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Speech, Text and Performance in John Eliot's Writing

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Abstract

John Eliot (1601-1690) was one of the first English missionaries to settle in the New World. Over the past four centuries his life and missionary work with the Algonquian Indians of Massachusetts Bay, New England, have been documented in various forms including biographies, poems, fiction and children's stories. In addition to his active missionary work, Eliot was also a prolific writer and translator: he contributed to many promotional pamphlets, authored one of the most controversial commonwealth treatises of the seventeenth century, published fictional dialogues of Algonquian Indians, composed language and logic primers to help in the translation of Massachusett into English and vice versa. His most ambitious and famous publication is his translation of the Bible into the Massachusett dialect of Algonquian.

Throughout the twentieth century, Eliot's reputation as a missionary and a translator has received much critical attention, especially from historians of the colonial period. However, given recent moves to expand the canon of colonial literature, it is surprising that there is no book-length literary analysis of his work. In order to redress this balance and consider Eliot's work from a literary rather than a historical perspective, this thesis considers the written records of direct speech, conversations, speeches, dialogues and deathbed confessions of Algonquian Praying Indians, in order to investigate the use and manipulation of written and spoken communicative strategies. By considering Eliot's work in terms of speech, text and performance, this thesis traces the performative nature of cultural identity through the emergence and inter-dependence of English, New English, Indian, and Praying Indian identities.

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Introduction

John Eliot and the Canon of Colonial Literature

John Eliot, an Englishman, a minister and a Puritan, left England in 1631 and travelled on board the *Lyon* to Massachusetts Bay, New England. Following in the footsteps of John Winthrop, Eliot sailed to the New World in search of religious freedom.

Eliot died in 1690 at the age of eighty-six, and during this long career as a minister and a missionary (for which he was dubbed “Apostle to the Indians”) he made numerous contributions to missionary narratives, engaged fervently in the transatlantic debate over England’s political and religious trials during the 1650s, wrote Algonquian / English language and logic primers, translated the Bible and other religious texts into Algonquian, and published in diverse literary genres including the dialogue and the monologue (such as the speeches of *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians*). Although John Eliot was one of Cotton Mather’s “New England Divines,”¹ and a prolific writer and recorder of colonial encounters with the Algonquian Indians of Massachusetts Bay, he is rarely included in anthologies of American, Early American or New England writing and literature. Despite his transatlantic readership and his literary diversity, Eliot has had a very limited place in the canon of Early American literature.

One of the brief appearances that Eliot does make is in *The English Literatures of America*, which is edited by Myra Jehlen and Michael Warner. Included in this collection is a small

¹ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana, Or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from the First Planting in the Year 1620 unto the Year of our Lord, 1698* (London, 1702) Book III. In Book III of *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Eliot appears alongside other notable New England ministers, including John Cotton, John Winthrop and Thomas Hooker. For an abridged version, including details from “The Life of John Eliot,” see:

extract from one of his missionary narratives and is given the title “Indians and Imps” by the editors.² The extract details the conversion of one anonymous Indian and is taken from *Tears of Repentance*, which was published in England in 1652. The inclusion of Eliot’s work in this anthology of colonial literature is significant on two counts. Firstly, this is the only appearance Eliot makes in recent anthologies of American and Early American Literature. Indeed, even in more specific anthologies of writing from early New England, *The Puritans*, edited by Perry Miller and Thomas Johnson, and Alden T. Vaughan’s *The Puritan Tradition in America, 1620-1730*, for example, Eliot figures rather obliquely. In Miller and Johnson’s anthology the inclusion of the “Preface” and short extract from *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), which Eliot translated into English with Richard Mather and Thomas Welde, shows that to some extent his collaborative work is acknowledged, but more typical is the inclusion of texts which are written about him. In *The Puritans* Miller and Johnson include Cotton Mather’s “Life of John Eliot,” and Vaughan includes in *The Puritan Tradition* “Eliot among the Indians,” which is an account of Eliot’s missionary work by one of his contemporaries, either Thomas Shepard or John Wilson.³ To a large extent, therefore, twentieth-century editors have anthologised a record of Eliot’s life, endowing him with substantial historical importance, but have not included extracts from his publications in their collections. For these reasons perhaps, literary scholars have not engaged with Eliot’s work to the same extent that they have considered the work of Roger Williams, for example, whose *Key into the Language of America* (1643) is regularly included in anthologies of American and Early American Literature, and is comparable with Eliot’s *Indian Grammar* (1666) and his *Indian Dialogues* (1671). Nor have scholars collected Eliot’s work in the way that Thomas Shepard’s and Roger Williams’s letters and publications, for example, have been selected and edited in

Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana, or The Ecclesiastical History of New England*, ed. Raymond J. Cunningham (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co.) 1970.

² John Eliot, “Indians and Imps,” *The English Literatures of America 1500 – 1800*, eds. Myra Jehlen and Michael Warner (New York: Routledge, 1997) 318.

³ Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson, eds., *The Puritans*. 1938. Volume I & II. Revised. (London: Harper & Row, 1963); Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *The Puritan Tradition in America 1620-1730* (London: Harper & Row, 1972).

recent years.⁴ Eliot's *Indian Dialogues* and *Indian Grammar* are the only book-length publications to have been reissued recently, and there are several collections of private letters available in certain library collections.⁵ Given the volume of Eliot's published work, it is unfortunate that there is not an edited collection of selected or complete works.

Therefore, when Jehlen and Warner decided to include Eliot's own narrative account of Indian conversion in an anthology of English *literature* of America they incorporated Eliot into a literary canon from which he had been largely excluded. However, the framework of this inclusion presents its own difficulties and brings me to my second point. The short narrative identifies the complex cultural network in which Eliot participates: the title, "Indians and Imps," and the content of the selected narrative stress the distinction between converted and unconverted Indians, as well as the colonial missionary's place in the process of religious conversion. In this instance, as a New England missionary, Eliot predicates his own social position and cultural identity on the emergence of the converted Algonquian Praying Indian. However, the title also exoticises Eliot's representation of converted and unconverted Algonquian Indians and is contrary to his efforts to normalise, assimilate and intellectualise Native converts in the eyes of his English readers. For example, the personal narratives of Waban and other Native converts to Christianity in missionary tracts such as *Tears of Repentance* (1652), as well as *Indian Dialogues* (1671) and *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians* (1685), often stress the intellect of the speakers through their ability to interpret and interrogate biblical text. Unlike Thomas Hariot's *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1588), which exoticises the image of American Indians to a

⁴ Collections of Thomas Shepard's work include: Michael McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot: Puritan Spirituality in Thomas Shepard's Cambridge*. 1972. Revised and Expanded (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994); John A. Albro, ed., *The Sincere Convert and The Sound Believer*. 1853. (Ligonier, PA: Solo Deo Gloria Publications, 1991). For a comprehensive collection of Roger Williams' work, see: Roger Williams, *Complete Writings*, ed. Perry Miller (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963).

⁵ Collection of Eliot's personal letters include: *John Eliot and the Indians 1652-1657: Being Letters Addressed to Rev. Jonathon Hanmer of Barnstable, England*, ed. Wilberforce Eames (New York: The Adams and Grace Press, 1915); *Some Unpublished Correspondence of the Rev. Richard Baxter and the Rev. John Eliot "Apostle to the American Indians," 1656-1682*, ed. F.J. Powicke (The John Rylands Library. Manchester: Manchester University Press 1931) 138-176 and 442 – 466.

significant degree (and is also included in Jehlen and Warner's anthology), Eliot constructs far more complex structures of cultural comparison which allow New English, English and Christian Indian identities to develop interdependently. Therefore, in this thesis my main interest is to investigate and examine the ways in which Eliot presents evolving cultural identities and cross-cultural relationships.

During Eliot's career in the colony, a career which spanned almost sixty years, there was considerable controversy about what constituted "Englishness" and, more significantly, "New Englishness." Rather than try to characterise Eliot's writing as typically English or New English, since such boundaries were only beginning to establish themselves at this time, in this thesis I will examine his published work to assess the ways in which different cultural identities (relating to Englishness and Indianness) emerge and perform in an English, colonial and transatlantic space. I will draw on a large body of literary, cultural and historical analysis which assesses the English colonial experience, as well as similar studies relating to traditional Algonquian society which have stressed the implicit and explicit violence in the religious, economic and geographic colonisation of the New World.

Biography and Critical Reassessment

In the most recent biography of John Eliot, Ola Winslow comments: "Pioneers are not always men of the gentler virtues, but John Eliot was one of the gentlest of men and beloved by hundreds, as such men deserve to be."⁶ Winslow takes her lead from Cotton Mather's comments on Eliot's life and work in *Magnalia Christi Americana*. Shortly after Eliot's death, 1690, Mather retrospectively describes Eliot in the context of New and Old Testament examples. Initially, Eliot is referred to as "Moses in America," and then John the Baptist, allowing Mather to conclude: "He that will write of *Eliot*, must write of *Charity*, or say nothing. His *Charity* was a star of the *First Magnitude* in the bright Constellation of his

⁶ Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *John Eliot "Apostle to the Indians"* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1968) 1.

Vertues; and the Rays of it were wonderfully various and extensive.”⁷ Commentators like Winslow, who champion Eliot’s contribution to the New England colony and his dedication to the success of the mission, remain uncritical of the impact which the imposition and spread of Christianity had on the traditions and heritage of Native American societies because they resist the links which the mission and missionary practice had with political, social and economic concerns of colonisation. It is perhaps surprising that this benevolent image of the colonial missionary has remained largely undisturbed until fairly recently.

In contrast to Winslow, James P. Ronda, for example, has forwarded an alternative understating of the work and consequences of religious conversion. As part of a group of studies which have reassessed the ‘benevolence’ of Eliot’s role as a missionary in Massachusetts Bay, Ronda accuses Eliot of being complicit in a form of “cultural suicide” when he encourages Indians to convert to Christianity.⁸ Francis Jennings and George Tinker also contribute to this historical (or ethnohistorical) reassessment and suggest that rather than benevolent bystanders, seventeenth-century missionaries were equally responsible for the decimation of Native culture and traditions. Jennings characterises Eliot as “authoritarian” and “repressive,” and Tinker goes so far as to describe Eliot’s participation in the social, economic, political and religious aspects of the colonisation process as an act of “cultural genocide.”⁹ Winslow’s biography has dated somewhat since its publication in 1968, but the extreme differences in the characterisation and critical reception of John Eliot, from the benevolent missionary to the cultural crusader, serve to emphasise the strains and tensions which are prevalent, and unresolved, in Eliot’s work.

⁷ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, Book III, 172, 180, 181.

⁸ James P. Ronda, “‘We Are Well as We Are’: An Indian Critique of Seventeenth-Century Christian Missions.” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series. 34, 1 (1977): 66-82, 67.

⁹ George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest: The Gospel and Native American Cultural Genocide* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993) 21. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion Within: Indians, Colonisation, and the Cant of Conquest*. 1975. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 1976) 253. Also see: Francis Jennings, “Goals and Functions of Puritan Missions To the Indians,” *Ethnohistory*, 18, 3 (1971): 197-212.

However, despite the criticisms which Jennings, Ronda and Tinker level at Eliot, by casting him uncomplicatedly as a colonial aggressor, they find it difficult to account for the anti-slavery petition that he sent from Deer Island to the Boston Government and Council. In the wake of what is known as “King Philip’s War,” which began in 1675, converted and unconverted Indians were removed to Deer Island by the Massachusetts authorities. After removal, and after experiencing the conditions on Deer Island for himself, Eliot sent a petition to the Boston Government and Council “against selling Indians for slaves.” This is a fascinating anti-slavery document which pits the violence of the English in the New World against the violence and depopulation of Indian tribes by Spanish conquistadors. While vilifying the English, Eliot asserts that continuation of the war and the selling of captives as slaves will only result in a “p[ro]longation of the warre & such an exaspation of y^m as may p[ro]duce we know not what evil consequences.”¹⁰ Unsurprisingly, Eliot couches his anti-slavery and anti-war stance in religious rhetoric, and appeals to his English and Protestant audience by uniting religion with financial exchange:

The Lord hath so succeeded y^t work, as that (by his grace) they have the holy Scriptures & sundry of themselves able to teach their countrymen, the good knowledge of God. And however some of y^m have refused to receive the gospel, & now are incensed in their spirits unto a warre against the English: yet I doubt not but the meaning of Christ is, to open a dore for the free passage of the gospel among y^m – my humble request is, y^t you would follow Christ his designe in this matter, to p[ro]mote the free passage of Religion among y^m, & not to destroy y^m – to sell soules for money seemeth to me a dangerous merchandize. to sell y^m away

¹⁰ John Eliot, “A Petition from Rev. John Eliot against selling Indians for slaves”. 13th of the 6th, ’75. *New England Historic and Genealogical Register*. Volume 6, July 1852, 297.

from all meanes of grace wⁿ Christ hath p^r vided meanes of grace for y^m, is the way for us to be active in the destroying of their Soules.¹¹

While the religious conditions and qualifications of this petition are not the altruistic sentiments that we can encounter from later anti-slavery petitions,¹² Eliot characterises English colonisers as the aggressive force, at a time when this would have been especially controversial. From this petition, it is clear that Eliot was aware of his position as a mediator between the colonial hierarchy and the Algonquian Indians of Massachusetts Bay, and was not afraid, in this case, to be outspoken about his dismay at the colony's actions in this war. From the perspective of Indian captives on Deer Island, he resists appropriating the image of Indians as passive victims. Instead, Eliot acknowledges the rights of those who have rejected religious conversion and, although he certainly regrets their resistance to Christianity, he does not make any value judgements, except to stress that increased violence on the part of the colonial armies will certainly increase Native resistance to the colonisers and Christianity.

Ultimately, this text is ambiguous and confirms my initial observation about the unresolved tensions in Eliot's work which continue to be of interest to scholars of colonial literature and history. Certainly, the destruction wrought by colonisation cannot be minimised, but to dismiss the work of Eliot and other New England missionaries in the violent terms of Ronda and Tinker, is, to some extent, to silence the voices of many seventeenth-century Christian Indians. In part, this thesis considers the ways in which the voices of Christian Indians are constituted and perform within the bounds of a Puritan colonial framework. While Neal Salisbury suggests that Christian Indians, rather than willing participants in their conversion

¹¹ John Eliot, "A Petition from Rev. John Eliot," 297. *The New England Historic and Genealogical Register* append a copy of a document by John Leverett, who also visited Deer Island in 1675. The document is dated 22 9th, '75, and describes the sale of seven Indians: George, William, ffawkins, great David, Renles, John Indian and Tommoquin.

¹² Specifically, Eliot's anti-slavery petition pre-dates Samuel Sewall's "The Selling of Joseph," by twenty-five years. "The Selling of Joseph: A Memorial." (Boston, 1700). Included in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*. Series Five. Volume Six. (Boston, 1878-1882) 16-21.

to Christianity, were “responding to the crisis posed by English expansion into their lands,”¹³ I will take up Ronda’s challenge and engage with the “Indian Speeches (which) were filtered through white interpreters, recorded by white secretaries.”¹⁴

In order to examine the ambiguity and tensions prevalent in Eliot’s publications, I will focus on strategies of communication. That is, I will consider Eliot’s work in terms of the way he harnesses the medium of speech in text and, further, elaborate on the consequences this has on the emergence of Indian, Christian Indian, English and New English identities. Before developing this literary analysis, it is important to situate Eliot’s work in a literary context, rather than the historical context to which analysis of his texts has most often been limited. To this end, it is also important to clarify the distinctions between colonial literature and colonial history.

Colonial Literature and Colonial History

In the past thirty years, there has been substantial critical debate about what differentiates British and / or American colonial literature, from British / American colonial history.

Although the *Early American Literature Newsletter* was launched in 1966, literary scholars of the colonial period have continued to wrestle with concerns about the limits of their own particular field. Philip Gura has suggested that since Perry Miller’s intellectual dominance of colonial studies, scholars of Early American literature have had to address two professions: one literary and the other historical.¹⁵ However, David Levin responds to this by stressing the interdisciplinary nature of the American Colonial period: “Many scholars on both sides of the departmental border believed that one profession had been arbitrarily divided.”¹⁶ Further, in

¹³ Neal Salisbury, “Red Puritans: The ‘Praying Indians’ of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot,” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series. 31, 1 (1974): 27-54, 52.

¹⁴ Ronda, “We Are Well As We Are”, 67.

¹⁵ “And because intellectual as well as literary historians took Miller seriously, to study colonial American literature in these three decades meant that one addressed, as least implicitly, two professions.” Philip F. Gura, “The Study of Colonial American Literature, 1966-1987: A Vade Mecum,” *William And Mary Quarterly*. Third Series. 45, 2 (1988): 305-341, 306.

¹⁶ David Levin, “A Survivor’s Tale,” *William And Mary Quarterly*. Third Series. 45, 2(1988): 345-347, 346.

this debate, which took place in the pages of the *William And Mary Quarterly*, Norman S. Grabo extends the boundaries for the study of the colonial period to include developments in anthropology (Levi-Strauss), linguistics (Saussure) and critical theory (structuralism and deconstruction). This of course highlights very specific questions about what we mean by literary or historical analysis.

In response to this, William Spengemann radically contends: "Every piece of writing contains information that only literary analysis can extract, and its value as a literary work depends largely on the amount of information it can be made to divulge by these means."¹⁷ Therefore, as Spengemann suggests, rather than rely on "generic" classification of poetry, drama, fiction, and "the familiar essay," of which there are relatively few examples in Early American literature, compared with English literature of the period, the literature of the colonial period demands new categories of interpretation and new methods of analysis. Again, Spengemann comments: "Studying the literature of British America means finding out what it is and what can be said of it."¹⁸ Ironically, this argument presents its own limitations: if literary analysis can be infinitely moulded and adapted to meet the needs of any written text, then the category itself risks becoming meaningless. In order to resist this limitless abandon, but continue the study of colonial texts which do not conform to traditional generic categories, Larzer Ziff has recommended that:

(T)hey (literary scholars) should concern themselves with the strategies of the author and their effect on the reader; they should, that is, concentrate on precisely those matters that purists may consider beyond the scope of the history of the

¹⁷ William C. Spengemann, "Discovering the Literature of British America," *Early American Literature* 18, 1 (1983): 3-16, 5.

¹⁸ Spengemann, "Discovering the Literature of British America," 14. Spengemann develops his analysis of what constitutes 'literary' texts and literary history in a more theoretical context in: "American Things / Literary Things: The Problem of American Literary History," *American Literature* 57, 3 (1985): 456-481.

book even though such matters constitute the reason why we are interested in books and therefore in their history.

Another matter calling for literary attention is that of the change from an oral to a print culture, a change that, finally, requires its interpreter to possess a sensibility that registers the subtle ways in which the circumstances of writing what will be printed (as opposed, say, to printing what one has written) becomes constitutive of new styles and new genres.

And, to offer just one more example, literary scholars might well concern themselves with the multiple meanings of “representation” – from the duplication in words of what is apparent to the eye to the emblemizing in words of what otherwise cannot be perceived – and the relation of such ideas and practices of literary representation to notions of political, representation and social presence.¹⁹

New approaches to literary studies, which Spengemann and Ziff describe, as well as the influence of anthropology, linguistics and critical theory, as mentioned above, have allowed literary scholars to expand interpretative strategies and frameworks in order to develop readings of promotional pamphlets, captivity narratives, political tracts and political speeches, for example. Specifically, Gesa Mackenthun’s *Metaphors of Dispossession*, Phillip Round’s *By Nature and By Custom Cursed*, Thomas Scanlan’s *Colonial Writing in the New World*, Jay Fliegelman’s *Declaration of Independence*, and Sandra Gustafson’s *Eloquence is Power*, all published within the past ten years, demonstrate the impact which a renewed understanding of colonial literature has had on our understanding of colonial culture generally.²⁰

¹⁹ Larzer Ziff, “Text and Context,” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series. 45, 2 (1988): 348-349, 349.

²⁰ Gesa Mackenthun, *Metaphors of Dispossession: American Beginnings and the Translation of Empire, 1492-1637* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1997); Phillip H. Round, *By Nature and by Custom Cursed: Transatlantic Civil Discourse and New England Cultural Production, 1620-1660* (Hanover and London: University Presses of New England, 1999), Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Jay Fliegelman’s *Declaration of Independence: Jefferson, natural language and the Culture of Performance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press,

In this way, literary critics have begun to reassess the important work of Miller and Bercovitch, probably the two most influential scholars in the field, and the literary framework which they have created for the interpretation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonial literature. Bercovitch in particular suggests: "The Puritans provided their heirs, in New England first and then the United States, with a useful, flexible, durable, and compelling fantasy of American identity."²¹ However, approaching early American Literature as a literature which can be explained best as a foreshadowing of later American classics runs the risk of denying colonial texts the right to be defined and analysed on their own terms. To clarify this concern in his Review Essay for Emory Elliot's *Puritan Influences in American Literature*, Spengemann asks:

What prompts this seemingly irresistible urge to trace a line of continuity between the New England Puritans and the masterpieces of nineteenth- and even twentieth-century American Literature? Do we perhaps secretly concur in the judgement of our students and colleagues in other fields of English, that Winthrop's *Journal* is good but not very literary and that Bradstreet's poems are literary but not very good, and therefore feel that such writing will fly only when tethered to Emerson's or Dickinson's ascending balloons? Or, are we afraid that if Melville's roots are found anywhere but in seventeenth-century New England his Americanness will somehow be compromised?²²

My argument here is not to minimise the enormous and valuable influence which Miller and Bercovitch have had on colonial literary studies. In fact, I find the work they have done to

1993); Sandra M. Gustafson, *Eloquence is Power: Oratory & Performance in Early America* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

²¹ Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Rites of Assent: Transformations in the Symbolic Construction of America* (New York: Routledge, 1993) 7. To understand this trajectory of American literature, see also: Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975); Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978). For Miller's analysis of the "Plain Style," see: Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*. 1939. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961).

trace the intellectual and literary continuities through different generations of American writers particularly compelling. Rather, I want to stress that the study of colonial literature need not be predicated on its usefulness or relevance to later American writing.

