places of which he is ignorant) But he said its true, I taught them well, but they would not in that point do as I taught them; And further he said, this thing are all the *Sachems* sensible of, and therefore set themselves against praying to God; and then I was troubled, lest (if they should be sinfully unjust) they should both hinder and blemish the Gospel and Religion; I did therefore consult with the Magistrates and *Mr. Cotton* and other Elders; *Mr. Cottons* text by Gods providence, the next Lecture gave him occasion to speak to it; which I fore-knowing advised some that understood English best, to be there; and partly by what they heard, and by what I had preached to the like purpose, and told them what *Mr. Cotton* said, &c. they were troubled, and fell to reckon up what they had done in two yeers past, a few of them that lived at one of the places I preached unto; I took down the particulars in writing, as followeth. At one time they gave him twenty bushels of corne, at another time more then six bushels; two hunting dayes they killed him fifteen Deeres; they brake up for him two Acres of Land, they made for him a great house or Wigwam, they made twenty rod of fence for him, with a Ditch and two Railes about it, they paid a debt for him of 3. li. 10. s. only some others were contributors in this money; one of them gave him a skin of Beaver of two pound, at his returne from building, besides many dayes works in planting corne altogether, and some severally; yea they said they would willingly do more if they would govern well by justice, and as the word of God taught them; when I heard all this, I wondred, for this cometh to neere 30. li. and was done by a few, and they thought it not much if he had carried matters better; and yet his complaint was, they do nothing.

thing ; But the bottome of it lieth here, he formerly had all or what he would; now he hath but what they will ; and admonitions also to rule better, and he is provoked by other *Sachems*, and ill counsel, not to suffer this, and yet doth not know how to help it ; hence arise his tentations, in which I do very much pity him. Having all this information what they had done, and how causelesse his complaint and discontent was, I thought it a difficult thing to ease his spirit, and yet clear and justify the people, which I was to endeavour the next day of our meeting after the former contentations, therefore I was willing to get some body with me ; And by Gods providence, Elder *Heath* went with me, and when we came there, we found him very full of discontent, sighing, sower looks, &c. but we took no notice of it.

I preached that day out of the fourth of *Matthem*, the temptations of Christ ; and when I came at that temptation, of the Devils showing Christ the kingdomes and glories of the world, thereby to tempt him from the service of God, to the service of the Devill; I did apply it wholly to his case, shewing him the Devill was now tempting him, as he tempted Christ; and Sathan sheweth him all the delights and dignities, and gifts and greatnesse that he was wont to have in their sinfull way ; Satan also tels him he shall lose them all if he pray to God, but if he will give over praying to God he shall have them all again; then I shewed him how Christ rejected that temptation, and exhorted him to reject it also, for either he must reject the temptation, or else he will reject praying to God; if he should reject praying to God, God would reject him.

After our exercise was ended, we had conference of the matter, and we gave him the best counsel we could (as the Lord was pleased to assist) and when we had done, Elder *Heath* his observation of him was, that there was a great change in him, his spirit was very much lightned, and it much appeared both in his countenance and carriage, and he hath carried all things fairly ever since.

But the temptation still doth work strongly, in the Countrey the *Sachems* opposing any that desire to submit themselves to the service of the Lord, as appeareth sundry wayes ; some that began to listen, are gone quite back ; I meane *Sachems* and some people that have a mind to it, are kept back ; this last Lecture day one came in and submitted himself to call on God, and said he had been kept back this half yeer by opposition, but now at last the Lord hath helped and emboldned him to break through all oppo-

Thus Sathan seeketh to beat off these poore creatures from seeking after the Lord by opposing the highest powers they have against the Lord and this work of his, knowing that the light of the Gospel and kingdome of Jesus Christ (if it once get footing) will scatter and dissipate that darknesse whereby his kingdome is maintained; But I beleeve verily that the Lord will bring great good out of all these oppositions, nay I see it already, (though I see not all, I beleeve more then I can see; you who can know the thoughts of Gods love to his people, it is yet a secret) but this I see, that by this opposition the wicked are kept off from us, and from thrusting themselves into our society, at least sundry are, who else might croud in among us and trouble us; besides it is become some tryall now, to come into our company and call upon God; for besides the forsaking of their *Pau-waus*, (which was the first triall) and their old barbarous fashions and liberty to all sinne, and some of their friends and kindred, &c. Now this is added, they incur the displeasure of their *Sachems*, all which put together, it cannot but appear there is some work of God upon their hearts, which doth carry them through all these snares, and adde to this, that if upon some competent time of experience, we shall finde them to grow in knowledge of the principles of Religion, and to love the wayes of the Lord the better, according as they come to understand them, and to yeeld obedience to them, and submit to this great change, to bridle lust by lawes of chastity, and to mortifie idlenesse by labour, and desire to traine up their children accordingly; I say if we shall see these things in some measure in them, what should hinder charity from hoping that there is grace in their hearts, a spark kindled by the Word and Spirit of God that shall never be quenched; and were these in a fixed cohabitation, who could gain-say their gathering together into a holy Church-Covenant and election of Officers? and who can forbid that they should be baptized? And I am perswaded that there be sundry such among them, whom the Lord will vouchsafe so far to favour and shine upon, that they shall become a Church, and a Spouse of Jesus Christ, and among whom the pure and holy Kingdome of Christ shall arise, and over whom Christ shall reigne, ruling them in all things by his holy word.