While many of the scholars I have referred to above have noted that the Puritan literature of New England has probably had the best deal in terms of literary analysis when compared with literature from the Pacific and the Caribbean, for example, there are writers from New England whose work has been somewhat neglected by literary scholars. As I have already outlined, Eliot's work is not often anthologised in the literary canon; surprisingly, given recent developments in literary studies of the colonial period, there is currently no book-length literary study of his work. Certainly, Scanlan, Round, Gustafson, and others, include Eliot's work in their analysis of the period, and in different ways, each writer has enriched my understanding of Eliot immensely. Still, Richard Cogley's *historical analysis, John Eliot's Mission to the Indians Before King Philip's War*, remains the most comprehensive book-length study of Eliot's life and work to be published in recent years.

In general, recent literary studies of colonial texts from New England have re-examined what constitutes the language of Puritanism. Implicit in this reassessment is the analysis of certain systems of meaning through, for example, the manipulation of truth-telling strategies and the use of typological allegory. In this context Eliot's publications are certainly ripe for literary reassessment and in this thesis I am particularly interested in Eliot's intentions as a writer, his literary techniques, and his awareness of the audiences whom he has in mind for particular texts. From this starting point, I will examine the ways in which his texts perform, both in the colony, to colonial and Native audiences, and transatlantically, to English audiences. Since my focus is on the performance of cultural identities contained in the speeches and reported speech within the letters, narratives (missionary and political) dialogues and monologues,

²² William C. Spengemann, "Review Essay," *Early American Literature* 16, 2 (1981): 175-186, 182.

much of my critical vocabulary and methodology is influenced by theories of performance and performativity.

Writing Performatively and Literary Analysis

In her analysis of Villagra's *Historia de la nueva Mexico*, Jill Lane focuses on the performances of honour, heroism and violence in the narratives of the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Spanish conquest. Lane stresses that these later performances of conquest in the actions and written records of Villagra and Onate's conquest of New Mexico were deliberately recast from earlier sixteenth-century examples, specifically the actions and written records of Cortes's conquest of the Aztecs. Lane argues: "Between the sword and the pen of Spanish conquest lies a complex range of performative acts and rhetorical postures, both warlike and writerly, that advance, restage, and seal Castilian rule in new territory, thereby perpetuating and reinventing Spanish empire across time and space."²³ Lane's is an important essay in the field of colonial studies because it situates colonial literature in the context of cultural performances, and identifies the inseparability of the actual performance of conquest with the literature that shapes contemporaneous and historical understandings of these actions. In this sense, Lane's approach is useful for the study of the English colonisation of the New World. In fact, the above quote from Lane's essay might easily be re-worded in order to invite a similar analysis of seventeenth-century New England literature. Any understanding of seventeenth-century English colonisation, and John Eliot's missionary role in that process, requires the negotiation of a "complex range of performative acts and rhetorical postures." Further, as the English colonisation is both religious and "writerly" it 'advances,' 'restages' and 'seals' English rule "in a new territory, thereby perpetuating and reinventing" the English empire "across boundaries of time and space".

²³ Jill Lane, "On Colonial Forgetting: The Conquest of New Mexico and Its *Historia*," *The Ends of Performance*, eds. Peggy Phelan and Jill Lane (New York and London: New York University Press, 1998) 54.

While the behaviour and records of the Spanish and English colonisers differ in the specific details, they are similar to the extent that the act or performance of the coloniser/missionary/conquistador has to be effectively harnessed in the written text in order to sustain, 'stage' and 'restage' the (re)invention of a culture, a nation and an empire. To some extent, therefore, John Eliot's work, and the texts which Lane discusses, can be considered as performative texts. That is, the authors of the texts are equally interested in what the text "does" in addition to what the text means. In each of the following four chapters I will consider the ways in which Eliot's texts are performative as they seek to create and / or feed the emergence of national, colonial and Native identities. To this end, it becomes apparent that the effects of the texts are more important in some respects than accuracy of any representations contained within. As I will go on to argue in this thesis, from Eliot's earliest promotional pamphlets in 1643, through the years of regicide and restoration, up until *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians* in 1685, Eliot was particularly adept at judging and engaging with several different audiences at once, be they colonial, English or Indian. Therefore, the complexities of the various intermingled cultural performances, as well as the effects of these performances on specific audiences, are particularly fascinating, and yet to date these issues have received limited critical analysis.

An important element of Eliot's performative aesthetic, that is his desire to affect the emergence of new colonial and native identities, is located in his ability to harness the medium of speech and speeches in his letters, missionary narratives, promotional pamphlets, dialogues and deathbed speeches. Therefore, in order to consider the emergence of cultural identities in Eliot's writing it is important to outline the relationship between speech, speech acts and literary speech acts.

Speech act theory, which emerged from structuralist theories of language and, specifically, J.L. Austin's *How To Do Things With Words*, provides a suitable category through which the

literary speech acts of Eliot's letters, missionary narratives, dialogues, speeches and promotional tracts may be analysed. J.L. Austin distinguishes between constative and performative language; that is, he distinguishes between words that report an event and words that enact the event. Austin restricts his analysis of performative language to the spoken word, since he argues: "written utterances are not tethered to their origin in the same way spoken ones are."²⁴ That is, written "utterances" are not as performative as spoken utterances because, as Butler states in her critique of the problem, the force of the speaker and speaker's bodily gestures cannot be known, so the "total speech situation" is incomplete.²⁵ However, Derrida expands the limits of speech act theory to account for the performative possibilities of written text when he asserts (via his analysis of Condillac): "Writing is thus a modality of language and marks a continual progression in an essentially linguistic communication."²⁶

Recently, Della Pollock has elaborated more fully on performative writing, and has suggested that, in part, "performative writing is *consequential*."²⁷ Pollock then defines this aspect of performative writing as a process which:

.....not only dramatizes J. L. Austin's early distinction between constative and performative utterances – between words that report what other people do and words that *do* what other words report (.....) – but subsumes the constative into the performative, articulating language generally as an operational means of

²⁴ J.L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words*, eds. J.O. Urmson and Marina Sbisa. Second Edition. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) 61.

²⁵ "J.L. Austin proposed that to know what makes the force of an utterance effective, what establishes its performative character, one must first locate the utterance within a 'total speech situation.' There is, however, no easy way to decide on how best to delimit that totality. An examination of Austin's own view furnishes at least one reason for such difficulty. Austin distinguishes 'illocutionary' from 'perlocutionary' speech acts: the former are speech acts that, in saying do what they say, and do it in the moment of that saying; the latter are speech acts that produce certain effects as their consequence; by saying something, a certain effect follows." Judith Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (New York: Routledge, 1997) 2/3.

²⁶ Jacques Derrida, "Signature, Event, Context," *Limited Inc.* 1988. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1997) 4.

²⁷ Della Pollock, "Performing Writing," *The Ends of Performance*, eds., Peggy Phelan and Jill Lane (New York and London: New York University Press, 1998) 94.

action and effects. Writing that takes up the performativity in language is meant to make a difference, 'to make things happen.'²⁸

As I will demonstrate in the following chapters, in Eliot's writing there is always a clear agenda of trying to 'make something happen.' This occurs on a basic level when, in his promotional pamphlets, he attempts to elicit funds for his mission from wealthy benefactors and Puritan congregations in England. On a more far-reaching scale, by harnessing the medium of speech through the written text, Eliot also attempts to modify the cultural map of New and Old World relationships as he creates new cultural categories (for instance the Praying Indian identity) and negotiates existing cultural boundaries. In general, Eliot's agenda modulates between being clearly drawn and being closely veiled, as he accommodates the different religious and political leanings of different audiences. Eliot's motivations, alongside his attempts to "make things happen," through harnessing the communicative and performative strategies of speech and text, are central concerns of this thesis. However, Judith Butler's analysis of the unstable and uncertain nature of performatives is also significant and important to my analysis of Eliot's work. Butler states:

The effects of performatives, understood as discursive productions, do not conclude at the terminus of a given statement or utterance, the passing of legislation, the announcement of a birth. The reach of their significability cannot be controlled by the one who utters or writes, since such productions are not owned by the one who utters them. They continue to signify in spite of their authors, and sometimes against their authors' most precious intentions.²⁹

²⁸ Pollock, "Performing Writing," 94/5. Pollock quotes Marianna Torgovnick: Marianna Torgovnick, ed., *Eloquent Obsessions: Writing Cultural Criticism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994) 4.

²⁹ Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (London: Routledge, 1993) 241.

Therefore, while I will consider Eliot's intentions and his deliberate attempts to gauge the political and religious leanings of his audiences, I will also take into account the so-called 'unintentional' effects of his work. This becomes particularly relevant to my analysis of Indian and Praying Indian identity as the transcribed speeches and conversations of real and imaginary Indians at times perform against the Puritan framework which constitutes their textual existence. In each of the following chapters I will consider Eliot's publications with a particular emphasis on the uses of speech, speeches, conversations, and dialogues, in order to examine the performances of English, New English and Indian identities.

In Chapter One I consider Eliot's missionary Tracts, the first of which was published in 1643 and the last in 1671. These Tracts span a large part of Eliot's career and demonstrate very clearly the changing political and religious persuasions of his English audiences. In this chapter I focus on the transatlantic relationship between an emerging independent colonial identity and a metropolitan English identity, which is itself unstable as political events of the 1650s demonstrate. A substantial part of the missionary Tracts were taken up with Eliot's translations and transcriptions of Indian confessional narratives, and with reference to these confessions I will identify the emerging Praying Indian identity and the colonial, New English identity which is predicated upon it.

In Chapter Two I continue to address the relationships and cultural boundaries of New and Old World identity formations, but I will concentrate on the millennial pretensions of *The Christian Commonwealth* and Eliot's contribution to *Jews in America*. Both texts were written in the early 1650s but were not published until the end of that decade, which accounts for the seemingly ill-judged celebration of Charles I's execution in *The Christian Commonwealth* (1659). In this chapter I will stress the performative strategies of the texts, especially those demonstrated in *The Christian Commonwealth*, since in this text structural and formal techniques of the New England sermon are deliberately appropriated. I will also

consider the typological aspects of both texts, especially in regard to Eliot's engagement with the theory that Native Americans were one of the lost tribes of Israel. From this starting point I will consider the emergence of cultural identities, as Eliot tries to re-claim God's providence for New England's pilgrims, in light of the providential and millennial implications of Charles I's execution.

In Chapter Three I focus specifically on Eliot's translated works and consider his orthographic methods, as well as the appropriation of the translated works by both English and Indian readers / owners. In this section of my thesis I will trace Eliot's painstaking attempts to harness an oral language in print; that is, I will focus on the methods and consequences of transcribing speech into text. Specifically, I will examine *The Indian Grammar Begun*, *The Logic Primer*, and the Algonquian Bible. The performative nature of the texts takes a slightly different turn in this chapter: in this discussion I consider Eliot's Algonquian Bible and its appropriation by different communities in order to demonstrate that the performative nature of the text, "what it does" or "what it makes happen," is no longer in Eliot's control. Particularly fascinating in this context is the emergence and re-emergence of a Christian Indian identity, and the attempts made by Christian Indians to reclaim their language and culture through the written word.

In the final Chapter I draw on various elements of speech, text and performance from the previous chapters, and focus on the simulated conversations of *Indian Dialogues* and the approximation of deathbed speeches in *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians*. *Indian Dialogues* shows Praying Indians filling the role of the missionary and also shows their attempts to convert non-praying Indians. The *Dialogues* are probably Eliot's most ambitious project and the cultural performances emerge in a complex network of colonial, Native and transatlantic connections. After considering the *Dialogues* and the performative strategies of the approximated and imagined speeches and conversations, I will conclude with an analysis

of the performative aspects of the monologues in Eliot's final publication, *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians*.

Chapter One

Praying Indians and New Englishness: Transatlantic Performances and the Eliot Indian Tracts (1643-1671)¹

Yea further I have heard of late our Puritans much wonder,
Because our metropolitan intends to bring them under:
Thus passe the people to their ships, some grieve they should go free,
But make them sweare, and search them bare, taking what coyne they see.
Now Satan seeing God, crost his mind in making way,
For people and his Pastors too, in wilderness to stay.....

'Gainst Magistrates another cries, none such on earth should stand,
I'll venture o're the broadest seas for freedome from their band.
Thus diversely dispos'd doe people pack up away,
To populate new Collonies, where none but Heathen stay.²

Promotional Tracts and Transatlantic Relations

The earliest promotional pamphlets to reach England from the New World colonies include Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 1588, and Edward Waterhouse's, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia*, 1622. In a similar way to *Good News from New England*, these promotional pamphlets were designed to offer a positive vision of the colony to prospective English settlers.³ In particular, *Good News from New England* encouraged Preachers and Scholars, as well as Merchants, Seamen, Husbandmen and manual labourers to transport themselves to the Massachusetts Bay colony,

¹ The Massachusetts Historical Society Publications and Richard Cogley refer to the Tracts as the Eliot Tracts; George Parker Winship refers to them as the Eliot Indian Tracts; Samuel Eliot Morison and Thomas Scanlan refer to them as the Indian Tracts. See: *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, 4 (1834); Richard W. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indian Before King Philip's War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999); George Parker Winship, *The Eliot Indian Tracts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925); Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*. 1930. Revised and enlarged. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, 1964); Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World 1583-1671: Allegories of Desire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

² *Good News From New England* (1624) (London, 1648) 3.

³ A selection of promotional tracts or narratives from other New World colonies might include: John Smith's *A Map of Virginia* (London, 1612) and *A Description of New England*, (London 1616); Lochinvar's *Encouragements for New Galloway in America* (Edinburgh, 1625); Father White's *Briefe Relation of Maryland*, 1634, (the basis of *A Relation of Maryland*, 1635); John Hammond's *Leah and Rachel, or The Two Fruitful*

that they might benefit from the abundance of work and wealth which they could hope to acquire in the English colony.⁴ What are commonly referred to as Eliot's Indian Tracts are certainly part of the seventeenth-century drive to encourage new settlers to travel to New England, but the fifty-eight year promotional campaign which was funded by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel (and later became the New England Company) had a slightly different agenda.

The letters and short narratives which make up each of the eleven Tracts were collected and printed in London, and their specific purpose was to promote the colony and its missionary endeavours. By focusing on the missionary experiences of seventeenth-century Puritans with Algonquian Indians of the Massachusetts Bay area, the writers of the Tracts aimed to encourage financial contributions from wealthy patrons and parishes in England, as well as counter the bad press which they received from those disillusioned by their experience of the New World. In part, the Tracts responded to the publications of various pamphleteers, including: Thomas Morton's famously derisory account of New England Puritan fervour in *New English Canaan* (1632); John Clarke's bitter account of his trial and corporeal punishment due to his Baptist beliefs in *Ill News from New England* (1652); and Roger Williams's embattled theological exchange with John Cotton in *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* (1644) and *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody* (1652).

Although Morton vividly describes the beauty of the colony, *New English Canaan* is typically remembered for its humorous criticism of the Puritan reaction to his revelry and the Maypole celebration: "The setting up of this Maypole was a lamentable spec'tacle to the precise Separatists, that lived at new Plimmouth. They termed it an Idoll; yea, they called it the Calfe

Sisters Virginia and Maryland (London 1656), and George Alsop's *A Character of the Province of Maryland* (London 1666).

⁴*Good News From New England*, 3, 24, 25. Another positive contemporary account of Massachusetts includes Thomas Lechford's *Plain Dealing: or, News from New England* (London 1642), which describes the civil and

of Horeb, and stood at defiance with the place, naming it Mount Dagon; threatening to make it a woefull mount and not a merry mount.”⁵ John Clarke’s more visceral response to his New England experience focuses on the apparently savage nature of the judicial system and the equally savage and dangerous Natives. Clarke, a Baptist, was found guilty of preaching and baptising without authority, and, specifically, refusing to remove his hat in the presence of a Congregationalist preacher. He then describes his experience in order to indicate the excessive and unnecessary force of his punishment: “The strokes I was enjoyned by the Court to have, were ten with a three-corded whip, the very same number I understand, that the worst Malefactors that were there punished had, of which some were guilty of common whoredom, others of forcing a little Child, and one Indian for coyning money.”⁶ Clarke also refers to the constant threat of Native tribes and fear of their rituals, a perception that Edward Waterhouse in particular had taken great pains to explain and overcome in the early years of settlement. Nonetheless, Clarke asserts: “cruell, and savage Barbarians, and other mischiefs which a vast, and howling Wildernesse is apt to produce; wherefore to stop their mouthes and to lull them asleep, the old subtile Serpent as his custom ever hath been, raised up a cloud of disgrace, thinking thereby to darken the truth he profest...”⁷ Finally, Roger Williams, who had been persecuted and banished for his separatist religious beliefs in 1635, was also perceived as a threat to the reputation of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in England. In 1643 Williams travelled to London to apply to Charles I for his own charter and successfully retained this by renewing his appeal to Parliament in person in 1651 and 1654, and then again to Charles II in 1663. Williams’s very presence in England, and his application for a charter for a colony separate from Massachusetts, was itself an embarrassment to the Massachusetts hierarchy. After all, he had been one of their own ministers, and yet he sensationally rejected their offer

political organisation of the colony and provides a detailed account of religious rites and elections in the New England Congregationalist church.

⁵ Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (1634). Castillo and Schweitzer, eds., *The Literatures of Colonial America*, 241.

⁶ John Clarke, *Ill News from New England* (London, 1652) 31.

⁷ Clarke, *Ill News*, 23.

of John Wilson's ministry at the First Boston Church due to his dismay with the Congregationalist brethren and their continued links with the Church of England.⁸

In response to these concerns, William Steele, President of the Corporation, articulates the dual motivation of the Tracts by identifying the writers' attempts to encourage financial generosity from English patrons for missionary work, as well as their attempts to disparage notions of ill-treatment at the hands of either the New England hierarchy or the Native tribes. Naturally, it was in the interest of the colonial minister to present a good impression of himself to the English reader, but it was equally important for converted Indians and unconverted Indians to be presented favourably. The ministers who contributed to the Tracts, John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew Jnr., for example, had to show that they were successful in their missionary work and that there was obvious potential to continue with their evangelical mission to the unconverted tribesmen and tribeswomen of Massachusetts Bay. Therefore, in his appendix to the sixth Tract in the series, *Strength out of Weakness* (1652), Steele states:

*Thus having presented the Christian Reader with a view of those things that God hath brought to our hands, which we of the Corporation conceive our selves bound in duty to publish to the world, looking upon it as one meanes to advance the work in hearts of Gods people, and to stirre them up thereby to contribute more freely towards the carrying on the same: The reason wherefore we have published so many testimonialls, and shall insert more, is because too many that come from thence labour to blast the worke, by reporting here that there is no such worke afoote in the Countrey...*⁹

⁸ Schweitzer, *The Literatures of Colonial America*, 267.

⁹ *Strength out of Weaknesse* (1652). William Steele, President of the Corporation for propagating the Gospel, Appendix, 195.

John Eliot's contribution is extensive, as might be assumed from the collective title of these pamphlets, and includes his letters, as well as transcriptions of Indian conversion narratives. He is also attributed with the authorship of the first section of the first tract, "In respect of the Indians &c.," *New England's First Fruits* (1643), but despite this his name appears on the title pages of only five of the eleven pamphlets.¹⁰ While Eliot and Thomas Mayhew Jnr. were the most faithful contributors to the pamphlets, the letters of other important New Englanders must also be noted. These contributors include: Thomas Shepard, minister at Cambridge; Richard Mather, minister at Dorchester, theologian, and co-author of *The Bay Psalm Book*, 1640, with Thomas Welde and John Eliot; William Leverich, a member of the Sandwich Government at New Plymouth; and John Endicott, Governor of Massachusetts. The various publishers of the tracts would also add their own gloss by asking an ex-colonial or another interested individual to unite the fragmented and multi-vocal nature of each pamphlet in their dedicatory epistle.¹¹ Winship and Kellaway suggest that the reason for this effort to highlight the variety of contributors and names on the title pages was to give the impression that more men than Eliot were involved in the missionary endeavour in New England.¹² To a large extent, however, Eliot and Mayhew were the only "labourers in the field,"¹³ and in this chapter I will consider their contributions most closely. Implicit in this analysis is the growing religious and political distinctions between Old and New England, and, further, how these

¹⁰ Eliot's name appears on the title pages of: Tract Four, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (London 1649); Tract Seven, *Tears of Repentance* (London 1653); Tract Eight, *A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel* (London 1655); Tract Ten, *A further Account of the progress of the Gospel* (London 1660); Tract Eleven, *A Brief Narrative of the progress of the Gospel* (London 1670). Thomas Shepard appears on the title pages of Tract Three, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (London 1648); and Thomas Mayhew Jr, Eliot's missionary counterpart on Martha's Vineyard, appears alongside Eliot on the title pages of Tract Four and Tract Seven.

¹¹ George Parker Winship and William Kellaway refer to the Committee meeting on March 19 to illustrate the involvement of the Corporation in the selection and editing process of the tracts: "attend Dr. Reynolds & let him understand that the Corporation doe not think fitt to print Mr Mahews Manuscript & to give him thanks in the Corporations name for his panes. That ye title [the word "Page" is cancelled] of the booke bee referred to Dr. Reynolds & that one of the last bookes bee presented unto him. That ye Dedecacon of the new booke bee accordinge to ye effect of the last book. That there bee a Postscript att the End of the booke now to bee printed to intimate that the bible is now alsoe about to be printed in the Indian Language." *Minutes: M.H.S. Ms.*, 6, 26 Feb. 19 March, 1658/9. Quoted by Winship, *The Eliot Indian Tracts*, 11. Kellaway further stresses the involvement of English ministers in London and their part in the process of the publication and authorship of the dedicatory epistle of each Tract. See: William Kellaway, *The New England Company, 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians*. (London: Longmans, 1961) 23/4.

¹² Winship, *The Eliot Indian Tracts*, 2; Kellaway, *The New England Company*, 23.

emerging cultural categories of New and Old Englishness are in some way predicated on the emergence of the Praying Indians as a distinct cultural group. In order to clarify the emergence of these cultural boundaries, I will focus on the communicative strategies in the form and content of these eleven Tracts. After considering different methods of communicative practice, I will consider the letters and narratives from the various writers and correspondents as a communicative and performative engagement between New and Old England. Finally, I will focus on the direct speech of Indians and their performance of public confessions.

Communicative Practices and Performative Strategies

Phillip H. Round has recently argued that Native people of the New World were “conjured up in a transatlantic epistolary space, serving as ‘objects’ of conversion that New England reformers could manipulate in order to perform their own reformation for a metropolitan audience.”¹⁴ Further, Thomas Scanlan argues that the Tracts’ missionary focus functioned to provide England with a way of imagining itself, in contrast to the violence of other European colonisers, and as an alternative to the domestic unrest of the revolutionary years.¹⁵ Scanlan and Round focus on the allegorical uses of Indians, and consider the implications for Englishness and New Englishness in this context. Although Round discusses Native performance, his analysis does not go beyond the allegorical uses of that performance, and so the Native voice can never really be distinguished from that of the coloniser. That is, the Native voice and performance in the text must always be a representation of, or for, something else. My reading of the Tracts, which also focuses on the uses of voice, performance and communicative strategies has been greatly informed by Round’s analysis but, rather than rest on allegorical interpretations, I also want to consider ways in which Native voices might be ‘heard’ outside the control of Puritan textual boundaries.

¹³ Kellaway, *The New England Company*, 23.

¹⁴ Round, *By Nature and by Custom Cursed*, 260.

¹⁵ Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World*, 157/8.

In their attempts to harness the 'total speech situation' in the written trace of letters and short narratives, the writers of the Tracts aimed to prioritise the immediacy of speech and performance. This was achieved by their insistence on verbatim eye-witness accounts and elaborating on the appearance of penitents and the emotional turmoil witnessed during their confessions. Like the confessing Indians, the New England writers of the Tracts were consciously engaging in communicative acts. Therefore, New England writers also had to consider strategies of performance in order to maximise the promotional effects of their work with Praying Indians. To this end, the desired effects of the pamphlets, or the 'perlocutionary' effects of the literary speech acts, are designed to encourage prayers and financial patronage from those reading the Tracts in England. However, analysis of the illocutionary force of the performative literary speech acts, where the words enact what is said, provides an opportunity to reconsider the newly emerging identity formations of the Puritan New Englander and the Praying Indian. Crucially, this approach stresses an important distinction between the enactment of cultural formations in the mind of the English reader, and the description, or representation, of these growing cultural differences. That is, to perform these new identities is to create them through the very act of writing the letters and narratives which make up the Tracts, and, to represent them, is to acknowledge a referent which exists independently of the texts. In the case of the Praying Indian, their emergence has to be performative since there is no 'real life' example to which an English audience could refer.

Judith Butler's analysis of interpellation is useful in understanding the implications of performative identities which exist purely within linguistic parameters:

Language sustains the body not by bringing it into being or feeding it in a literal way; rather, it is by being interpellated within the terms of language that a certain social existence of the body first becomes possible. To understand this, one must

imagine an impossible scene, that of a body that has not yet been given social definition, a body that is, strictly speaking, not accessible to us, that nevertheless becomes accessible on the occasion of an address, a call, an interpellation that does not “discover” this body, but constitutes it fundamentally.¹⁶

One might imagine the emerging identities of the Praying Indian and Puritan New Englander to be the “impossible scene” which Butler describes, since the texts are not *referring* to the growing distinction between New and Old England, nor are they ‘representing’ Praying Indians; rather, as I will demonstrate, the texts appear to be enacting the very process of their emergence. Further, while the Praying Indian emerges, or is interpellated, he is simultaneously marginalised. The Puritan discourse which brings the Praying Indian into being rejects the unconverted heathen, and yet, as I will go on to argue, this discourse is also unable to discern the motives of native converts. Therefore, the performances of Praying and non-praying Natives both accommodate and resist their Puritan audiences. Given that the Tracts are consciously conceived as communicative acts and can, therefore, be considered a transatlantic literary speech act, analysis of the performative nature of these texts, which differs from Scanlan and Round’s allegorical analysis, offers a new way of understanding colonial and Native identity formations as they emerge from these pamphlets in seventeenth-century England.

The Massachusetts Indian and the New Englander are actors in the textual performance of missionary success and share an understanding that their repeated and reiterated performances are central to the self-fashioning of new and separate cultural categories. In order to fully appreciate the performances and performative strategies in the texts, it is important, first of all, to consider the audiences for whom the Tracts were intended.

¹⁶ Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 5.

An English Audience and the Processes of Performance

From the euphoric rhetoric of J.D., an anonymous contributor to the Tracts, the intended readership of the Tracts becomes clear:

2. *Rouze up your selves my Brethern: ye preachers of the Gospel*, this work concerns you. Contrive and plot, preach for and presse the advancement hereof. Its cleare you may do much: Let not this be your condemnation, that you did nothing.
3. *Come forth ye Masters of money*, part with your Gold to promote the Gospel; Let the gift of God in temporal things make way for the Indians receipt of spirituals.¹⁷

With the prayers of ministers and the gold of merchants, the politically and financially powerful individuals of seventeenth-century London are presented as the intended readers of the Eliot Indian Tracts.¹⁸ However, the rousing and sermonising tone, which J.D. incorporates into the written text, also points towards the importance of oratory in the communicative practice of the Tracts. Two letters from ministers in Cheshire and Dauntsey, respectively, confirm the importance of the orator in England's reception of the Tracts. Henry Newcome writes:

There came now orders for a collection for the Indians. A large narrative came with it, and letters, well penned, from both the universities. I was taken with design; and receiving but the papers on Saturday morning, turned off my ordinary subject and preached two sermons purposely, about Feb. 27th on I Chr.

¹⁷ JD, "an unworthy labourer in Christ's work," *The Glorious Progresse of the Gospel*, 139.

¹⁸ The title pages of the Tracts indicate the place and name of the publisher, and several of the Tracts also indicate where they might be purchased: *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of The Gospell* (1647) (Tract Two), was sold at Saint Margaret's Church; *The Light Appearing more and more towards the perfect Day* (1651) (Tract Five) was sold at the Gilt Cup, St. Austin's Gate in Paul's Churchyard; *Strength Out of Weaknesse* (1652)

xxix. 3. And the Lord did humble me mightily after evening sermon when I called up the people to subscribe, and they did it so slenderly and acted in it as if I had not said one word about it. But afterwards the Lord moved upon some of them to help me; and I went up and down from house to house, and making every servant and child that had anything to give, I raised it to a pretty sum for that little place, seven pounds odd money.¹⁹

While Henry Newcome outlines his enthusiasm for the missionary endeavour in the New World and emphasises the eventual success of his collection, Richard Bigge, minister of Winterbourne, Dauntsey, reads the “bookes and papers” to his congregation, but somewhat apologetically relates: “Sir, of my selfe I am not able any way to promote soe religiose a worke, having but thirty shilling yearely settled on me for my cure. I went with both y^e Churchwardens & desired gratuities at every mans house; But could force noe man nor persuade any man or woeman to be soe charitable as to give one peny.”²⁰ As Kellaway notes, some congregations were either not wealthy enough or not generous enough to freely contribute. Nonetheless, the Corporation realised: “it was upon them (the ministers) that the ultimate success or failure of the collection rested.”²¹

The Eliot Indian Tracts did not arrive in the parishes of England by chance. Indeed, when the Corporation for propagating the Gospel was created by an act of Parliament in 1649, the scope of its fundraising and consciousness-raising efforts were clear. Linda Gregerson glosses the Act, noting:

(Tract Six) was sold in Popes-Head-Alley; *Tears of Repentance* (1653) (Tract Seven) was sold at Peter Cole’s shop at Cornhill near the Royal Exchange.

¹⁹ Henry Newcome, minister of Gawsworth, Cheshire, 1652/3. *The Autobiography of Henry Newcome*. First Series, XXVI (N.p.: Chetham Society, 1852) 43; quoted in Kellaway, *The New England Company*, 29.

²⁰ Richard Bigge’s letter to William Cooke, treasurer for the County of Wiltshire, 21 May, 1653: Bodleian, Ms.Rawlinson C934, f.72. Quoted in, Kellaway, *The New England Company*, 29.

²¹ William Kellaway, *The New England Company*, 29.

Since the godly ‘of this Nation’ (197) have largely exhausted their own estates in the course and labour of New England settlement, it becomes the duty of those still living within the ancient boundaries of the nation to support the work of conversion with money and material supplies: the authors ‘conceive our selves of this Nation bound’ to help (198). Accordingly, the Act mandates a National collection ‘through all the Countries, Towns and Parishes of England and Wales’ (198). Ministers are instructed to read the Act in the presence of their congregations ‘upon the next Lords-day after the same shall be delivered unto them, and to exhort the people to a cheerful and liberal contribution’ (199). Nor is this exhortation intended to die a quiet death beneath the cover of a general appeal. Following their solicitation from the pulpit, ministers and their delegates are instructed to go from house to house to every inhabitant of their parish and ‘to take the subscription of every such person in a schedule to be presented by them for that purpose’ (200).²²

Therefore from the inaugural Act of Parliament, the importance of the voice in the pulpit, from ministers like Newcome and Bigge, was crucial to the success of the Corporation, and implicitly, the continuation of Eliot and Mayhew’s missionary endeavours.²³ The letters which were incorporated into the Tracts relied on the truth-telling discourse of personal and private letters of the period²⁴ and, through their publication and oration, the Tracts acquired

²² Linda Gregerson, “The Commonwealth of the word: New England, Old England, and the praying Indians,” *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, eds. David J. Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 179. Gregerson refers to: “An Act for the promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England [27 July, 1649]” *Acts and Ordinances II* (Eds) Firth and Raits, 197-200.

²³ The Corporation constructed a reciprocal relationship between Puritans of New and Old England: while England provided financial security, New England offered a way for Protestant England to renew itself spiritually and imagine itself as a nation. Scanlan argues: “Missionary work, in other words, offered the English an opportunity to re-imagine itself as a nation. To be a Protestant in England in the mid-seventeenth century was to be a partisan in a struggle for the soul of the nation. The Indian tracts, therefore, were nothing short of allegories of an idealized Protestant national identity that was characterized, not by division and strife, but by holiness and harmony. The Indian tracts gave the English a chance to imagine their nation, not as it was, but as they would like it to be.” Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World*, 158.

²⁴ Cressy suggests: “Correspondence, intermittent, painful and slow, bonded people in England and New England together, and helped them to maintain a sense of shared family membership and common national identity. In London and provincial England, and throughout the New England colonies, literate correspondents

the weight and authority of Parliament and the pulpit. Since these texts were received through a Parliamentary gloss and, in many cases, via the pulpit, the performative strategies employed by the contributors are especially important when considering the emergence of new cultural formations. Therefore, self-conscious attempts to harness the qualities of speech within the text become an important strategy in New England's attempt to promote the colony and their own sense of difference.

"That Other England:" The Beginnings of New Englishness

Sandra M. Gustafson, in *Eloquence is Power*, outlines the features of voice and text, and the ideological implications of their uses, in her comprehensive account of oratory and performance:

A four-term set of oppositions structures Western ideas and images of language: the dead letter mirrors and disrupts stable text while demonic speech mocks the living voice. These four terms can be construed as two opposed pairs. Text that is privileged for its permanence and stability is set against the ruptures effected by demonic speech. When the powers of the living voice are celebrated, they are imagined triumphing over the dead letter. In performance, this doubled dynamic of language both emerges as a set of mutually constituting symbolic categories and produces speech and text as performatives that signify through the very choice of medium.²⁵

kept up an outpouring of affection along with an exchange of news. Even illiterates could sometimes participate in the long-distance communication..." (Cressy, 213) Cressy also summarizes the format of a typical transatlantic letter, which closely corresponds to the letters included in the Tracts: "Although each of the surviving letters is different, a standard format seems to have been observed. First came a greeting, then perhaps a general expression of sentiment or religious exhortation, this to be followed by the heart of the matter – business news, cash reckonings, or requests – then some brief comments on the state of affairs with perhaps some national or local news, and finally a paragraph of family affairs, presentation of duty and respects, with remembrances to friends and kinsmen." (Cressy, 222) Although Cressy emphasises the ways in which transatlantic communication through letter-writing kept New and Old England close, the public letters which were included in the Tracts encouraged the reader / audience to appreciate the differences between the New and Old World. David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication Between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

²⁵ Sandra M. Gustafson, *Eloquence is Power*, xvi.

With the inclusion of direct speech from praying and non-praying Indians, as well as the transcription of public confessional narratives from Indian converts, the move from speech to text via “epistolary truth-telling” firmly establishes the manipulation of the “four-term set of oppositions,” which are at work in the Tracts. The prioritised uses of text over speech, and vice versa, to ensure the stability of truth and communication, are significant features of the Tracts.²⁶ By way of endorsing the authenticity of the texts, William Leverich comments: “Sir, you have a naked narration of our proceedings.”²⁷ Further, Thomas Shepard hopes that with his “rent and ragged relation,” “no mans Spectacles may deceive him.”²⁸ The fragmented aspects of Shepard’s pamphlet become testament to the apparent authenticity and reliability of the writer and the text. The double meaning of “Spectacles” is of further significance: not only does the term “Spectacles” directly refer to the writer’s trust in the reader to interpret the text, but it also plays on discourses of “truth-telling” from eyewitness accounts.

Indeed all of the writers guarantee the truthfulness of the texts by insisting on the reliability of “eye-witness” and “eare-witness” accounts.²⁹ In order to develop this “truth-telling” device, Thomas Shepard invokes a particularly conversational tone as he describes the consequences of a ship leaving late, thereby extending the parameters of the verbal speech act into a literary transatlantic speech act: “Sir, I had ended these relations once or twice, but the stay of the Vessell increaseth new matter; which because ’tis new and fresh, you shall have it as I heard it from a faithfull hand...”³⁰ With this conversational approach he invokes the intimacy and

²⁶ Round also focuses on the uses of the implied truthfulness of letter writing, and further suggests that this is used as a strategy through which the colony might be defended from its critics. Round, *By Nature and by Custom Cursed*, 260.

²⁷ *Strength Out of Weakness* (1652) 183.

²⁸ *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) 66.

²⁹ Round notes: “Eliot’s books usually began as eyewitness accounts in letters sent to metropolitan patrons and friends. In the 1650s, they circulated widely in the metropolis, establishing a special discursive network that added credibility to his claim of success at converting the Indians by creating a manuscript community of secondhand ‘witnesses’.” Round, *By Nature and By Custom Cursed*, 262.

³⁰ Thomas Shepard, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel*, 1648, 64. Cressy indicates that this strategy of commenting on the act of writing and issues over transport is common to letters of the seventeenth century. Cressy, *Coming Over*, Chapter Nine.

immediacy of speech, even if it will be some time before the words reach the recipient. This is not to say that Eliot, Mayhew, Shepard and others, simply embody the role of a mediator through which the 'truth' passes. Although, on the issue of recording the confessional narrative of Praying Indians, Eliot glosses over the complexities of translation and transcription, stating "let the work it selfe speake," while he remains "silent," giving the illusion of the transparency which he believes direct speech offers.³¹ Obviously, the process of articulating what they see and hear in a written format is not without its political considerations. Language, whatever Eliot and others would have their audience believe, is not transparent, and their own ideological and practical motives more often than not, are thinly veiled by their apparent objectivism. Therefore, while they utilise the accepted tradition of the stability of the written word, the written words become part of a cultural performance.

Pagden argues that this kind of truth-telling device is symptomatic of colonial correspondence and the creation of a colonial identity: "In America there was to dominate the long and bitter struggle over the nature, representation and status of the New World and of its inhabitants. The ability to 'bear witness' in this way was, for obvious reasons, to mark those who had 'been there' from those who had not. Inevitably, it was also to sharpen the boundary which divided the Old World from the New, and the 'them' from the 'us'."³² The writers of the Tracts, therefore, create a framework in which their performance becomes the performance of "living voices," of colonial "Actors" (a term Edward Winslow uses to describe those involved in the colonial mission),³³ which seemingly guarantees their truthfulness and their cultural difference from the Old World.³⁴

³¹ *A Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel* (1659) 7.

³² Antony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World: From Renaissance to Romanticism*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993) 51/2.

³³ Edward Winslow, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649), 109.

³⁴ It should, of course, be emphasised that these are strategies which were used to promote the illusion of authenticity, not necessarily evidence of an unbiased account of the New English experience of the mission and the colony. As Mary C. Fuller contends in her examination of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century travel narratives: "Writing could make the world available in new ways, in the referential representations of rutters and maps; it could suggest that the bare narrative of events and places only adumbrated a variety of withheld terms (hidden gold, sincere hearts, infinite profit); or, as for the editor, Richard Hakluyt, writing could become a world

The relationship between New and Old England during the mid-seventeenth century was to some extent unpredictable and complicated. The writers of the Tracts were keen observers of the political situation in England, and, as Puritans, their anti-monarchist views were self-evident. This is apparent in the shift in tone of the introductory addresses which head the dedicatory epistles of two Tracts in particular. In *Tears of Repentance* (1653) Eliot addresses Cromwell directly: "Envy it self cannot deny that the Lord hath raised and improved You in an Eminent manner to over throw Antichrist, and to accomplish, in part, the Prophetesies and Promises of the Churches Deliverance from that Bondage."³⁵ However, in 1670, ten years after Charles II was restored, the tone of the dedication is somewhat tempered: "To the Right Worshipful the Commissioners under his Majesties Great-Seal, for Propagation of the Gospel amongst the poor Blind Indians in New-England."³⁶ While the political and religious affiliations of the writers of the Tracts were clear, careful negotiation of these views was important if the Tracts were to be successful. The unsettled political situation presented a particular dilemma for New Englanders. When Charles I was executed, Puritans of Massachusetts were especially interested in re-aligning themselves with England. Even before this date, between 1642 and 1646, when English Puritans began to wield significantly more power than in previous years, Round notes that along with Increase Mather, John Leverett and Edward Winslow, one third of Harvard graduates returned to England from the colony.³⁷ Further, Nathaniel Mather comments on the general social benefits of being "a New English

of its own, replacing the first. In different ways, the voyage narratives contended against or used to advantage the necessary substitution of word for thing." Mary C. Fuller, *Voyages in Print: English Travel to America: 1576-1624* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 12.

³⁵ *Tears of Repentance* (1653) 212.

³⁶ *A Brief Narrative of the Gospel* (1670) 3.

³⁷ "With the execution of Charles II (sic I) in 1649 and the establishment of the Protectorate under Oliver Cromwell in 1653, the metropolis ceased to be, for many New Englanders, the unregenerate, "custome-sick" cultural space they had fled in the 1620s and 1630s and became instead the focus of their most inspired millennial expectations. Future New England leaders like Increase Mather, John Leverett, Edward Winslow, and others, reemigrated to the mother country..... During the years 1642-1656 a full one third of Harvard students graduates returned to England." Round, *By Nature and By Custom Cursed*, 255.

man” in England.³⁸ One might imagine that by 1660, New Englishness in England may well have become more socially crippling than enabling, but the terms of Mather’s self-representation as a “New English man,” is the most significant feature for this study.³⁹

As early as the second Tract, *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospel* (1647), Thomas Shepard refers to the “New English” which describes the New England Puritans as a separate cultural category. Much as Shepard, Eliot and others refer to a changed geographical place in terms of New and Old England, it is quite a different thing to relocate cultural affiliation so decisively in language. However, from the earliest Tract it is clear that this is exactly what the Puritan New Englanders intended. In *New England’s First Fruits* the writers, who remain anonymous, construct a dialogue of objections and rebuttals, with an imagined but typical English opponent, in order to encourage prospective settlers to New England:

1. Your ground is barren

Ans: 1. If you should see our goodly Corne-fields, heere harvest, you would answer this your self....