But though this trouble and opposition is turned (and shall be more) unto a spiritual gain, yet it behoveth us not to be secure, and regardlesse of our safety; for if the Adversary should discern

us naked and weak, and see an opportunity, who knoweth what their rage and Sathans malice may stirre them up unto to work us a mischief? Nay, it is our duty to be vigilant, and fortifie our selves the best we can, thereby to put the enemy out of hope to hurt us, and to prevent them from attempting any evill against us, if it be the will of God; and to that end we purpose (if the Lord will) to make a strong Palizado (wanting means of doing better) and if we cannot get any Guns, Powder, Shot, Swords, &c. we will make us Slings, Bowes, and other Engines, the best the Lord will please to direct us for our safety; and when we have used the best meanes we can, I hope the Lord will help us to trust in his great name, to make that our strong Tower to flie unto.

I see the Lord delighteth to appear himself in the work, and will have us content our selves with little, low, poor things, that all the power and praise may be given to his great name; Our work in civilizing them will go on the more slowly for want of tools; for though I have bought a few for them, we can do but little, for alas a few will set but a few on work, and they be very dear too; had I store of hoes this Autumne either to lend them or sell them at moderate prizes, we should prepare (by Gods blessing) good store of ground for corne against next yeere; and had I wherewith to buy corne to carry up to the place, and have it in a readinesse to supply them, that so they might carry at their work, and not be shut off through necessity to go get food, that also would be a great furtherance; and had we but means to maintaine a discreet diligent man to work with them, and guide them in work, that also would much further the work; and many such things I could propound as very requisite unto the work, but I lay my hand upon my mouth, I will say no more, I have left it with the Lord, who hath hitherto appeared, and he will appear for his own eternal praise in shining upon the day of our smal things in his due season.

The blessing of God upon this work doth comfortably, hopefully, & successfully, appear in the labours of my brother *Mabu* at *Martins Vineyard*, insomuch that I hope they also will be after awhile ripe for this work of Civility and Cohabitation, if once they see a successful pattern of it, and I doubt not but they will (as these do) ere long, desire Church-fellowship, and the Ordinances of Gods worship; the cloud increaseth, and the Lord seemeth to be coming in among them; they are very desirous to have their children taught, which is one argument that they truly love the knowledge of God;

as on the contrary, it is a great ground of doubt of the truth of grace in that mans heart, when he hath not an heart to take care to traine up his children in the truth and in the practise of all godlinesse, but this care is in them, and it is pity it should not be furthered by all meanes; I have intreated a woman living neer where they dwell, to do that office for their children, and I pay her for it; but when they go to their plantation, we shall be in a streight for help that way; the Indians so well like the parties who performeth that service, that they intreat them to go with them, which I look at as a finger of God; they are I hope a godly couple, and might be a blessing to them, had we meanes to encourage them unto so difficult an enterprize, for it is a great matter to go and live among such a people; but in that case also, I look up to the Lord, and leave it with his holy care and wisdom; and if the Lord move any hearts to help in this work, I desire that the care of their schooling may be among the chiefeft cares.

If the Lord please to prosper our poor beginnings, my purpose is, (so for as the Lord shall enable me to give attendance unto the work) to have schoole exercises for all the men by daily instructing of them to read and write, &c. Yea if the Lord affords us fit instruments, my desire is, that all the women may be taught to read; I know the matter will be difficult every way, for English people can only teach them to read English; and for their own Language we have no book, my desire therefore is to teach them all to write, and read written hand, and thereby with pains taking, they may have some of the Scriptures in their own Language; I have one already who can write, so that I can read his writing well, and he (with some paines and teaching) can read mine; I hope the Lord will both enlarge his understanding and others also to do as he doth; and if once I had some of themselves able to spell aright, write and read, it might further the work exceedingly, and will be the speediest way.

Sir, When I had gone thus farre in my Letters, by a Ship that came in, you wrote unto our Governour touching the two Libraries, my brother *Wells* and Mr. *Jenners*, and of the willingnesse of the Corporation to discharge for them, for which cause I do humbly thank the Worshipful Corporation, all the Christian and much respected Gentlemen my loving friends. And Sir, I thank you for all your faithful pains in this work, and the more I am obliged thereunto, because herein I am like to partake of the fruit of your la-

bours, the Lord Jesus give you a full reward.

Whereas you require the Catalogue of both Libraries, it shall be done (if God will) but I am to go into the Countrey to the Indians now, and have much businesse, therefore know not whether I can do it by this Ship, if I can I will.