7. Many speak evill of the place.

Ans: Did not some doe so of the Land of *Canaan* it selfe, yet *Canaan* was never the worse, and themselves smarted for so doing.⁴⁰

Significantly, the distinction between what’s “yours” and what’s “ours” is delineated by what Pagden refers to the process of “autopsy,” which is an “appeal to the authority of the

³⁸ “Tis incredible what an advantage to preferment it is to have been a New English man.” Mather to John Rogers, 1651, *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Fourth Series. Volume 8 (1868); quoted by Round, *By Nature and By Custom Cursed*, 255

³⁹ In the next chapter I will consider the period of regicide and the Republic in order to concentrate on the religious and political relationships that developed through the millennial fervour which emerged in New and Old England during this period.

⁴⁰ *New England’s First Fruits* (1643) 24/25.

eyewitness,” and “the privileged understanding which those present at an event have over all those who have only read or been told about.”⁴¹

Pagden’s analysis of autopsy focuses on the process of writing travel narratives and histories of the New World. He suggests that the authenticity and value of the text relies on the recitation of “intricate detail” of first-hand experience of the observer:

It is the traveller’s narrative, his power to conjure up the required mental images in all their intricate details (.....) which alone allows the reader to ‘see’ the Indian. Hence the repetition in so many of these narratives of the first-person ‘utterances markings,’ to use Michel de Certeau’s term, ‘I said,’ ‘I heard,’ ‘I was there.’⁴²

He also notes that in the writing of history and travel narratives autopsy replaces the authority of Church Fathers and the Bible: “The observers of the American World, whose authority rested solely on their status *as* observers, had, therefore, to raise themselves as authors (....) to a level which, if it was not directly comparable with that occupied by either the Church Fathers or the Bible, was, nevertheless, as distinctive and authoritative as the scientific works of antiquity.”⁴³

In contrast to the narratives which Pagden examines, the New England observer, who is the authoritative observer and the “I” who allows the reader to “see” the New World, situates his responses within the context of biblical reference. By suggesting that the New World might be comparable with Canaan, the anonymous New Englander imagines his role as the bridge from the Old to the New World in both geographical and religious terms, and, in this way, he

⁴¹ Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, 51.

⁴² Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, 51.

⁴³ Anthony Pagden, *European Encounters with the New World*, 55/56.

further asserts his authority and truthfulness. Therefore, by adopting or invoking the authority of the Bible, New England settlers are shown to perceive themselves as legally and spiritually justified in their migration and colonisation: “God had carried us safe to New England,” and, “In sweeping away great multitudes of the natives by the smallpox; a little before we went thither, that he (God) might make room for us there.”⁴⁴ Their errand separates them from their Brethren in England. Therefore, from beginning of the Tracts, there is a conscious gap, in the mind of the Puritan settlers, as to who they were and who they are becoming. In 1649, when England was in the throes of revolution and the possibilities of social, political and constitutional change, Eliot imagines these changes in England as separate from his own reality: “Oh that blessed day in *England* when the Word of God shall be their *Magna Charta* and chief Law Book.”⁴⁵ Again, the telling use of the pronoun “their,” rather than “our,” while they were politically and financially dependent on England, is a significant sign of cultural separation. Needless to say the Word of God was already Eliot’s *Magna Charta*.

From Eliot’s perspective, the New England colony and its missionary success existed, to a large extent, as a separate political and religious sphere. That said, it was also the case that the success or failure of the colony would directly affect the reputation of England on the world stage, and for this reason the missionary project became part of a nation-building exercise. The collective address from the mission’s English patrons demonstrates their own political motivations:

In *order* to this what doth God *require* of us (English), but that we should
strengthen the hands, *incourage* the hearts of those who are at *work* for him,
conflicting with difficulties, *wrestling* with discouragements, to *spread* the

⁴⁴ *New England’s First Fruits* (1643) 12& 20.

⁴⁵ John Eliot, *The Light Appearing...*, or *A Farther discovery of the present State of the Indians* (1651) 131. Eliot’s letter is dated: 29th of the 10th 49.

Gospel, & in that, the *fame* and honor of this Nation, to the *utmost* ends of the earth?
 It was the *design* of your *enemies* to make them *little*, let it be your *endeavor* to
make them *great*, their *greatnesse* is your strength.⁴⁶

The interlinking of religious fervour with colonial dominance allows England to imagine itself as a nation in order to compete with the colonial advances of their Catholic European enemies, specifically France and Spain. Certainly, a Protestant and preferably monarchless England is the preferred image but this required significant social change, which New England sympathisers like Eliot were not slow to point out. Therefore, although England is encouraged to take heart and pride in the missionary work of the colonies, Puritan New England continues to occupy the moral high ground. If Old England was not fulfilling its Protestant duties, then despite the millennial rhetoric throughout the 1650s, New England could continue to believe they were God's "spiritual garden."⁴⁷

In the epistle to the Reader, from the very same Tract mentioned above, harsh warnings characterise the situation in which England finds itself: "*if he cannot have an England here, he can have an England there; & baptize & adopt them into those privileges, which wee have looked upon as our burthens. We have sad decayes upon us, we are a revolting Nation, a people guilty of great defection from God.*"⁴⁸ To press the growing difference between New and Old England further, Whitfield, who had returned from the colony to England, makes a five point comparison which highlights and explains the positive changes in New England alongside the backsliding which was prevalent in England: where Indians receive the truth and the rules of Christ, England "*wrangles*" the truth and as a result, '*peace is lost*'; Indians are "*industrious and pursue the things of their salvation,*" while in England people are defined by their "*bed-rid dispositions, sunk down into a sottish and sensuall way;*" when

⁴⁶ Dedicatory epistle, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) 29.

⁴⁷ Joseph Caryl, dedicatory epistle, *A Late and Further Manifestation of the Gospel* (1655) n.p.

Indians weep for their sins, the English, “live with dry eyes and hard hearts.”⁴⁹ However, the most defining and virulent attack on England is posited in the fourth tract, when it concludes: “The *converted Heathens in New-England*, goe beyond you, O ye *Apostate Christians in England!*”⁵⁰ Notably, this binary opposition is constructed between the English and the Praying Indian, not with the Puritan New Englander. Therefore, the Praying Indian emerges as a symbol of what England once was and may become again, before the “Antichrist” destroyed and distracted England from the truth. In this way, the speeches and confessional performances of the Indian convert become, in one respect, a tool to distinguish New English Protestantism from Old.

“Wequash, no God, Wequash no know Christ:”⁵¹ Disruptive Speech, Praying and non-praying Indians

When collated in England, the direct speech or reported speech of Praying and non-praying Indians became an integral part of a communicative exchange between New and Old England. The compilers of the Tracts consciously manipulated the trust placed in the implied honesty and authenticity of eye-witness and ear-witness accounts, and the apparent truthfulness and reliability of the Indian speeches and ritual performances relies on effectively harnessing the medium of speech within the boundaries of the text. Eliot’s transcription of Indian voices aims to demonstrate the “total speech situation,” which Austin describes, and the authenticity seemingly guaranteed by the “living voice,” which Gustafson describes.

In the first of the Eliot Indian Tracts, *New England’s First Fruits*, Wequash, whom Eliot describes as the “Captaine” of the Pequot tribe, is presented in a voice which implies a certain

⁴⁸ Collective address from English patrons, second dedicatory epistle, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) 32.

⁴⁹ Henry Whitfield, *The Light Appearing... or, A farther Discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England* (1651) 146.

⁵⁰ J.D. “an unworthy Labourer in Christ’s work,” *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649), 139.

⁵¹ *New England’s First Fruits* (1643) 6.

status: “*Wequash, no God, Wequash no know Christ.*” Although Wequash is in an accomplished military position, he refers to himself in the third person. Therefore, to a seventeenth-century English audience this rather clumsy speech pattern delivers the impression that he is uneducated, and implies that he is from a more ‘primitive,’ race. Eliot uses what he claims are Wequash’s own words to establish the impression of the “noble savage,” who, far from threatening the coloniser, is waiting for the coloniser to educate and then convert him. Most crucially for Eliot, Wequash occupies a racial and culturally constructed position which seems to lie at the beginning of a teleological developmental process. In reference to Locke’s theory of natural law, Edward G. Gray demonstrates how speech was understood to correlate with intellect: “Imbedded in the notion that words were human inventions was the paradoxical possibility that those words could also limit and shape intellect.”⁵² From this, Gray concludes: “natural law could be shown to dictate the character of thought and speech.”⁵³ Wequash’s speech and speech patterns are, therefore, designed to accord with the notion of a ‘natural man,’ which derives from Locke’s philosophical consideration of language and its controlling influence on social development. By invoking this kind of “evolutionary” strategy through Wequash’s speech patterns, Eliot constructs a racial and cultural continuum, where, as Holstun argues, Native Americans can be imagined as a pre-Christian and pre-civil people.⁵⁴ In Eliot’s logic, and the ethnocentric logic of Europeans generally, this will eventually lead Wequash to develop a more literate, more ‘sophisticated,’ Christian and, ultimately, more English sense of self.

⁵² Edward G. Gray, *New World Babel: Languages and Nations in Early America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999) 94.

⁵³ Gray, *New World Babel*, 98.

⁵⁴ Holstun argues: “While his (Eliot’s) conceptions were no less ethnocentric than those of the Puritan and Pilgrim mainstream, he does not insist on seeing the Indians as an intrinsically satanic race, and at least during the relatively pacific period between the Pequot War and King Philip’s War, the Bay Colony tolerated and even encouraged his theories.... For Eliot the Indians represent not some race of natural men radically other to Western men but a missing link in scriptural history and anthropology. The discovery and the conversion of the Indians signify an ultimate (or penultimate) unity of peoples and of history, not a static logical binary between nature and civility. Puritan anthropology, sketchy as it might be, is thoroughly historical.” (Holstun, 113) “The Indians are not anti-Christian and anticivil like popish Europe and prelatical England; they are pre-Christian and precivil.” (Holstun, 115) James Holstun, *A Rational Millenium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth-Century England and America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

Wequash, therefore, is not the barbarous heathen which English audiences became familiar with after the Pequot War,⁵⁵ and if the metropolitan audience was to overcome their doubts that the conversion of the so-called savages of the New World was possible, a convincing image of the Praying Algonquian Indians was crucial.⁵⁶ The Pequot War, although over in 1637, several years before the first tract was printed, remained part of the transatlantic cultural production of the colony and its inhabitants.⁵⁷ In the case of Wequash, therefore, the myth of the savage Pequot Indian becomes the most productive site of conversion:

This man (Captain Wequash) a few years since, seeing and beholding the mighty power of God in our English Forces, how they fell upon the *Pequits*, where divers hundreds of then were slaine in an houre: The Lord, as a God of glory in great

⁵⁵ In an essay which examines the “racist” policies and actions of English colonisers, G.E. Thomas comments extensively on the literature which was sent to England during the violence at Wessagusset / Weymouth, 1622, the Pequot War, 1637 and King Philip’s War, 1675. Wequash’s speech and subsequent conversion should, therefore, be considered in light of previous representations of the Pequot and other tribes. In 1624, Edward Winslow writes in *Good News From New England*: “(B)ecause... it is impossible to deal with them in open defiance, but to take them in such traps as they lay for others, therefore (Standish)... pretended to trade.... This sudden and unexpected execution.... of God upon their guilty consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them as, in like manner they forsook their houses running to and from like man distracted, being in swamps and other desert places, and so brought disease amongst themselves where many are dead.” (Thomas, 12) Further, in response to the Virginia massacre in 1622, Edward Waterhouse comments: “Neither yet did these beasts (Indians) spare those amongst the rest well knowne unto them, from whom that had daily received many benefits and favours, but spitefully also massacred them, without any remorse or pity... these miscreants..... put on a worse and more that unnaturall brutishness.” (Jehlen and Warner, eds. 137) More specifically, with reference to the Pequot War, Underhill comments on the apparent barbarity of the Pequots by virtue of their punishment: “It may be demanded, why should you be so furious? But I would refer you to David’s war. When a people is grown to such a height of blood, and sin against God and man... sometimes the scriptures declareth Women and Children must perish with their parents.” (Thomas, 15) Edward Winslow, *Good New From New England*, (London, 1624); and, Captain John Underhill, *News from New England* (London 1638): quoted in G.E. Thomas, “Puritan, Indians and The Concept of Race,” *The New England Quarterly* March (1975): 3-27. Edward Waterhouse, *A Declaration of the State of the Colony in Virginia*, (London, 1622), *The English Literatures of America*, eds. Jehlen and Warner, 129-146.

⁵⁶ In *New England’s First Fruits* three other encounters are recorded alongside the encounter with Wequash and each details and emphasises the desire of the penitent to convert to Christianity: Sagamore John is said to have liked the English language, religion and apparel, and on his death he wanted his son to be adopted into an English family; William, whose original name is forgotten, forsakes his friends and family to follow Eliot’s mission; and, finally, a Blackmore Maid, again nameless, makes a public confession and is admitted to the church.

⁵⁷ Following the Pequot wars, Round argues that codes of honour and courage were emphasised to boost the reputation of the colony, and the morale of a nation: “Representations of the Pequot War thus created an arena for the performance of honor and courage at a time when civility was becoming increasingly difficult to recognize and older, aristocratic models of honor and nobility no longer seemed relevant. By performing their courageous ideals in a transatlantic context, Underhill’s and Vincent’s texts provided metropolitans with a new register for achieving social stability.” (Round, 243/4) After the war, with fewer opportunities to incorporate notions of nobility and honour, missionary success through the creation of the praying Indian allowed similar pride and morale to develop in both New and Old England. John Underhill, *Newes From America* (London, 1638); Philip Vincent, *True Relation* (London, 1638). Round, *By Nature and By Custom Cursed*, 243/4

terror did appeare into the Soule and Conscience of this poore Wretch, in that very act; and though before that time he had low apprehensions of our God, having conceived hime to be (as he said) but a *Muskette* God, or a God unto a flye; and as meane thoughts of the English that seemed this God, that they were silly weake men; yet from that time he was convinced and persuaded that our God was a most dreadfull God; and that an *English* man by the help of his God was able to slay and put to fight an hundred *Indians*.⁵⁸

Wequash understands the English God in terms of his success in battle, which is a fitting allusion for a tribal warrior, and he goes on to grow “greatly in the knowledge of Christ, and in the Principles of Religion and became thorowly reformed according to his light.”⁵⁹ As the image of the so-called “savage warrior” transforms to become the Praying Indian, he becomes an important part of the new image of New England which is promoted in England.⁶⁰

However, I would argue that even when the “total speech situation” and the “living voice” are celebrated, there remain disruptions which cannot be controlled, either by Eliot or the Corporation’s religious, political and propagandist agenda. It is significant that even in this propagandist performance of Wequash’s conversion, English religion is accommodated into his worldview; that is, Wequash understands the English God as a powerful warrior, who is responsible for overpowering “an hundred Indians.” Wequash may accommodate the English religion but, ultimately, his allegiance is with the victorious warrior, and his worldview

⁵⁸*New England’s First Fruits* (1643) 6/7.

⁵⁹*New England’s First Fruits* (1643) 6.

⁶⁰ Phillip Round interrogates Wequash’s speech further and suggests: “At first Wequash speaks a vivid vernacular, saying that he ‘had low apprehensions of [the English] God, having conceived him to be (as he said) but a *Musketto* God, or a God like unto a flye.’ As the story progresses and Wequash becomes more susceptible to the ministration of the reformers, however, his speech becomes more and more stylized. When Wequash finally reveals his longing for Christian knowledge, he does so in language that would come to characterize white representations of native speech for several hundred years: ‘*Wequash, no God, Wequash know no Christ...*’ Indian speech like that of Wequash serves as a dialogic counterpoint to the ‘excellent conversation’ of the Bay Colony inhabitant. His halting and humble utterance provides evidence of the efficacy of the Massachusetts reformers’ efforts to convert the Indians through paternal instruction and honor culture emulation.” Round, *By Nature and By Custom Cursed*, 247.

remains fundamentally unchanged. In this sense, Wequash plays the role of the Praying Indian and is interpellated by the discourses of Puritanism, certainly, but Puritan discourse cannot reconcile Wequash's motivation within its own logic, since to incorporate his motivations is, to some extent, to accept the validity of a tribal worldview. As the text is written, read and / or preached to English audiences, Wequash becomes disconnected from his tribal past and his present motivations. By revealing the limits of Puritan discourse, Wequash's speech demonstrates a kind of resistance, which works against the discourse that creates it.

In the following ten Tracts, other resisting voices appear to speak through the propagandist gloss of Puritan encounters with Algonquian Indians. In the third and fourth Tracts, *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) and *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649), the importance of the family as part of the process of religious conversion is evident. The English nuclear family is used as civilising device, which, for Eliot, must prefigure successful religious conversion. In Tract Four a dying Indian woman speaks directly to her children:

*I shall now dye, and when I am dead, your Grand-Father and Grand-mother, and uncles, etc. will send for you to come live amongst them, and promise you great matters, and tell you what pleasant living it is among them; But doe not believe them, and I charge you never hearken unto them, nor live amongst them; for they pray not to God, keep not the Sabbath, commit all manner of sinnes and are not punished for it: but I charge you live here, for here they pray unto God, the word of God is taught, sins are suppressed, and punished by Lawes; And therefore I charge you live here all your dayes.*⁶¹

⁶¹ *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649) 119.

The dying woman chooses the English religion and way of life over her extended family and, as a consequence, she must also reject her tribal heritage. Therefore, the future becomes far more insular and is limited by prayers, fasts, and English Law. In Tract Three, *The Clear-Sunshine of the Gospel* (1648) tribal ties and traditions are presented as being strongly resistant to the English alternative. The narrator states that one Indian, specifically an “Indian Sachim” (or, “Inferior Prince” as the marginal note translates): “desired to become more like to the English, and to cast off those *Indian* wild and sinfull courses they formerly lived in.” In his own speech the Indian sachem argues against his “higher *Indian Sachems*,” who, “onely sought their owne ends out of you.”⁶² The Concord Indians go on to establish their own “Conclusion and Orders” for a new civil organisation, and in their own discussions, Indians begin to argue against their own traditions, and, further, to replace them with the civil structures familiar to Christian European countries. Of course, in contrast to this ideal situation of Indians converting each other, which the woman and Indian sachem enact, and which Eliot will go on to fictionalise in *Indian Dialogues*, there are some voices who appreciated the difference in traditions, religion and language, yet remain resistant to changes. In the third tract, “an unruly and disobedient son,” who “well understood the English tongue,” rejects the labours and lectures of his parents and the minister, Mr Wilson. At the lecture, the father asks the minister: “what one should do with him in case of obstinacy and disobedience, and that will not heare Gods Word, though his Father command him, nor will not forsake his drunkenesse, though his father forbid him?” After Wilson’s reprisals, which are not included in the text, but are referred to as terrible and gracious, and which “might have affected a heart not quite shut up,” the son merely replies: “So.”⁶³ Presented in the voice of an intelligent and so-called rebellious young man, this verbal resistance to the English Protestant missionary leaves Wilson impotent. Wilson cannot reason with an Indian who refuses to engage with and accommodate the rules of argument and persuasion. The authorial voice suggests that Wilson’s only option is to surmise, rather threateningly, that the Word (of God) will “one day

⁶² *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) 38.

take its effect, one way or other.”⁶⁴ Unlike the parents and Indian Sachem who accommodate the religious and civil organisation of English Protestantism, and the children who are adopted into an English way of life, the rebellious son, who well understands the English language and its formulations of argument, attempts to resist the coloniser by refusing engagement with a colonialist discourse. The issues of colonisation and cultural dominance are linked closely to religious conversion, and as the young man is excluded from the religious ‘family’ he is literally and textually silenced.

These occasions of verbal resistance are rare, since the writers and publishers of the Tracts were anxious to conceal any potential difficulties which they encountered in their relationships with their Algonquian neighbours. However, there are some instances where it can be argued that the writers seem to misunderstand and misinterpret certain uses of language and allegory. Specifically, in the third Tract, the dream of one Indian is related in direct speech:

“That about two yeares before the *English* came over into those parts there was a great mortality among the *Indians*, and one night he could not sleep above half the night, after which hee fell into a dream, in which he did think he saw a great many men come to those parts in cloths, just as the *English* are now apparelled, and among them there arose a man all in black, with a thing in his hand which hee now sees was all one *English* mans book.”⁶⁵

This can be read in two ways. On the one hand, it justifies the Puritan New Englander’s place in the colony, since the dream allows the missionary to imagine himself as fulfilling a prophecy; on the other hand, if the text is read against this colonial logic, the dream acts as a way for the Indian speaker to write himself into the history of the colony, and perhaps to

⁶³ *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) 42.

⁶⁴ *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) 42.

⁶⁵ *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) 44.

define a place in its future.⁶⁶ In a similar way, a speech by Towanquatick, which is repeated in Tracts four and five, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1659) and *The Light Appearing more and more towards the perfect Day* (1651), seems to follow this dual motivation:

*That a long time agon they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowledge; but they are dead, and their wisdome 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 wisdome unto their graves.*⁶⁷

Sandra Gustafson suggests that this speech refers to the deaths of tribal chiefs and tribal traditions through decimation and deracination following colonial settlements.⁶⁸ However, it

⁶⁶ The tale of the witches and storyteller in Leslie Marmon Silko's *Ceremony* is a useful comparison. In Silko's novel a Native American witch tells a story which is then held responsible for the creation of a white race of people who will eventually colonise Native American land and life. This story is an attempt to make sense of the past and it is also an attempt to write Native American experience and agency into history. After a series of tricks and witchery:

This one just told them to listen:
"What I have is a story."

.....
*Caves across the ocean
in caves of dark hills
white skin people
like the belly of a fish
covered with hair.*

.....
*They fear
They fear the world.
They destroy what they fear.
They fear themselves.*

.....
*They will bring terrible diseases
the people have ever known.
Entire tribes will die out
covered with festred sores
shitting blood
vomiting blood.
Corpses for our work*

.....
Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony*. 1977. (New York: Penguin Books, 1986) 132-138.

⁶⁷ Towanquatick's speech is included in Mayhew's letter of 1647, *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel* (1649) 117. It is also included in an account from Mayhew in *The Light Appearing more and more towards the perfect Day* (1651) 112.

⁶⁸ "Although the colonists themselves resisted remaking their communities so radically in a biblical image, Eliot was able to test his utopia on the decimated and deracinated Algonquian communities of New England. These communities had lost the "wisdom" that had once provided them with structures of order and meaning.

seems more than a few years since the deaths of the wise men, and if young tribe members have had time to grow into old age without access to this knowledge, then the repeated reference to this speech perhaps demonstrates an attempt to write Indian history into the colonial present. Just as the “the man all in black” (the preacher) is incorporated into tribal memory, Towanquatick tries to accommodate the changes which colonisation has brought by incorporating them within an already dynamic and evolving process of tribal cultural production. The Puritan writers use this speech to demonstrate that Indians themselves desire to convert to Christianity, and Mayhew goes on to speak for Towanquatick: “He told me that he wondered the English should be almost thirty years in the Country and Indians fools still.”⁶⁹ Like Wequash, however, it seems likely that the security and apparent safety which Puritans convince them conversion will bring, does not necessarily mark a fundamental shift in a pre-existing system of belief. Instead, the speeches of the Indians convey attempts to incorporate new tactics for cultural and physical survival.

Therefore, rather than characterising Algonquian Indians as an ill-educated and/or submissive race, as the writers of the Tracts sometimes imply, the speech acts, if considered as a site of Indian performance, are carrying out far more complex cultural work. In the case of the Praying Indian, the colonisers’ closest ally, conversion is most often related in terms of cultural and physical survival, not simply in terms of spiritual revelation. These examples demonstrate one way in which the text acts against the intentions of the writer, and thus the newly emerging cultural formations are performed within the textual limits of the Tracts but outside the understanding of a seventeenth-century (New) English writer and audience. Despite their best efforts, the more the writers of the Tracts attempt to transcribe and control the spoken words of Algonquian Indians, the more they become subject to the very rhetorical devices they command. Judith Butler argues: “if the text acts once, it can act again, and

Towanquatick, a Wampanoag sachem from Martha’s Vineyard, told of cultural knowledge that was lost when large numbers of elders died suddenly.” Gustafson, *Eloquence is Power*, 38.

⁶⁹ *The Light Appearing more and more towards the perfect Day* (1651) 112.

possibly against its prior act.”⁷⁰ Therefore, as Puritan discourse tries to control the language and limits of the newly emerging Praying Indian, the speech and speeches of Algonquians resist being ‘interpellated’ by a Puritan discourse. Through performative analysis of the uses of direct speech, Indian voices can be disengaged from a Puritan rhetorical framework. In this way, a far more resilient and survivalist tribal culture emerges as it incorporates an unwanted colonial past and present in an attempt to ensure a place in an uncertain future. This survivalist strategy continues to develop as the practices of Puritan and Native religious rites (Puritan confession narratives and tribal powwows) are either opposed or assimilated.

Powwowing and Confessing: Performers and Performances of Tribal and Christian Rituals

From the beginning of the colonisation process, the Powwows or Pauwas presented a key challenge to the missionary coloniser in his attempts to introduce Christian religion in the New World. Powwowing has several meanings and is used as both a noun and a verb; that is, the powwow refers to the person and the act, the performer and the performance. The actor and the action therefore become indistinguishable, and the Powwow is recognised as a potent symbol of Native American ritual. According to *The Handbook of American Indians*, powwow can mean a medicine-man, or the conjuring of a medicine man over a patient. It could also be a dance or a feast which would precede a council, expedition or a hunt, and it has also been used to describe a conference.⁷¹ Further, *The Encyclopaedia Americana* characterises the practice of powwowing in the following terms:

(I)n New England, when tribesmen faced problems such as a food shortage or an epidemic, they would gather about a fire and deliberate. Prayers might be offered, and songs might be sung, accompanied by the beating of drums and the shaking of rattles. A pipe might be smoked, with implication that unseen powers were invited

⁷⁰ Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 69.

⁷¹ Fredrick Webb Hodge ed., *Handbook of American Indians north of Mexico*. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1910) 303.

to join in the smoking. If a village received a peace proposal, tribesmen assembled for a powwow. Those present might speak, and a discussion would follow. The deliberations, accompanied by singing, dancing, and prayer might go on for days. Hearing this, nearby whites often thought they were preparing for war.⁷²

In the Tracts, Pawwaws (Powwows) are describes as “great witches having fellowship with the old Serpent, to whom they pray.”⁷³ In *Tears of Repentance* (1653), the Tract best known for its Indian confessional narratives, the Indian ritual of ‘pawwawing,’ which is presented as opposite to the Christian expression of spiritual experience, is explored and dramatised by Thomas Mayhew:

The mischief that the Pawwaws and Devils usually do to the common Indian this way, is both by outward and bodily hurt, or inward pain, torture, and distraction of mind, both which I have seen my self: To accomplish the first, the Devil doth abuse the real body of a Serpent, which comes directly towards the man in the house or in the field, looming or having a shadow about him like a man, and do shoot a bone (as they say) into the Indians Body, which sometimes killeth him.⁷⁴

Mayhew questions the physical presence and the power of the Pawwaw through his relation of the experience of a young man who “did not pray to Jehovah.” After receiving an injury to his thigh the young man could not find help from any of his gods or Pawwaw. The family involved reject Mayhew’s solution, which is to pray to the Christian God: “they (the family) still followed on their wonted Serpentine Machinations.”⁷⁵ Mayhew enjoys dramatising the

⁷² “Powwow,” *Encyclopedia Americana*. International Edition. Volume 22, 1829. (Danbury, Connecticut: Grolier Incorporated, 1994) 512.

⁷³ *The Day-Breaking if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospel* (1647) 21.

⁷⁴ Thomas Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance* (1653) 204.

⁷⁵ “I then took the opportunity to reason with them about their way, with the best wisdom God gave me, but all in vain, for they would not hear to seek the true God, notwithstanding he had shewn his displeasure so apparently against them for their former refusing Him, but they still followed on their wonted Serpentine Machinations: The Pawwaws, and their devillish train, with their horrible outcries, hollow bleatings, painful wrestlings, and smiting

Pawwaws, and their particular forms of spirituality or magic are described in a voyeuristic way. This serves to force a stark comparison between the prayerful and reflective English model of Christian faith and healing and the so-called “Serpentine Machinations” of the tribal model. However, the differences between the two forms of faith and spirituality are figured quite ambiguously; rather than displace Indian ritual per se, Mayhew simply replaces one spiritual origin with a Christian alternative. It is not the concept of spiritual intervention which is problematised but, rather, the shape and name of the spirit concerned. Where Puritans like Mayhew receive God through their preacher, tribal members are perceived as receiving the Devil through their Pawwaws. Clearly, the appropriation of the Pawwaw as “devilish” is a deliberate religious and political ploy and is consistent with the binary logic of Puritanism of the period.

Eliot and Mayhew understood that the Pawwaws, unlike other tribal leaders, had significant influence over the spiritual and psychological profile of tribal communities. Pawwaws healed the sick, apparently held the power of life or death over others, and connected the earthly world to the spiritual when they led ceremonial performances to worship Native gods. Tribal members were reluctant to leave the security which the Pawwaws seemingly offered, and perhaps feared the wrath of the Pawwaws if they dissented. Therefore, it was incumbent upon missionaries like Eliot and Mayhew to construct Christian beliefs in such a way that they could offer a credible alternative to practices designed to ensure the continuance of the spiritual and physical health. Of course, with the arrival of smallpox, flu and gunpowder, the Pawwaws were easily disarmed. As their ability to overcome these new ills was revealed to be ineffective, Puritan rhetoric replaced Pawwaw reliance on Native gods to cure disease and maintain “military” strength by transferring that reliance onto the Christian God. For the English audience, however, it is logical to assume that it was necessary to represent a far more dramatic process of overcoming such devilish ways if the readers’ or listeners’ interests

their own bodies, sought deliverance, but all in vain, for he died miserably.” Thomas Mayhew, *Tears of*

was to be translated into financial contribution. It is reasonable to assume that talk of witches, devils, imps that torment the flesh, and hollow bleatings would be particularly effective in sermons from English pulpits.⁷⁶

This oppositional framework between good and evil, God and the Devil, and Christian and tribal practices, continues when alternative definitions of powwows are incorporated into Puritan discourse. In several different Algonquian dialects and other Native languages, powwow is roughly translated as “he dreams” or “he dreams of him” and identifies the dream as the source of the powwow or medicine-man’s “art” or power.⁷⁷ Both Eliot and Mayhew incorporate the dream and the ‘dreamer,’ the performance and the performer, in their missionary strategy. Therefore, although they do not assimilate the religious practices of Puritan and Native traditions, they are keen to establish correlations between the two religions in order that Native converts would find spiritual conversion consistent with their already established worldview. This is particularly evident in *The Day-Breaking if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospel* (1647) and *The Further Progresse of the Gospel* (1652). As described above, dreams from certain Indians are used to construct the oppositional framework between tribal and Protestant religion. The second Tract, *The Day-Breaking*, describes the “election” of a Pawwaw: an Indian falls into a “strange dreame” where the apparition of a serpent signifies the choice of Pawwaw, and “for two dayes after the rest of the Indians dance and rejoyce for what they tell them about this Serpent, and so they become their Pawwaws.”⁷⁸ The use of the serpent allows an oppositional framework of good and evil to be unambiguously delineated for the metropolitan reader and Puritan congregation. The more reserved practice of Puritan society in electing their leaders is also in stark contrast to the dancing and rejoicing involved in the Indian performance.

Repentance (1653) 204.

⁷⁶ See: Thomas Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance* (1653) 204/5.

⁷⁷ “...this Algonquian word (powwow) (is) from the same root as Chippewa bawana, ‘he dreams of him,’ and the Cree pawamiw ‘he dreams’, the powwow obtaining his art from dreams.” Hodge ed. *The Handbook of*

The New England way of electing Church Officers was codified in *The Cambridge Platform*, 1648: “*Calling* unto office is either *Immediate*, by Christ himself: such was the call of the Apostles, & Prophets: this manner of calling ended with them, as hath been said: or *Mediate*, by the church.”⁷⁹ Church members elect their Officers by virtue of their “honest and good report” and Elders in particular must be “*blameless, sober, (and) apt to teach.*” After election, “*Church-officers* are not only to be chosen by the Church, but also to be *ordeyned* by *Imposition of hands*, & prayer. with which at ordination of Elders, *fasting* also is to be joyned.”⁸⁰ In contrast to the seemingly more sober and sedate Congregationalist election process, Eliot and Mayhew present the excesses of the election of a Pawwaw as being inspired by the Devil. This performance of Native “election” had to be altered, if not eliminated, if their programme of conversion was to succeed. Again, Mayhew uses the dream of one Indian to envisage the resolution of this dichotomy between Christianity and tribalism:

One of them did then discover the bottom of his witchcraft, confessing that at first he came to be a *Pawwaw* by Diabolical Dreames, wherein he saw the Devill in the likeness of four living Creatures; one was like a man which he saw in the Ayre..... Another was like a Crow..... The third was like to a Pidgeon..... The fourth was like a Serpent, very subtile to doe mischiefe, and also to doe great cures, and these he said were meer Devills, and such as he had trusted to for safety, and did labour to raise up for the accomplishment of any thing in his diabolicall craft, but now he

American Indians, 303. “(P)owwow may be roughly translated as ‘he dreams.’” *The Encyclopedia Americana*, 512.

⁷⁸ *The Day-Breaking if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospel*, 1647, 21

⁷⁹ *The Cambridge Platform*, 1648. *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, ed. Williston Walker (New York: Charles Scribner’s sons, 1893) 214.

⁸⁰ Walker ed. *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, 215. For further accounts of church meetings, see: *The Notebook of the Reverend John Fiske, 1644-1675*. Publication of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume 47. (Boston: Anthoensen Press, 1974).

saith, that he did desire that the Lord would free from them, and that he did repent in his heart, because of his sin.⁸¹

At this early stage in the process of conversion, this Indian chooses Christian systems of belief over tribal systems. The narrative's rhetorical strategies act in a very similar way to the confessions of the Salem witch trials several decades later, in 1692. Of the women of the Salem witch trials, Gustafson argues: "Mimicking the verbal skills of the ministry, the demoniacs (the possessed women) provided a mirror for the colony's spiritual leaders, who heard in their speech the voices of God and Satan battling over the colony's future."⁸² Indeed, as the Indians relate their dreams of serpents and their resistance to devilish temptations, the battle between good and evil is successfully fought.

In Puritan tracts by Richard Baxter and Thomas Shepard, of Old and New England respectively, the trials of conversion are represented in the allegorical use of animals and poison to help the reader, or listener, imagine the evil which good must try to overcome. Baxter imagines: "As a *lion* hath a fierce and cruel nature before *he* doth devour; and an *adder* hath a venomous nature before *she* sting, so in our infancy we have those sinful natives of inclinations, before we think, or speak, or do amiss."⁸³ Similarly, Shepard relates: "The never-dying worm of a guilty conscience shall torment thee, as if though (sic) had swallowed down a living poysonfull snake, which shall lie gnawing and biting thine want for sin past, day and night."⁸⁴ As I will detail in Chapter Three, Eliot translates both of these publications by Baxter and Shepard into Massachusett, but what remains interesting at this stage is the common use of animals to explain spirituality. This allegorical framework, through which animals represent both sin and the pain of retribution, is common to Baxter, Shepard and the

⁸¹ Thomas Mayhew, *The Further Progress of the Gospel* (1652) 186.

⁸² Gustafson, *Eloquence is Power*, 41.

⁸³ Richard Baxter, *A Call to the Unconverted*, 1692? Abridged (New York: American Tract Society, 183- (1830 or 1839), 44.

dreams of an Indian, and allows one culture (Native American) to exchange one set of seemingly impotent religious images in favour of another, seemingly more powerful set, without necessarily accepting a change in worldview.

However, if the essence of spirituality remained to some extent in tact, the rites and rituals were to change dramatically. Whether or not Indians understood this spiritual change in the same way as the Puritan writer and audience perceived it must remain speculative. While Puritan scribes and audiences would have understood Protestant and tribal religion to be absolutely opposed, Eliot and Mayhew construct a comparative framework in which Native converts are invited to understand and accept Protestantism through their own worldview. To illustrate this, Praying Indians are able to incorporate Puritan rhetoric in order to gain access to a more powerful deity: a deity which would succeed where Pawwawing had failed and would cure the new ills which colonisation had brought. For the Indian, a public confessional narrative certainly illustrates a change in the form and practice of religious rites but is in keeping with a tradition of ritual performance. As is the case with the anonymous young man with the thigh injury, death is figured as being the result of continued faith in a now powerless spiritual healer. Altering this performance to invoke a new healer, therefore, is a source of salvation and not necessarily a radical change in faith. For Praying Indians, public confessional and conversion narratives, regular fastings, lectures and prayer meetings, replaced the practice of Pawwawing. The conversion narrative is a form which colonial and English Protestants would recognise,⁸⁵ and it is in this final step towards Christianity where the Praying Indian completes the enactment of the creation of a new, independent cultural category.

⁸⁴ Thomas Shepard, *The Sincere Convert: Discovering the Small number of True Believers, And the great difficulty of Saving Conversion*. 1640. Fifth Edition. Corrected and Amended. (London: Matt Simmons for John Sweeting, 1650) 93.

⁸⁵ For a comprehensive discussion of Puritan conversion in England, see: Patricia Caldwell, *Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983).

During an exchange at a prayer meeting in 1646 with Waban and other tribal members, the missionary writer demonstrates the terms on which conversion took place:

Doe you believe the things that are told you, viz, that God is *musquantum*, i.e. very angry for the least sinne in your thoughts, or words, or workes?

They said yes, and hereupon wee set forth the terrour of God against sinners, and mercy of God to the penitent, and to such as sought to know Jesus Christ, and that sinners should be after death, *Chechainuppan*, i.e. tormented alive, (for wee know no other word in the tongue to expresse extreme torture by) so believers should after death *Wowein wicke Jehovah*, i.e. live in all blisse with Jehovah the blessed God: and so we concluded conference.⁸⁶

The choice is a stark one, and given the option between the threat of being “tormented alive” and eternal bliss, there seems to be no choice at all. The Algonquians’ motivation to convert is particularly ambiguous, but, that aside, the strategies adopted by Algonquian Indians to ensure the continuation of social cohesion through ritual are especially fascinating aspects of the Tracts.

Patricia Caldwell astutely observes: “As an idea about expression, communication, and ‘performance,’ it (the confession) has visible roots within a powerful reformed church tradition that did give new importance to verbal activity on the part of the individual believer, demanding that his skills be exercised, as we have said, both personally and publicly.”⁸⁷

Further, in *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement*, David Hall considers the uses of ritual as necessary to maintaining the cohesion of the social body. Hall argues that public executions of Baptists, Quakers, “witches”, and some Indians, through the mid-seventeenth century to the early eighteenth century, as well as final confessional narratives from the gallows, were

⁸⁶ *The Day-Breaking if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospel*, 1647, 13.

well-attended spectacles. These events formed a significant part of Puritan New England ritual, which in turn was aimed at maintaining political and religious cohesion in the colony. Whether on the gallows or returning from excommunication, the confession “released people from their punishment and restored them to the body of God’s people.”⁸⁸ Further, for the layperson who was neither a criminal nor an excommunicate, Hall states: “Always the purpose of the ritual was to enact a reversal, as in turning sickness into health, providing passage out of danger, or making visible the hidden. Ritual was a formalized procedure, a patterned means of connecting the natural and social worlds to supernatural power.”⁸⁹

Indians could easily accommodate this description of public ritual, after all Powwows were equally public and socially cohesive events. The confessions of Waban, Nishohkou and others, detail the process of the newly formalised ritual: of making visible their “sinful hearts” through words and tears, connecting the physical sickness to spiritual inadequacy and rejecting tribal traditions and ceremonies. *Tears of Repentance* (1653), *A Further Accompt of the Gospel* (1659) and *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) include translated accounts of private confessional narratives, transcriptions of publicly performed confessional narratives, and importantly, a relation of the physical appearance and emotional response of the penitent. The written narratives and public performances of Waban, John Speene, Antony and Nishohkou reappear in these three tracts, and each reveals reasons and methods of their so-called spiritual revelations.⁹⁰

According to Hall, it is apparent that “(c)onfession put Satan at a distance, and reaffirmed the godliness of rulers,”⁹¹ that is, the confession removed the threat of the “savage” Indian for the benefit and reaffirmation of colonial order. In Waban’s case particularly, colonial rule is

⁸⁷ Caldwell, *Puritan Conversion Narrative*, 50.

⁸⁸ David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*. 1989. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard, 1990) 175. On general issues of ritual, see chapter four, “The Uses of Ritual.”

⁸⁹ Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 168.

reaffirmed with his appointment as Chief Justice and law enforcer of the first praying town, Natick. Waban makes several confessions between 1653 and 1660; each one demonstrates his initial reluctance towards Christianity and his final acceptance of repentance. However, far from endorsing the colonial civil structures and hierarchy, in each of his narratives Waban prioritises material and physical concerns over the spiritual. He begins his first public confession by recounting his initial ignorance and aversion to the English God:

Before I heard of God, and before the English came into this Country, many evil things my heart did work, many thoughts I had in my heart; I wished for riches, I wished to be a witch, I wished to be a Sachem; and many such other evils were in my heart: Then when the English came, still my heart did the same things; when the English taught me of God (I coming to their Houses) I would go out of their doors, and many years I knew nothing; when the English taught me I was angry with them: But a little while agoe after the great sickness, I considered what the English do; and I had some desire to do as they do.⁹²

Waban's confession is a familiar account of good overcoming the temptations of riches and success, and also reaffirms what Hall characterises as the "godliness" of the colony's rulers. In later confessions, Waban further describes his personal battle between traditional culture and colonial culture, again with the implied binary of good and evil: "(M)y parents taught me to love sin. And after they were dead, others taught me to sin: I liked to be taught to commit sin; those that taught me, said to me, Choose to be a Pauwau: they said, If you be a Pauwau, you may make others to live; and if you be a Pauwau, God will blesse you, and make you rich, and a man like God."⁹³ Certainly, in the Puritan logic of the text, Waban's family

⁹⁰ Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 184/5.

⁹¹ Hall, *Worlds of Wonder*, 185.

⁹² *Tears of Repentance* (1653) 231.

⁹³ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 71.

influence and his past sins are to be repented and by making them visible, as the tradition of the confession demands, they are exposed and forgiven.