This last Court of Commissioners sate at *Hartford Conecticot*, so that I could not speak with them, but this course I took by our Governours advice; our General Court gave him, with some other, power to give instructions to our Commissioners; therefore all my requests I did write unto him, and he gave them in his Instructions to our Commissioners, so they went strong.

Sir,

I have done at present, Mr. *Whisfeld* will informe you farther in any particulars if need be: The Lord of heaven blesse and assist you in all your wayes, and I beg your prayers for me still, and so rest

Roxbury this 21th }
of the 8th. } 50

Yours in our Lord Jesus.

JOHN ELIOT.

The Conclusion.

Ainfw.

AND now (loving Reader) having brought thee along through these Divine dispensations of Gods merciful dealing with the Indians, I shall briefly acquaint thee with the workings of my own thoughts under the apprehension of these things.

First, I see plainly the fulfilling of that Divine truth and promise spoken of by David, *Psal. 138. 2.* Thou hast magnified thy Word above all thy Name, *i. e.* The Word in the Gospel brought and preached to men. The Lord hath made this Word the only outward instrumental means to bring home these Wandring sinners; to this Word they have attended from the first; from this they have received their light; unto this they have given up themselves; without this they will not stirre; from this they will not depart; from hence they have their peace, and have seen good dayes under the Kingdome of our Lord Christ.

Secondly, the Lord hath now declared one great end he had of send-

ing many of his people to those ends of the earth; for besides that the Lord hath made that Land a place of rest, and a little sanctuary to them in these troublesome times, and hath made it a place where many, very many have been brought home to Christ, even amongst themselves; so now apparently in the conversion of many of the Heathens, who sing and rejoyce in the wayes of the Lord. Ezek. 11

Thirdly, when I looked on my dear native Country (in the bulke and masse of them) there is one above doth know, that my heart melteth towards it, desiring the Lord to give me grace to sorrow in secret for millions of them, who were never yet acquainted with what many of these poore Indianns have felt and found of the things of Christ, and that multitudes of such who hold forth a profession of Christian Religion, yet fall short of them, in regard of their belief and practise. Here I helped my self by comparing the one with the other, and that in divers particulars.

1. These Indians are found (to speak of such whose hearts the Lord hath opened by his Word and Spirit) to prize Ordinances, and such as bring the Light to them, even that poor Indian, whose best clothing is a simple skin about him, of whom you read in the first Letter, yet they honour him for his works sake, and for those gifts, piety, and modesty they see in him; Here Ministers of Christ are despised, though many of them are eminent for parts, wisdom, and known integrity.

2. These Indians are plain-hearted seek for Christ to enjoy him for himself; they receive the Truth in the love of it, and obey it without shifing or gain-saying; Here men have their own ends to tend to in matter of Religion, rake up the forme, and let the power lie, as not serving their turn have evasions to get from under the authority of the truth, and the Majesty of the Rules of Christ; here is rending and tearing of Wits, whilst we wrangle one another out of the truth, till love and peace be lost.

3. These Indians are industrious and pursue the things of their salvation, rest they cannot, have it they must, what ever it cost them, bearing up strongly against all opposition: We have weak and bed-rid dispositions, sunk down into a sottish and sensuall way; in many the kingdome of Hell suffers violence, and none can withstand them, but thither they will.

4. These mourn and weep bitterly, and are pained under the sight and sense of their sins, when convinced of them; that some of them have been known to have wet with their teares the places weere they have

stood. We here for the most part, the Lord knowes, live with dry eyes, and hard hearts, and sleight spirits.

5. They are careful and constant in duties of worship, both in private and family prayer, hearing the Word, observation of the Sabbath, meet often together, and will pray together as occasion serves, converse lovingly together, are teachable, patient, and contented. O that there were such hearts in us! O that their example did not shame multitudes of us who are fearfully guilty of omitting what the very light of Nature calls for from us! For this my heart is sad, fearing that if the Lord do not mightily step in, the next generation will be betrayed to Ignorance of the Truth as it is in Jesus, to Delusions and Profaneness, and be rendred odious to all our neighbour Nations; and that these Indians will rise up in judgment against us and our children at the last day. Brethren, the Lord hath no need of us, but if it please him, can carry his Gospel to the other side of the world; and make it there to shine forth in its glory, brightnesse, power and purity, and leave us in Indian darknesse.

And concerning these Indians, who have tasted how gracious the Lord is, though it cannot be expected but that the Devil should be like himself, by the counter-working of this blessed work, both by himself and his instruments, so as to cause many of them to totter, back slide, and fall away from what they have professed; yet I have ground to conceive and hope, that there is such a candle lighted amongst the Indians in those parts which shall not be put out till Christ comes to judgment, for the accomplishment of which he shall not cease to pray, who is

Your loving friend in

all Christian duties.

HENRY WHITFIELD.

FINIS.