Waban's confession is similar to that of Francis Moore, a seventeenth-century New Englander, whose narrative is typical of the period and provides an excellent comparison:

The Lord revealed his estate to him that he was miserable. And then he found the flesh resisting and contradicting the Lord, and the Lord showed him that without repentance none could be saved and that there must be sorrow for and hatred of sin. Now when the Lord had gone thus far with him, he questioned whether his repentance was right or no or whether no farther than the repentance of Cain and Judas. But seeing that he did not only leave the evil but cleave to the contrary good, hence he concluded it was no feigned work. But having many doubts afterward, the Lord did show him that Christ came to save those that were lost, and so him, not only in general sinners, but himself. And hereby the Lord wrought further humiliation and sorrow for sin past. And then applying that promise, those that mourn and hunger shall be comforted and satisfied, here arose that question whether he did mourn under his misery truly or no. Now here the spirit of God did seal to his soul that he was truly humbled, not only broken for, but from, sin with detestation of it; and hence was a new creature and hence was received to mercy.⁹⁴

In particular, it is interesting to note that the same feelings of self-hatred, of uncontrollable physical desires, of humiliation and unworthiness, alongside the moment of revelation are similarly depicted in New English and Praying Indian narratives. However, it is also interesting to note that Shepard reports speech instead of using first-person narrative. By contrast, this emphasises the effects of "authenticity" and "truth" derived from the first-person

accounts in the Tracts, as the scribes consciously attempt to create a transatlantic literary speech act.

By his own confession, Waban comments that only after the “great sicknesse” did he consent to the conversion process, and, given the emphasis placed on the relationship between physical and spiritual welfare within the Puritan and tribal worldview, his acceptance of God is as much a practical consideration as it is a spiritual one. In Tracts Nine and Ten, the relationship between the spiritual body and the physical body are confirmed. In Tract Nine, where Waban interprets Matthew 9.12,13, he discusses Christ as Physician to the body and soul: “we have many at this time sick in body, for which cause we do fast and pray this day, and cry to God; but more are sick in their souls... Therefore, what should we doe this day? goe to Christ the Phisitian; for Christ is a Phisitian of souls...”⁹⁵ This sentiment is repeated in the following year in *A Further Account of the Gospel*: “for Christ healeth the outward diseases of the body, but especially the inward filth of the soul.”⁹⁶ Given his existing belief that spiritual welfare supports physical welfare, combined with the introduction of new diseases by European colonisers, it is not such a radical shift to graft his original worldview onto another set of traditions, especially if he believes it will prevent further death. In their sermons, Eliot and other ministers often preached that wickedness and sinfulness would manifest itself in illness and disease; that is, the sins of the soul and the mind would be visible in the body of the sinner.⁹⁷

⁹⁴ Thomas Shepard, *Confessions*, eds George Selement and Bruce C. Woolley (Boston: Publication of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume 58, 1981) 35/6.

⁹⁵ *A Further Accompt of the Gospel* (1659) 9.

⁹⁶ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 74.

⁹⁷ This is most poignantly demonstrated by in the so-called “monstrous births” of Anne Hutchison, an Antinomian, and Mary Dyer, a Quaker. Both women resisted the Congregationalist Puritan orthodoxy of New England and spoke out in favour of religious freedom. As a result Anne Hutchinson was exiled and was Mary Dyer executed. For a contemporary account of Anne Hutchinson’s banishment, miscarriage and death see: Thomas Welde *Short Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians* (London 1644). For a contemporary account of Mary Dyer’s experience see: William Robinson, *A call from death to life and out of the dark wayes and worships of the world where the seed is held in bondage under the merchants of Babylon* (London: Printed for Thomas Simmons, 1660)

Like Ponampam in *A Further Account of the Gospel* who also refers to the threat of the “pox” as a reason for conversion, Waban foregrounds the necessity of survival, and adopts measures to ensure that survival. Waban is a man who appears to enjoy order and hierarchy, and seems to equate the health and continuation of the individual and the social body with faith in an adequate spiritual order. As is the case with Eliot’s worldview, civil and ecclesiastical frameworks are inseparable. Further, Waban seems to have been a natural leader; he recalls, with apparent shame, that he would have liked to have been a Sachem, and that he was encouraged to be a Pauwau, both important roles in the health and welfare of the individual and social body according to Native tradition. Following this, Eliot asserts that: “his gift lay in Ruling, Judging of Cases, wherein he is patient, constant and prudent.”⁹⁸

Thus, although Waban’s conversion is viewed by Puritan writers, readers and listeners as enacting a complete disavowal of tribal practices, it is equally likely that Waban’s personal aspirations and his belief in a consistent civil and spiritual framework remain unchanged. In the first of his confessions in Tract Ten, Waban asserts: “Sometimes I thought if we did not pray, the *English* might kill us.”⁹⁹ Certainly, up until 1675, praying towns did enjoy a special relationship with the English, and were protected from attacks by other tribes; further, Eliot argued, with some success, that Praying Indians should be allowed to purchase guns. In addition to the advantages of a consistent civil and ecclesiastical framework, preferential treatment from God, and the strategic benefits of an alliance with the English forces (the harsh retaliation of the English, evidenced by the Pequot War, also remained part of Algonquian cultural memory), conversion is not necessarily motivated by a rejection of tribal past but, rather, is sustained by a concerted effort to ensure a future for the individual and social body of the tribe. When Waban begins his own practice of preaching, as his part in the conversion of William of Sudbury (another Praying Indian) demonstrates, the Puritan audience in the colony and England viewed it as the fruits of Eliot’s labours. Waban’s preaching is

⁹⁸ *Tears of Repentance* (1653) 232.

characterised as a continuation of Eliot's missionary work and the result of financial generosity from English patrons; his performance allows the audience to believe what they may wish to interpret as a reflection of their own generosity. By way of resistance, Waban's own motivation, which is mostly likely founded on a strategy of survival, is veiled in this colonial mimicry and in this way he resists, to some extent, Puritan appropriation.

For the New England scribe and the English audience, the image of Native American conversion to Christianity came to reflect their own desire for spiritual renewal. Due to this desire for "authenticity," and the Tracts' overall reflection of transatlantic spiritual renewal, Waban's performance is described as being "not so satisfactory as was desired."¹⁰⁰ Waban never admits to drunkenness, or unfaithfulness, or theft, as other Praying Indians and New Englanders often do. Indeed Waban's only sin, if it can be described as such, is to support the civil and spiritual structures of his tribal culture, which, in his own words, he did with reluctance. As a consequence, Wilson underlines his verbal confession with evidence of his emotional state: "he spake the latter expressions with tears."¹⁰¹ Eliot, the scribe, saw none of these tears, and their existence is perhaps doubtful, but, in terms of the performative aspects of the public confession, they are crucial to establishing the sincerity and reliability of the penitent for a transatlantic audience.

Other confessions demonstrate similar motivations: Totherswamp admits that he began praying after the death of his friends. Following their deaths he states: "I had thought, if my kindred should die I would pray to God; therefore they dying, I must now pray to God."¹⁰² Like Waban and Ponampam, survival is a common motivation for religious conversion. In contrast to the desire for physical survival, Peter's conversion is motivated by the fear of eternal perdition. Robin Speene's confession is particularly poignant and is characterised by

⁹⁹ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 31.

¹⁰⁰ *Tears of Repentance* (1653) 232.

¹⁰¹ *Tears of Repentance* (1653) 232.

the death of his three children, which, he has been convinced, is the result God's anger at his sinful life. In another case, when Antony is persuaded that "God broke my head," he duly transfers his faith onto a more powerful deity. Piumbukhou's confession, again, is motivated by the fear of earthly and eternal punishment; and Monotunkquanit comments on the promise of food after his son receives two apples for answering a catechism correctly at a lecture in Dorchester.¹⁰³ The discourse of gift-giving and exchange appears again in *The Day-Breaking* when children are given apples and men are given tobacco when they attend a lecture, and then again in *The Clear-Sunshine*: "Mr. Eliot told him that because he brought his wife & all his children constantly to the Lecture, that he would therefore bestow some Cloths upon him..."¹⁰⁴ Also, since lightning and smallpox strike where Christian practice is found wanting, conversion becomes an act of survival, rather than a profound spiritual experience.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, there are many motivations behind the public confessions and the attendance at Lectures, including fear of illness, death, eternal perdition, and the death of children and friends, as well as the desire to benefit from the communities of English settlers through gifts and strategic alliances.

Eliot was of course concerned with the prospect of a disingenuous confession, and made deliberate attempts to overcome this. If English readers concluded that the confessions were disingenuous, then financial support and patronage for the continuance of Eliot's missionary endeavour would be weakened. Therefore, it was in Eliot's interest to encourage genuine confessional narratives, but perhaps more importantly, he had to present them in such a way that ensured an English audience would perceive them as genuine. Both Ponampam and Ephraim (his Indian name forgotten) admit to praying with words rather than sentiment. Ponampam states, "I prayed only with my mouth," and Ephraim confesses, "I pray but

¹⁰² *Tears of Repentance* (1653)230/1.

¹⁰³ *Tears of Repentance* (1653): (Peter) 245, (Robin Speene) 246. *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660): (Antony) 12, (Piumbukhou) 23/4, (Monotunkquanit) 25.

¹⁰⁴ *The Day-Breaking if not the Sun Rising*, 1647, 7; *The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel* (1648) 46.

¹⁰⁵ *The Light Appearing Or, A Farther Discovery of the present state of the Indians* (1651)

outwardly with my mouth, not with my heart.”¹⁰⁶ This superficial approach to Christianity is, of course, to be overcome in the narratives, and both Ponampam and Ephraim are shown to enact the trials of true conversion. This is not to say that Waban, Ponapmam, Robin Speene, and others were in any way disingenuous; given the significance of their motivations, they were indeed completely serious. However, it does seem to be the case that the Puritan perception of their confessions was at odds with the intention of the speaker. The confessions are formulaic, and from the perspective of tribal traditions, they can be interpreted in the same framework through which the performance of Pawawwing was enacted. The Pawwaw was used to cure illness, to practice spiritual rites, and to ensure safety in times of war, and it is reasonable to assume that the public confessions of Indian converts were intended for similar ends. The Praying Indian mimicked the Puritan coloniser in his practice of faith, but, as is evident from their confessions, their intention to maintain physical and spiritual health remained constant.

Another aspect of the confessional narrative was to incorporate knowledge and interpretation of the Bible into the experience of spiritual revelation. Until 1663, when Eliot first published the Bible in Algonquian, Praying Indians were reliant on Eliot’s and Mayhew’s verbal translations, as well as Eliot’s smaller publications of the Psalms (1658), the book of Genesis (1655) and the book of Matthew (1655).¹⁰⁷ Their choices from biblical sources were few, but with strategies of incorporation, the texts do, on occasion, become part of the performance of survival. The narratives are similar perhaps to the strategies employed by Winthrop and Cotton when they imagined that the danger and promise of the journey to the New World should be compared with Moses leading his people to the Promised Land. Like Algonquian Praying Indians, they too enacted the performance of a journey which would ensure their survival and continuance.

¹⁰⁶ *Tears of Repentance* (1653) 243, 259.

With recourse to the Book of Matthew, Speene reinforces the concept of repentance and baptism in order to prepare for a new spiritual beginning: “Mat. 3. 2. *Repent for the Kingdome of heaven is at hand.*”¹⁰⁸ Ponampiam (Ponampam) remembers the story of Noah in his confession, specifically God’s wrath at the sinners on earth, and he compares this story to the death of his “kindred” due to “the pox,” duly justifying his reasons for conversion.¹⁰⁹ Other social realities, including land ownership, are dealt with in Speene and Ponampiam’s narratives. John Speene states: “I saw the *English* took too much ground, and I thought if I prayed, the *English* would not take away my ground.”¹¹⁰ Of course, Speene comes to accept the ways of the coloniser in his confession, but these issues are left unresolved. Again, with recourse to the Book of Matthew, Ponampiam confirms this and also suggests that by praying to God, he will be able to retain his land:

Then Satan said to me, You are a great sinner, and God will not pardon you, therefore cast off praying, and run away, it is a vain thing for you to pray. Here you want land, but in the Countrey there is land enough, and riches in abundance, therefore pray no more. My heart did almost like it, but I heard that word, Mat. 4. *Satan tempted Christ, and shewed him the Kingdoms of the world, and the glory thereof, and promised to give them to him, if he would worship him.*¹¹¹

By 1660, when this confession was published, rights concerning the use of land and land ownership were pressing for Native tribes as the colonies became more firmly established. Eliot ensured that the land used for the praying towns was legally demarcated for Praying

¹⁰⁷ No copies of these texts are known to exist.

¹⁰⁸ *A Further Accompt of the Gospel* (1659) 15-16.

¹⁰⁹ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 54/6.

¹¹⁰ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 58. Like Waban, Speene’s response to a flooded and spoiled harvest, disease, and the premature deaths of many praying and non-praying Indians is to reconfigure his faith in order to overcome what appears to be divine retribution.

¹¹¹ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 56.

Indians but for non-praying Indians such security was not guaranteed.¹¹² In this confession, Satan appears to suggest that there is a land elsewhere, therefore Ponampiam incorporates the duality of God and Satan in the issue over land ownership and implicitly suggests that the policy of removal in the New England colony is somehow part of this “evil” temptation. This ambiguous assertion reflects badly on the colonisers, who are themselves tempted by “the Kingdoms of the world,” but the issue is left unresolved in the text and is perhaps another instance of disruptive speech from a marginalised voice.

Further ambiguity develops in Antony’s narrative. Antony begins by assimilating into his own experience the stories of Adam’s original sin, God’s faith in mankind in the story of Noah, and the promise of love in the story of the resurrection. In each instance, Antony records events in his life which correspond to his spiritual journey and his ultimate conversion.¹¹³ However, in the process of his narrative, Antony makes a political gesture by acknowledging the fact that he is unable to learn “Smithery” because he is an Indian and might use this knowledge to make guns.¹¹⁴ Antony shows no real dismay over this, which is a reminder that the confession was translated and published by those who had a vested interest in presenting Native inhabitants as peaceful and unarmed. Most likely, this is included for a transatlantic audience to confirm to them the actions taken to ensure the safety of the colony, and to encourage further emigration.

In another confession, Nishohkou relates the story of his youth, complete with tales of drunkenness and lust. As well as pointing to a real social problem by referring to the introduction of alcohol to Massachusetts tribes, the journey towards better health and behaviour is imagined through similar biblical references. Like Antony, Nishohkou describes the processes of disarming Indians. However, in this instance, a certain amount of displeasure

¹¹² For a discussion on the legal documentation for the land specified for Natick in 1651, see: Richard W. Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission to the Indians*, 105.

¹¹³ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 9-16.

is detected in his narrative: "(T)herefore my Soul desired to keep the Sabbath, then the Souldiers came upon us on the Sabbath day, while we were at meeting, and took away our Guns, and caused us to bring them as far as *Roxbury*; that night my heart was broken off, my heart said, God is not."¹¹⁵ Initially Nishohkou resists the dominance of the coloniser, and rejects the obvious double standard. In this text, the double standard remains unresolved and at a time where resistance is impossible, Nishohkou's disruption of the Puritan text and Puritan religious dominance is limited.

Sandra Gustafson argues: "The novel circumstances of colonial life exposed English settlers to native eloquence," and as a form of control, "textual discipline that devalued native American oral forms as savage speech, remade native communities in the image of Scripture."¹¹⁶

Certainly, in the Eliot Indian Tracts the remaking of Native communities on a civil and social level is key to Eliot's methods of spiritual renewal. However, as I have argued above, despite colonial control over written language, the transcription of confessions and direct speech of Natives in some way performs against the textual boundaries set by the colonial writer and London publisher. Therefore, performances of Praying and non-praying Natives both accommodate and resist their Puritan audiences within the limits of the written text.

Joseph Roach argues that, "the term performance may be more precisely delineated by what Richard Schechner calls the 'restoration of behaviour'. 'Restored behaviour' or 'twice-behaved behaviour' is that which can be repeated, rehearsed, and above all *recreated*."¹¹⁷ In the context of the public confessional narrative particularly, the issue of repeated and recreated behaviour is important to the emergence of New Englishness and the Praying Indian. Eliot's recreation of accepted behaviour in the confessional narrative of the Praying

¹¹⁴ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 11.

¹¹⁵ *A Further Account of the Gospel* (1660) 40.

¹¹⁶ Gustafson, *Eloquence is Power*, xxii.

Indian demonstrates a defence of New England's achievements and New Englishness, which is similar to the motivations behind Thomas Shepard's collection of New England confessions. In their introduction to Shepard's *Confessions*, Selement and Woolley suggest that Shepard "staunchly (defended) the New England Way against English Presbyterians."¹¹⁸ The editors of this collection recognise Shepard's desire to distance himself from England and English religious frameworks, hence his transcription of New English confessions. In the case of the Praying Indian confessions, the speeches and formulaic confessions which were transformed into a written context and sent to England became, to some extent, a reflection of New Englishness as the Praying Indian "doubles" for the renewal, transformation and revision of Englishness in the New World.¹¹⁹ However, in a simultaneous and alternative performance, Praying Indians emerge from the constraints of Puritan discourse and demonstrate their attempt to renew practices of ritual performance in order to meet the demands of a new environment. As Roach suggests: "the paradox of the restoration of behaviour resides in the phenomenon of repetition itself: no action or sequence of actions may be performed exactly the way twice; they must be reinvented or recreated at each appearance."¹²⁰ Therefore, while Eliot's record of Praying Indian confessions are recreated, partly from the existing Puritan form,¹²¹ more fundamentally, perhaps, the Praying Indian performance is premised on a reformed repetition of the Native American existing worldview.

¹¹⁷ Joseph Roach, "Culture and Performance in the Circum-Atlantic World," *Performativity and Performance*, eds. Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (London: Routledge, 1995) 46. Roach quotes: Richard Schechner, *Between Theater and Anthropology* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

¹¹⁸ Shepard, *Confessions*, 21.

¹¹⁹ I am indebted to Joseph Roach for this understanding of doubling. Referring to Jefferson's supposed invention of the Shawnee chief Logan's speech in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, Joseph Roach argues: "In the first mode (of doubling), one actor stands in for another (as in the film trade's 'stunt double' or 'body double') so that, in effect, two actors share one mask. In the second mode of doubling, one actor plays more than one role – two (or more) masks appear on one actor. In the doubling of Logan, Jefferson casts himself as stand-in for the Shawnee chief: two actors wear the one mask coded 'American'. Roach concludes that in this process the "Native American disappears into white speech". In the case of the Eliot Indian Tracts, the process of masking develops through a similar kind of theatrical doubling. However, as I will demonstrate, in this instance the performances reveal both the motivations of the praying Indians, as well as the process of renewal, which was hoped for in the colony and in the Old World by New England Puritan colonisers. See: Roach, "Culture and Performance," 54.

¹²⁰ Roach, "Culture and Performance," 46.

Mimicry and Merchandise

In the context of Eliot's Tracts, the use of mimicry to reinvent and recreate the process of religious conversion is crucial to the emergence of Praying Indian identity, as well as the commercial motivations behind colonisation. In Tract Six, *The Further Progresse of the Gospel* (1652), a sequence of three letters from Eliot, Wilson and Leverich illustrates the kind of Puritan mimicry that Indians were shown to enact as a response to missionaries' efforts to convert them. Eliot first of all translates Cutshamoquin's repentance for buying "strong waters" from Gorton's Plantation¹²² and then goes on to relate the pearls and souls parable whereby repentance is described in terms of merchandise that should be sold for a better commodity.¹²³ The Praying Indian describes his own spiritual transformation in terms of trade and recalls his own spiritual revelation in terms suited to his experience. In this way, the Protestant dialogue between trade and religion is clearly encoded and posits the emergence of an English national identity. In the second letter, John Wilson reiterates the pearl parable, but insists that Eliot's account is deficient on certain points, specifically as regards his account of the appearance of Natick, and the gathered Indians. According to Wilson, the Englishness of the town and the people deserve more emphasis. Therefore, an extensive account of the buildings and their interiors, the bridge, and the "English Apparell" of the tribal members, secures the visual aspect of mimicking Englishness.¹²⁴ Finally, Leverich, a missionary and a novice in Algonquian, recounts the emotional requirements for genuine conversion to Puritanism, and describes the emotional excess of public confessions:

(H)aving his [Leverich's anonymous convert] countenance sad before (and as I have understood since a week together after our former Exercise) and in speaking the tears all while trickling downe his Cheekes: After being demanded by me what

¹²¹ For different examples of confessional narratives in New England see: Thomas Shepard's *Confessions*; and, *The Notebook of the Reverend John Fiske, 1644-1675*.

¹²² This is an obvious attack on the colonial dissenter and for further discussion of Gorton's opposition to Puritan orthodoxy in New England see: Philip Gura, *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620-1660* (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1984) 276-303.

was the matter of his sadness, he answers me, he did now understand that God was a just God, and for himself he had been very wicked, even from a child. And another, whom I used as my Interpreter now and then in teaching them, falls suddenly and publicly into a bitter passion, crying out, and wringing his hands, out of the like apprehension of his Condition, as he told me afterwards, and I find no one of them (daring men) to speak of their good hearts, but some more some lesse sensible of the contrary.¹²⁵

The emotional emphasis of tears and wringing of hands is comparable with the public confession of convicts on the gallows and excommunicates.¹²⁶ The apparent Englishness of the confessions and the familiarity with which congregations would have understood the processes of public confession and corresponding narratives, along with various references to colonial dissenters and a new Protestant national identity that was partly based on trade and commerce, are all part of the transatlantic dimension of the Tracts. In this fashion, as the Praying Indian public confessional narrative is transferred from speech to text it is slotted into the rhetorical and interpretive framework of Puritan discourse, which negotiates New and the Old World concerns.

The role of the Praying Indian, therefore, is a complex performance of assimilation and resistance. Puritans understood Indian conversion as genuine, and it seems that Indians certainly meant what they said, but the actors and audiences in this performance interpreted the scene from very different ideological, economic, social and religious positions. Praying Indians meant to reconcile two very different cultures and belief systems to ensure their survival, yet, at the same time, English audiences were asked to witness the success of the

¹²³ *Strength Out of Weakness* (1652) 173/4.

¹²⁴ *Strength Out of Weakness* (1652) 177-9.

¹²⁵ *Strength Out of Weakness* (1652) 182.

mission and were also invited to imagine that Protestant England was becoming a spiritually superior and financially secure nation that would rival France and Spain in the race to conquer the New World. Therefore, while the Praying Indians were not conscious of the English audience in their conversations and public performances, the translator and scribe had this distant audience fully in mind, and the differences between the initial speech act and the transatlantic literary speech act could not be more clearly defined.

Overall, these Tracts demonstrate the growing confidence of Puritan New Englanders to judge and categorise others. The Puritan New Englander emerges as the overseer, the one who controls the image and representations of others: specifically, Indians in the New World, and English Protestantism in the Old World. By contrast, and by their own reckoning, New England Puritans are superior to each of these cultural types because they have created and propagated a new religious climate in a New World environment; further, they assume an elevated religious and cultural status through what they perceive to be a unique understanding of the spiritual prophecy wrapped-up in their errand in the wilderness. Butler's use of the term 'sovereign power' effectively encapsulates the New Englander's desire to control language and the performative representation of the self and others through that language. Butler states: "The idealization of the speech act as sovereign action (whether positive or negative) appears linked with the idealization of sovereign State power or, rather, with the imagined and forceful voice of that power."¹²⁶ That is, the contributors to these Tracts adopt an authoritative voice or discourse which imagines itself to be in control. The writers of the Tracts base this imagined sovereign power on their belief that they are indeed fulfilling God's work and, if not preparing the way for the millennium, then at least they are attracting new souls to God. With control of colonialist discourse, through the rhetoric of Christian teleology, the Tracts enact

¹²⁶ As I have highlighted already, this is comparable with the "mimicked" colonial discourse of the Salem witch trials which Gustafson describes. (Gustafson, *Eloquence is Power*) Also, Phillip H. Round notes the trials and punishments of excommunicates in, *By Nature and by Custom Cursed*.

the emergence of a confident and superior colonial identity. Missionary success in the colony is certainly dependent on England for financial survival, but by wielding significant religious and rhetorical sovereignty the colonisers manage to disconnect themselves from their English heritage and establish themselves as morally superior and spiritually renewed. Significantly, this is achieved without ever promoting themselves directly. By describing, judging and categorising others, New England Puritans bask only in reflected glory. New Englishness begins to emerge from its English roots by successfully communicating this new cultural type, the Praying Indian, to an English audience. With a complex network of performances, where the Praying Indian enacts everything England has lost and will become again, the New Englander emerges as both the “Actor” and the architect of this design. As he mediates the performances of Indian conversion narratives to an English audience, the New Englander becomes the creator of his own image.

In the next chapter I will consider more closely the triangular relationship between Algonquian Indians, New England and England as it develops a slightly different dynamic throughout the period of England’s Republic and Protectorate. When England shows the promise of becoming the site of the new millennium, Puritan New Englanders must re-imagine their errand to accommodate this possibility. In *The Christian Commonwealth*, where millennium rhetoric reaches its most energetic and didactic, Eliot negotiates this double performance as millennial rhetoric was adapted to appease audiences in both New and Old England.

¹²⁷ Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 82.

Chapter Two

Preachers and Prophets: Biblical Types and Cultural Boundaries in *The Christian Commonwealth* and “Learned Conjectures”

And the voice which I heard from heaven, *I heard it* again speaking with me, and saying, Go, take the book which is open in the hand of the angel that standeth upon the sea and upon the earth. And I went unto the angel, saying unto him that he should give me the little book. And he saith unto me, Take it, and eat it up; and it shall make thy belly bitter, but in thy mouth it shall be sweet as honey. And I took the little book out of the angel's hand, and ate it up; and it was in my mouth sweet as honey: and when I had eaten it, my belly was made bitter. And they say unto me, Thou must prophesy again over many peoples and nations and tongues and kings.¹

The Commonwealth then first together came,
And each one enter'd in the willing Frame;
All other Matter yields, and may be rul'd;
But who the Minds of stubborn Men can build?

.....

The Common-wealth does through their Centers all
Draw the Circumf'rence of the publique Wall;
The crosssest Spirits here do take their part,
Fast'ning the Contignation which they thwart...²

(T)ake the patern and form of your Government, from the Word of his
Mouth.³

Following Chapter One's discussion on the emergence of English, New English and Praying Indian cultural formations in Eliot's Indian Tracts, and the strategic mediation of voices and text in the enactment of those cultural formations, I shall to continue with this approach, and focus more closely on Eliot's millennialist publications: *The Christian Commonwealth* and

¹ Revelation 10: 8-11, *The Holy Bible*. Revised Version (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 1927.

² Andrew Marvell, "The First Anniversary of the Government Under His Highness The Lord Protector," *Andrew Marvell Complete Poetry*. 1968. ed., George deF. Lord (Oxford: Everyman's Library, 1984) 95.

³ John Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth* (London, 1659) 139.

his contribution to Thomas Thorowgood's *Jews in America*.⁴ Eliot's commonwealth treatise appeared in Massachusetts and London in 1659, although it had been written several years previously (1651 or 1652 according to the most recent estimate).⁵ Eliot's overtly Fifth Monarchist tract occupies an unusual and uncomfortable position in the year prior to the Restoration of Charles II.⁶ Published in the same year as Milton's commonwealth treatise, *The Readie and Easie Way to a Free Commonwealth*, which was characterised as a lament at a missed opportunity,⁷ and Richard Baxter's *The Holy Commonwealth*, which again laments what the Republic might have been,⁸ *The Christian Commonwealth* is written for audiences in both New and Old England, who were acclimatising to the theological and constitutional consequences of regicide and revolution.⁹ In this publication, Eliot prescribes without

⁴ Eliot's "Learned Conjectures" takes the form of a letter to Mr Thomas Thorowgood in response to the idea that Native Americans were one of the lost tribes of Israel. The letter is published in the second edition of Thomas Thorowgood's *Jews in America*.

⁵ Cogley summaries current arguments concerning the writing, transportation and publication of the treatise and points out: "He (Eliot) wrote this treatise at some point between September 1651, when he installed the millennial civil polity at Natick on a 'day of fasting and prayer,' and July 1652, when he sent the manuscript to England for publication." (Cogley, 76) Further, it was sent to Ferdinando Nicolls and either Nicholls, Hugh Peter or William Aspinwall was responsible for the late publication of the treaty in 1659. (Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians*, 284)

⁶ The Fifth Monarchists were a radical religious and political group whose inspiration hailed mainly from the Old Testament Book of Daniel. In particular, the Fifth Monarchists focused on a prophecy from King Nebuchanezzar (Daniel 2), which detailed the rise and fall of the five kingdoms on earth that would eventually usher in the new millennium. The Fifth Monarchists believed that the execution of Charles I should be understood as the execution of the anti-Christ, and the fall of the fourth kingdom. His death, therefore, heralded the thousand-year reign of the Saints (the Fifth Monarchy) which was the necessary precursor to the second coming and a new millennium. Religious, social and political reforms were key to Fifth Monarchist manifestos, activists and agitators. William Aspinwall and Thomas Venner were key players in the Fifth Monarchist cause. Aspinwall published one of the most influential Fifth Monarchist tracts, *A briefe description of the fifth monarchy*, 1653, and Venner is noted for his part in a political uprising in 1660 when he tried to overthrow Parliament in a final attempt to prevent the restoration of Charles II. Venner was executed in 1661 for his leading role in this uprising. For an excellent overview and comprehensive account of the social, political and religious context of the Fifth Monarchists, see: B.S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber, 1972).

⁷ At the very beginning of this second edition, Milton outlines his general purpose: "Although, since the writing of this treatise, the face of things hath had some change, writs for new elections have been recalled, and the members at first chosen re-admitted from exclusion; yet not a little rejoicing to hear declared the resolution of those who are in power, tending to the establishment of a free commonwealth, and to remove, if it be possible, this noxious humour of returning bondage, instilled of late by some deceivers, and nourished from bad principles and false apprehensions among too many of the people; I thought best not to suppress what I had written..." John Milton, *The Ready and Easy way to Establish a Free Commonwealth*, 1660. *The Prose Works of John Milton*. Volume II. (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1853) 108/9

⁸ William Lamont says that Baxter's *A Holy Commonwealth* was a kind of love letter to Richard Cromwell and, "everything in the treatise hinges upon the support that Richard Cromwell's Protectorate could give clergyman like Baxter." Richard Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth*, ed., William Lamont (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994) ix – x.

⁹ Although *The Christian Commonwealth* was not printed in New England it was certainly in circulation, since the General Court demanded that each copy be returned when Charles II returned to the throne. At a session on May 22nd 1661, the General Court decreed: "all persons whatsoever in this Jurisdiction (Massachusetts Bay), that haue any of the said Bookes in their Custody shall on their perrills within fowerteene dayes after publication

equivocation his vision of an ideal society, which would prepare the way for the new millennium.

In recent scholarship, Philip Gura's *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory* and James Holstun's *A Rational Millennium* provide what may be the best analysis of religious writings and commonwealth treatises concerned with ecclesiastical reform in seventeenth-century Old and New England. Gura focuses mainly on the religious writing of radical Puritan individuals in New England as they influence, and are incorporated into, orthodox Puritan theocracy in the New World. However, between 1650 and 1660 England appeared to New English onlookers to have established a kind of "tabula rasa" on which to build a new civil polity, and Gura situates this within a transatlantic dynamic of radical Puritan thought.¹⁰ Alternatively, Holstun considers writers of different religious backgrounds and compares the utopian themes of several writers from New and Old England, primarily Eliot and James Harrington, and develops a transatlantic dynamic to his discussion of seventeenth-century commonwealth tracts.¹¹

hereof either cancel and deface the same or deliuer them vnto the next Magistrate or to the Secretary, whereby all farther divulgment and improouement of the said offensiue Booke may be prevented." *Records of the General Court*, Volume IV, 370. An excerpt of this session is appended to *The Christian Commonwealth*, and has been reprinted in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections* (Boston, 1846/9) 27-164.

¹⁰ In the contest to capture the public imagination in the 1650s, Gura suggests that Roger Williams (New Englander), Goodwin (English) and John Milton (English) who supported toleration were the winners, and John Cotton (New Englander) and Thomas Hooker (New Englander) the losers. The public battle between Williams and Cotton began with Williams's "The Bloody Tenant of Persecution" (London, 1644) and Cotton's rebuttal "A Reply to Mr. Williams His Examination: The Bloody Tenent, washed, and made white in the blood of the Lambe" (London, 1647), followed by Williams's "The Bloody Tenant of Persecution yet more Bloody" (London, 1652). This battle was played out between London and the colony, and Williams was supported in London with John Clarke's "Ill Newes from New England: Or a Narrative of New-Englands Persecution" (London, 1652). Debate was certainly raging on this issue of toleration, and more generally on the ideal form on which a new civil and ecclesiastical polity should be set. Philip F. Gura, *A Glimpse of Sion's Glory: Puritan Radicalism in New England, 1620-1660* (Middleton, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press) 204.

¹¹ In comparing Eliot's treatise with Gerard Winstanley's Digger tract *Law of Freedom*, 1652, Holstun posits a common link between the radical and utopian intentions common to both: "Theses texts seem to offer themselves as patterns for social organization that can be applied immediately, with little or no concern for the inertial authority of preexisting social and political forms." Therefore, just as Eliot considers the Massachusetts Algonquian Indians to be without government and, effectively, a "tabula rasa" on which he can create ideal civil and religious structures, they both appropriate this term onto the present state of England. Although their propositions are inherently different, still there is an emerging image of England, linking Massachusetts and London, as it becomes as the place of change and opportunity. James Holstun, *A Rational Millenium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth Century England and America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987) 35.

Eliot's *The Christian Commonwealth* is usefully considered within the framework of mid-1650s commonwealth tracts. With specific reference to the typological aspects of the commonwealth treatise, Eliot's tract can be usefully compared with Milton's *The Ready and Easie Way*, Richard Baxter's *The Holy Commonwealth* (1660) and William Aspinwall's *A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy* (1653). Like the Fifth Monarchist, William Aspinwall, Eliot justifies the execution of Charles I through direct reference to the Books of Daniel and Revelation. On the execution of the Antichrist, which Eliot implies is synonymous with the execution of Charles I, Eliot believes that it was "set forth (from) the judgement of God" as related in Daniel, and further: "The means of execution of that judgement, is by the Wars of the Lamb, the Lord Jesus, as appears in the Book of *Revelation*."¹² Aspinwall, however, is far more direct and refers to the reformers as "the Lambs military officers."¹³ Moreover, Charles is referred to directly as a "Tyrant and persecuter of the Saints" and becomes "(T)he Beast or chief Sovereign" who was "slain or beheaded,"¹⁴ which in 1649, according to Aspinwall, directly fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel 7 and signalled that the end of the Antichrist's dominion would be 1673. By insisting on specific times and dates, Aspinwall links biblical prophecy with historical time and establishes a linear trajectory of Christian fulfilment which coincides with regicidal and revolutionary England. Therefore, both Eliot and Aspinwall share their reliance on biblical sources in order to explain current events in England and, further, justify them as pre-ordained acts. The typological performance, that is the enactment of biblical prophecy on English soil, is one which holds promise for both Eliot and Aspinwall. For each writer, the New Jerusalem and the second-coming are at least a step closer to realisation, if not directly immanent.

Alternatively, John Milton's *Ready and Easie Way* holds little of this millennialist rhetoric and the typology manifests itself as a threat, rather than a promise. Where Eliot and Aspinwall

¹² Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 138.

¹³ William Aspinwall, *A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy* (London: Livewell and Chapman, 1653) 4.

¹⁴ Aspinwall, *A Brief Description of the Fifth Monarchy*, 1.

glorify the violent retribution which Charles I received, Milton's tract relies on biblical prophecy to warn England against backsliding. Milton asks: "Where is this goodly tower of a commonwealth, which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the west?" Lamenting this missed opportunity, he imagines that England will become a Babel of warring religious sects: "The foundations indeed they lay gallantly, but fell into a worse confusion, not of tongues, but of factions, than those at the tower of Babel...."¹⁵ Milton continues this threat by prophesying his own understanding of what the future holds: "There will be a queen of no less charge; in most likelihood outlandish and a papist; besides a queen-mother such already," and this is aligned with his paraphrase of the Old Testament where the Jews returned to Egypt "to worship their idol queen."¹⁶ Given that Milton's commonwealth treatise is written as a final attempt in the late 1650s to sway public opinion, it is not surprising that it is formulated as a lament at a missed opportunity. Milton's treatise is markedly different from Eliot's and Aspinwall's given the later date of composition, as well as Milton's predilection for classical models of social organisation over Eliot and Aspinwall's very literal forms of Old Testament example. However, in common is their typological uses of Old and New Testament prophecy, specifically the Books of Exodus, Daniel and Revelation. The appropriation of these books changes through the 1650s, from enacting the promise of the second coming (Eliot and Aspinwall) to prophesying the threat of social, religious and political bondage embodied in monarchy and the image of "Egypt's idol queen" (Milton).

Like Milton, Baxter wrote and published *A Holy Commonwealth* at a time when England was returning to monarchical rule and it too laments the passing of the promise which a new commonwealth offered. Baxter's treatise differs from the other treatises discussed in that it is a lengthy piece, which proposes in minute detail civil and ecclesiastical reform through his political and religious considerations. Baxter's contribution to the commonwealth debate

¹⁵ Milton, *The Ready and Easy way*, 114.

encapsulates aspects of Eliot, Aspinwall and Milton's contributions. In Chapter Six, which deals with different kinds of commonwealths, Baxter addresses issues of unbounded and unchecked Republics, which he characterises as "the seed of the Serpent" and "Babels of Satan." With reference to the New Testament, Baxter further argues: "When Christ told his Apostles that he sent out them as Lambs among Wolves, these men (unchecked Republicans) would have these Wolves to be the Governors of the world," and would have spilled the blood of the godly, were they (the multitude) not threatened with "a Rod of Iron" which would "dash them in pieces as a Potters vessell."¹⁷ Therefore, the threat of God's vengeance, although depicted through different biblical sources, is similar to the violence of retribution as figured by Eliot and Aspinwall, but doubles as a continual warning against backsliding, in a similar way to Milton's treatise.

In each case, Eliot, Aspinwall, Milton and Baxter refer to Old and New Testament sources to justify England's current state and either propose the promise of the New Jerusalem, or threaten England with the consequences of backsliding into Monarchy or, in Baxter's case, the unchecked Republic of the multitude. Certainly, Eliot's *The Christian Commonwealth* has much in common with other millennialist and commonwealth treatises published in England during the 1650s, and James Holstun's *Rational Millennium* has considered these issues particularly effectively. However, J.F. Maclear argues that *The Christian Commonwealth* is also part of the New England Fifth Monarchist voice and further indicates that John Cotton, the New England minister, is the strongest voice in this regard.

Cotton and Eliot's Fifth Monarchist sympathies are predominantly manifest in their religious writings, although they would not have regarded themselves as members of this religious sect. It is important to emphasise, however, that Cotton, Eliot and Fifth Monarchists, among other

¹⁶ John Milton, *The Ready and Easy way*, 116/7, 137.

¹⁷ Baxter refers to Psalm 2 and Luke 19:27: "Howbeit these mine enemies, which would not that I should reign over them, bring hither, and slay them before me." Richard Baxter, *A Holy Commonwealth*, 84.

radical individuals and groups, took a literal approach to the Bible. They explained historical events, promoted decisive political action, and argued for a renewed church-state civil structure through their interpretation of the Bible. Philip Gura usefully summarises the differences between Fifth Monarchists and Quakers, another equally radical millenarian group, which indicates the particular apocalyptic responsibility which the Saints (Fifth Monarchists and those sympathetic to them) used to justify their actions: “the former (Fifth Monarchists) urged swift and, if necessary, violent action to initiate the thousand-year rule of the saints that would precede the Last Judgement, while the latter (Quakers) counseled virtual acquiescence in the face of persecution to witness the saving power of Christ’s truth.”¹⁸

Therefore, Cotton and Eliot, similar to the Fifth Monarchists in England, interpret the execution of Charles I and the years immediately following the execution in typological terms. Thomas Davis suggests that: “Typology, then, is the handwriting of God; in its ‘shadowy forms’ it reveals the presence of God, as much as his presence can be revealed before the sum of all types [Christ] ‘became flesh and dwelt among us.’”¹⁹ Eliot and others, therefore, argued that the historical event, Charles I’s execution, was sanctioned and prophesied by God because it had been foreshadowed in the Bible, specifically, Daniel’s millennialist interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream: “And in the days of those kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed, nor shall the sovereignty thereof be left to another people; but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand forever.”²⁰

Maclear considers Eliot’s millennialist tract in his study of the influence of apocalyptic history on early New England Puritan thought, and touches on, but does not develop the relationship between Eliot’s *The Christian Commonwealth* and the New England sermon. In

¹⁸ Gura, *A Glimpse of Zion’s Glory*, 126.

¹⁹ Tomas M. Davis, “The Traditions of Puritan Typology.” *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed., Sacvan Bercovitch (Massachusetts: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1972) 40. Davis glosses Calvin’s *Institutes*, II, 1433.

²⁰ Daniel 2: 44.

the following section of this chapter, therefore, I will consider Eliot's treatise in the context of the New England sermon in order to demonstrate the importance of Eliot's own positioning as the preacher turned prophet, and show that this transgression influences the typological implications of *The Christian Commonwealth*. Following this, I will discuss the typological implications of Eliot's "Learned Conjectures," another publication with millennialist pretensions, which was included in Thorowgood's *Jews in America*, 1660. By tracing the uses of biblical types in Eliot's work, I will discuss the enactments, or performances, of the antitype across racial and cultural divisions in England and New England in the mid-seventeenth century. Therefore, as in Chapter One, I want to address Eliot's manipulation of voice, text and performance, and establish the cultural implications of his millennialist rhetoric and typology.

Prophet and Preacher: The Preacher as Antitype in the New England Sermon

Transgressing the distinction between preacher and prophet was an accepted part of the sermon during the seventeenth century.²¹ William Perkins, minister and influential figure at Cambridge University from 1590 until his death in 1602, commented:

Most of us in this place are either prophets or the sons of prophets. If we are prophets we are God's messengers and must preach God's Word *as* God's Word and deliver it as we received it... So that every one who either is, or intends to be a minister needs that tongue of the learned of which Isaiah speaks, by which he may be able to speak a word in season to him that is weary.²²

²¹ To prophecy also meant to preach or expound the Scriptures, although this meaning is now obsolete.

²² William Perkins, "The Calling of the Ministry, describing the Duties and Dignities of that Calling" (London, 1605). Paraphrased / quoted by John Brown in *Puritan Preaching in England: A Study of Past and Present* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1900) 73/4. Perkins' sermons were familiar to Cotton, and he is mentioned in Cotton's, "The Pourcing out of the Seven Vials, or and exposition, of the 16 Chapter of the Revelation, with an Application of it in our time." (London, 1642).

Later in this century, in New England, John Wilson reiterates and extends this common transference of authority from prophet to preacher: “But consider, what came you into this Wilderness for? did you come to gaze upon one another? No, you came to see, and hear the great Prophet, even the Lord Jesus in his Ministers, that you might have the Ordinances of God in his Churches rightly gathered, and the holy Sacraments rightly administered.”²³ Therefore, from its earliest stages, before the Puritan sermon reaches New England’s shores, through to the years of second-generation settlers, the centrality of the sermon and, importantly, the preacher to spiritual renewal and social organisation is evident.²⁴

The Congregational form of ecclesiastical polity was not codified until 1648 with the publication of *The Cambridge Platform*. However, after journeying to New England and without the aid of a printing press, at least in the initial years of the colony, the genre of sermon gave first generation ministers and theologians a principal medium through which they could consolidate their preferred pattern of church-state organisation. In particular, John Cotton’s *A Sermon Delivered at Salem* (1636) demonstrates the central concerns of establishing a new ecclesiastical polity with reference to Old Testament and New Testament models of church covenant. In this sermon Cotton distinguishes between a covenant of works and covenant of grace in order to preserve links with brethren in England and ensure the survival of a church in the wilderness, while also justifying the move away from England and

²³ John Wilson, *A Seasonable Watch-Word* (Cambridge, 1677) 6/7. Quoted by Harry S. Stout, in: *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) 61/2.

²⁴ On the development of the sermon within the New England community, Harry S. Stout states: “The seventeenth-century founders of New England set out to create a unique and self-perpetuating ‘people of the Word,’ and by extending the sermon to all significant facets of life – social and political, as well as religious – they achieved exactly that. Throughout the colonial era the regular ‘planting’ of churches in most towns kept pace with the growth of population so that by the time of the Revolution there were 720 Congregational churches in New England. In like manner the number of college-educated, ordained ministers grew with the population, resulting in the constant ratio of preachers to general population that was among the lowest – if not the lowest – in the Protestant world. Twice on Sunday and often once during the week, every minister in New England delivered sermons lasting between one and two hours in length.” (Stout, *The New England Soul*, 3) For statistics on the numbers of ministers in New England, Stout refers to: Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy and the Colonial Churches of New England* (Lancaster, Mass: Society of the descendants of the colonial clergy, 1936).

the limits of Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian models of church polity.²⁵ As I will detail below, Cotton describes the journey to the New World as a journey to liberty, that is, the liberty to live by the rules of their own church-state, and independently of the English Monarch. Significantly, in the next decade, Cotton published, “The Keys to the Kingdom of Heaven” (1644) and “The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared” (1648), and in both of these tracts he sets out a more detailed analysis of how Congregational communities should be organised. For the purposes of my argument, in which I want to argue for substantial correspondence between written and spoken sermons in order to compare Eliot’s *The Christian Commonwealth* to the New England sermon, the important point is that fact that the sermon at Salem holds the germ of what will later become Cotton’s written treatise on Congregationalist church polity.²⁶

Eliot’s *The Christian Commonwealth* has been analysed successfully by other critics as a radical and controversial commonwealth treatise, but it has not been adequately analysed with reference to the New England sermon and yet, as I will show with reference to Cotton, Winthrop and Danforth, the text displays many of the same concerns about the role of preachers and prophets, as well as similar performative techniques.

From the first migrations and the parting sermons of John Cotton, *God’s Promise to His Plantation* (1630), and John Winthrop, *Model of Christian Charity* (1630) on board the *Arbella*, the sermon played a significant role in the lives of Puritan New Englanders. In common, both sermons accentuate the providential nature of the voyage and the importance

²⁵ For this general understanding I am indebted to Larzer Ziff. See: Larzer Ziff ed., *John Cotton on the Churches of New England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Belknap, Harvard University Press, 1968)

²⁶ Larzer Ziff ed., *John Cotton on the Churches of New England*, 4. This collection includes: “A Sermon Delivered at Salem” (1636); “The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven” (1644); and “The way of Congregational Churches Cleared” (1648). New England sermons were not limited to audiences in New England, and, for example, in 1651 a collection of Thomas Hooker’s sermons, called *The Saint’s Dignitie, and Dutie Together with the Danger of Ignorance and Hardship*, was posthumously published and sold in London. Moreover, later that decade, in 1659, a series of Thomas Shepard’s sermons dating between 1636 and 1640, called *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*, was also published in London.

of new forms of civil and religious bonds, or “Ordinances,”²⁷ which they believed were central to New England life. To encourage the emigrants and to justify the errand, Cotton embarks on a comparison with God’s providence as it is related in Exodus, where Moses leads the Israelites into the wilderness and to Sinai: “after he hath espied it (the land), when he carrieth them along to it, so that they plainly see a providence of God leading them from one Country to another: As in *Exodus* 19.4. You have seene how I have bourne you as on Eagles wings, and brought you unto my selfe....”²⁸ As well as God’s providence, Cotton is particularly interested in the lawfulness of the colony, and justifies their presence in another country by virtue of God’s favour. Their virtue and God’s favour manifest themselves in the uses of types (Old Testament prophets) to describe and justify the colony.²⁹ Thus, according to Cotton, Abraham obtained the field of Machpelah because he was “forreigne” and “forreigne people favour in the eyes of any native people.”³⁰ God’s promise is finally sealed when Eden is characterised as a type and Cotton describes Adam and Eve’s possession of Eden as the “grand Charter” which foreshadows their own royal charter.

The type-antitype exegetical method is best characterised as a “foreshadowing” of New Testament people or events (antitypes) by Old Testament people or events (types). In the crudest terms, therefore, Old Testament prophets and experiences foreshadow the experiences of New Testament Apostles. Puritan exegetical typology was, of course, far more specific than this general historical parallelism suggests. In fact, Mason I. Lowance Jr. effectively highlights the specificity of the New England methodology:

Theologians had long stressed the importance of reading the Old

Testament in terms of its prefiguration of Christ, and the varied schemes of

²⁷ John Cotton, *Gods Promise to his Plantations* (Printed by William Jones for John Belamy, London, 1630) 17.

²⁸ Cotton, *Gods Promise to his Plantations*, 3.

²⁹ Alongside this Biblical justification for the colony, reasons for transplantation are focused on the persecution of Puritans under Archbishop Laud, which, again, is typologically explained and accounted for with a

typological exegesis helped to determine the precise relationship between the New Testament and many episodes contained in the Old. By establishing the correspondences between the two Testaments, the exegete could show how God's revelation was progressive and continuous from one moment in history to another. Thus the historical figure Isaac became a "type" of Christ in the Genesis episode where he is almost sacrificed by his father, Abraham. This adumbration of the New Testament event is later fulfilled by the corresponding "antitype," which concludes or abrogates the type.... The events or persons prefigured, the "antitypes," fulfil the earlier shadows and establish a spiritual bond between the two Testaments.³¹

It would be difficult to underestimate the importance New England Puritan ministers placed on this very strict typological exegesis, especially in the period of migration and through the years of millennial debate in the 1650s.³² As I have discussed above, John Cotton deliberately uses Old Testament types to characterise and justify the 1630 migration to New England. This places "antitype" status on the New England settlers and extends the historical connections beyond the boundaries of the New Testament text and into the historical circumstances of seventeenth-century (New) English Protestants. Just as Moses led the Israelites to the Promised Land, New England ministers were, as they saw it, leading seventeenth-century Puritans to the New Jerusalem. Puritan ministers in early New England resisted temptations to use the type-antitype construct as a trope or allegory, and insisted on maintaining the

description of the persecution of the Apostles as New Testament types from Acts 13. 46,7. Cotton, *Gods Promise to his Plantations*, 11.

³⁰ Cotton, *Gods Promise to his Plantations*, 4.

³¹ Mason I. Lowance Jr. "Typology and the New England Way: Cotton Mather and the Exegesis of Biblical Types," *Early American Literature* 4,1 (1969): 15-37, 15/16.

³² Thomas Davis suggests: "Even though the 'establishment of historical connexions between certain events, persons or things in the Old Testament [the type] and similar events, persons or things in the New Testament [the antitype] may have led to regrettable excesses (from the Puritan point of view, at any rate) of Catholic exegetes, the Puritan experiment in New England and the most central points of its theology were based too fully on the Old Testament to discard a traditional method of exegesis which provided impeccable biblical authority for the New England Way.... (T)he structure of the type-antitype construct pervades nearly all aspects of Puritan thought." Tomas M. Davis, "The Traditions of Puritan Typology." *Typology and Early American Literature*,

historical connections between types (prophecy) and antitypes (the prophetic fulfilment).

Lowance suggests that divisions between allegorical and more conservative exegetical methods were more apparent in the earlier years of the colony, and by the time of Cotton Mather the division between the two exegetical methods was less well observed.³³ In agreement with Lowance, Stephen Manning characterises Puritan exegetical typology as “historical typology, which ‘consists in a recognition of historical correspondences and deals in terms of past and future,’ and allegorical typology, which views Scripture ‘as a single vast volume of oracles and riddles, a huge book of secret puzzles to which the reader has to find clues’ and thus ‘takes no account of history.’”³⁴

The typology used by Cotton seems to blur the distinction between historical and allegorical usage. It is not entirely clear whether or not Cotton wants to insist that this journey has indeed been ordained and foreshadowed by Moses, and Old Testament type: if so, Puritan passengers become antitypes, and become historically linked with the prophecies of the Old Testament as they re-enact biblical history. The Puritan errand, then, unites biblical and historical time and their performance (the repeated errand into the wilderness) acquires apocalyptic proportions. After all, the New Jerusalem, or the Promised Land in this exegetical interpretation of events, is the predicted site of the second coming. Consequently, Puritan New Englanders become the driving force of Christian teleological development towards the new millennium.

Alternatively, if the typological construct is intended to be allegorical, Cotton explains God’s will and providence by drawing parallels with past biblical events, but stops short of designating the emigrants as the embodiment of Christian spiritual history’s drive towards millennial fulfilment. On both counts, however, it is clear the Cotton relies on the image of a performance or re-enactment of Exodus to account for his understanding of God’s will and

12/3. Davis glosses G.W. Lampe, “The Biblical Origins and Patristic Development of Typology,” *Essays On Typology*, Studies in Biblical Theory, No. 22. (Naperville, 1957) 39.

³³ Lowance Jr. “Typology and the New England Way,” 17.

the Puritan emigration to the New World. Cotton's sermon is itself a performance to gathered listeners ready to board the *Arbella*, but the congregation are also actors and antitypes, to some degree, as they embody the fulfilment of the biblical prophecy in their 'errand' into the 'wilderness' of the New World, and in their re-enactment of biblical history.

In the same year, Winthrop delivers his lay sermon to those on board the *Arbella* that the Puritan journey to the New World should be understood as a sign that *they* were God's chosen people: "We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when He shall make us praise and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, 'the Lord make it like that of NEW ENGLAND.' For we must consider that we shall be a city upon a hill."³⁵ Further, by the very virtue of the journey, they had entered into a covenant with God, similar to the one God established with the Israelites: "We are entered into covenant with Him for this work. We have taken out a commission, the Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles. We have professed to enterprise these actions, upon these and those ends, we have hereupon besought Him for favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath He ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, [and] will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it..."³⁶ In these sermons the use of Old Testament people and places as types suggests a historical foreshadowing of events, rather than a biblical allegory, to

³⁴ Stephen Manning's essay discusses variations in the understanding of typology over several centuries, from Medieval to Reformation and Early American: "Scriptural Exegesis and the Literary Critic," *Typology and Early American Literature*, 65. Manning glosses, G.W.H. Lampe and K.J. Woollcome, *Essays on Typology*.

³⁵ Winthrop refers to Matthew 5. 14-15: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and giveth light unto all that are in the house." John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity*, 1630. *Norton Anthology of American Literature*. Volume 1. Fourth Edition. (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1994) 170-180, 180.

³⁶ Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity*, 1630. *Norton Anthology of American Literature*, 179. Winthrop also addresses the more practical concerns of civil and ecclesiastical organisation "It is by a mutual consent, through a special overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ, to seek out a place of cohabitation and consortship under a due form of government both civil and ecclesiastical. In such cases as this, the care of the public must oversway all private respects, by which, not only conscience, but merely civil policy, doth bind us." (Winthrop, 178) Recently, it has been argued that Winthrop may have directed his lay sermon to Puritans to who were staying in England. If this is indeed the case, then the religious divisions between England and what would become New England are beginning to be drawn before the *Arbella* even set sail. See: Editor's introduction to Winthrop: *Norton Anthology of American Literature* Volume 1. Sixth Edition. (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002)

confirm the Puritan New Englanders as the antitype who have been foreshadowed by Moses (type) and his journey in to the wilderness. They imbue the actual historical event of travelling to a relatively unknown place in the New World with the spiritual equivalence of the Israelites' errand into the wilderness. Consequently, the preacher himself becomes implicated in this typological historicisation of events, since, in both sermons, Cotton and Winthrop blur the distinction between preacher and prophet. Therefore both ministers take their place alongside Moses as the voice and mediator of God's will and providence. Just as Bercovitch describes, at this point in Puritan history heavenly time and the imperfect time of mankind seemingly collide in the sermons of New England ministers.³⁷ In their own performances of leading the migration and preaching to emigrants, Cotton and Winthrop endow themselves with the antitype status.

Similar to Cotton and Winthrop's 1630s sermons, in *The Christian Commonwealth* Eliot fastens onto a typological interpretation of current events. However, by mid-seventeenth century, political changes in England overshadowed the providential status which the colony had previously enjoyed. As I have discussed in the context of other commonwealth treatises, England became the focus of millennial fulfilment and Eliot becomes directly involved in this interpretation of political events in *The Christian Commonwealth* where he offers a resolution to the constitutional concerns of civil and ecclesiastical organisation affecting New and Old England. However, like Cotton, Winthrop, Perkins and Wilson, by the very virtue of his position as a preacher and minister, Eliot adopts and manipulates the practice of invoking Old Testament prophets and New Testament apostles when he 'preaches' the importance of spiritual renewal and civil reorganisation in the wake of the constitutional crisis created by the execution of Charles I. Similar to the dedicatory addresses in his Tracts, Eliot provides a

³⁷ On Cotton and Winthrop's sermons Bercovitch suggests: "The two sermons, then, embody a conflict between literal content and prophetic form. Their Janus-like analogy to Israel identifies the settlers at once with a fallen people and with an irreversible movement towards redemption. They seem to alternate between the provision and the predetermined, or in the words of Melville's Plinlimmon between the horological, the imperfect time of mankind, and the chronometerical, the 'original Heaven's time' unaffected 'by all terrestrial jarrings.'" Sacvan

general address for his audience, who may be readers or gathered listeners: “*To the Chosen, and Holy, and Faithful, who manage the Wars of the Lord against Antichrist, in great Britain; and to all the Saints, faithful Brethren, and Christian people, of the Commonwealth of England: Grace and Mercy, with Peace and Truth be multiplied, through Jesus Christ our Soveriagn Lord and King.*”³⁸ Given the fact that Eliot’s Tracts were publicly preached in English pulpits, it is not unreasonable to argue that he would have hoped an English congregation would receive his commonwealth tract in this way.³⁹ As detailed below, his exposition of biblical text, his warning against backsliding, guidance towards an ideal and biblically authorised church-state, and the ultimate deferral of that ideal state, are all similar to the features of the New England sermon generally, and, in particular, the American jeremiad as described by Sacvan Bercovitch.⁴⁰ Not only does Eliot deliver his ‘sermon’ on the present state of England to England, he also incorporates the experience of his fellow New Englanders. With this transatlantic turn in mind, Eliot’s appropriation of prophet and prophecy alongside the violent images of retribution, which characterised current political events in England, justifies his ideal vision of civil and ecclesiastical organisation in terms of millennial fulfilment. This fulfilment is achieved by tracing typological links between the Old and New Testaments and the historical reality of revolutionary England.

Bercovitch, “Horologicals to Chronometricals: The Rhetoric of the Jeremiad,” *Literary Monographs*, Volume 3. ed. Eric Rothstein (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1970) 4.

³⁸ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 129.

³⁹ Although it is unlikely that this would have been the case, since *The Christian Commonwealth* was not published until 1659, the year of the Restoration, Eliot did send the manuscript to England some years previously, 1652 according to Cogley, on the assumption that it would take part in the constitutional and millennial debates of Republican and latterly Cromwellian England. Therefore, it is reasonable to deduce that he at least intended his commonwealth tract to be included in the sermons of Independent and Separatist Churches in England, in much the same way as his Indian Tracts were delivered to English congregations. In terms of scale alone, Eliot’s commonwealth treaty is of a similar length to the Indian Tracts. The fact that the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel were not behind this unsolicited material clearly influences its belated publication and limited distribution. *The Christian Commonwealth* was finally published in London by the Fifth Monarchist printer Livewell and Chapman.

⁴⁰ Of the first generation of New Englanders, Bercovitch states: “Theirs was a peculiar mission, they explained, for they were a ‘peculiar people,’ a company of Christians not only called but chosen, and chosen not only for heaven but as instruments of a sacred historical design. Their church-state was to be at once a model to the world of Reformed Christianity and a prefiguration of New Jerusalem to come. To this end, they revised the message of the jeremiad. Not that they minimized the threat of divine retribution; on the contrary, they asserted it with a ferocity unparalleled in the European pulpit. But they qualified it in a way that turned threat into celebration. In their case, they believed, God’s punishments were *corrective*, not destructive. In short, their punishments confirmed their promise.” Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978) 7/8.

The Christian Commonwealth and Voices from the New England Pulpit

In terms of rhetorical strategies alone, Eliot's preface in particular manifests itself as a text which is ideal for speaking or preaching. With reference to Scotland's and England's rejection of Catholicism, and the ensuing civil confusion, Eliot states:

But the Iron of the Civil State, stuck so fast to the miry clay, that according to the Word of Christ, *they are (beyond all the thoughts of men) both fallen together; they are fallen, they are fallen, they are both fallen together*: Oh that men would therefore praise the Lord, for his faithful Word, and goodness; for his mercy endureth for ever! and all his faithful Word shall be accomplished. *Amen, Amen.*⁴¹

The repetition of "they are fallen" is similar to the rhetorical tricks of sermonising and seems to be inconsistent with more formal prose of other commonwealth treatises, specifically Baxter's *Holy Commonwealth*. Eliot's commonwealth treatise is more congruent with the posthumously published sermons of Thomas Hooker, for example. In *The Saints Dignitie*, Hooker states: "Thus (my brethren) *they* that have these Properties, *they* whose hearts are purified, *they* who work by love, *they* whose hearts are fenced with a brestplate that *they* cannot bee stollen from Christ, nor wounded with sin, *they* that are conquerers over the world, *they* are beleevers."⁴² The rhythm of the spoken sermon in Eliot's text is clear, and in the final statement, "Amen, Amen," Eliot adopts the closing expression of a prayer, emphasising the importance of speech patterns and performative strategies in *The Christian Commonwealth*.

⁴¹ Eliot, *The Christain Commonwealth*, 132 (my italics).

⁴² Thomas Hooker, "The Gift of Gifts: OR, The End Why Christ gave Himself," *The Saints Dignitie, and Dutie Together with the Danger of Ignorance and Hardnesse* (Printed by G. D. for Francis Eglesfield, London, 1651) 7. (my italics)

In terms of linguistic choice, Eliot's register and his own use of metaphor is coloured by the influence of Old Testament sources. In his preface he imagines that the "black, and confused Clouds, which have overspread the whole Land, have so darkened the way of those wheels of Providence," and further imagines that, "the coming of Christ is in the Clouds of darkness."⁴³ From the flight from Egypt, to the wilderness of Mount Sinai, the dark clouds have captured both a sense of foreboding and promise: from the threat of Egyptian legions behind them, to the New Jerusalem before them.⁴⁴ This dualism is characteristic of the first generation emigrants to New England: John Cotton and John Winthrop's sermons figure their pharaoh as the monarch of England and the wilderness before them as a precursor to a New Jerusalem. On arrival, the biblical allusion to the wilderness manifests itself all too readily in the harsh landscape of the New World, although, in the American jeremiad this too becomes part of the journey, where the trials of hardship breed their own rewards.

By 1670, this familiar use of biblical allegory was revisited by Samuel Danforth in his sermon, *Errand in to the Wilderness*. In his attempts to remind New Englanders of their providential journey, he states:

The Lord foreseeing the defection of *Israel* after *Moses* his death, commands him to write that Prophetical Song, recorded in *Deut.* 32. as a Testimony against them: wherein the Chief remedy, which he prescribes for the prevention and healing of their Apostacy, is their calling to remembrance Gods great and signal love in manifesting himself to them in the Wilderness, in conducting them safely and mercifully, and giving them possession of their promised Inheritance, *ver.* 7-14. And when *Israel* was apostized and fallen, the Lord to convince them of their ingratitude and folly, brings to their remembrance his deliverance of them out of *Egypt*, his leading them through the Wilderness for the space of forty years, and

⁴³ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 129.

not onely giving them possession of their Enemies Land, but also raising up, ever of their own Sons, *Prophets*, faithful and eminent Ministers..... The Prophet *Jeremiah*, that he might reduce the people from their backslidings, cries in the ears of *Jerusalem*....⁴⁵

It can be no accident that the Israelites' forty years in the wilderness at least parallels, if it does not foreshadow, the forty years which New Englanders had experienced the New World wilderness. After all, at the time of Danforth's sermon, 1670, it had been exactly forty years since the *Arbella* first set sail. Danforth's sermon demonstrates the continued desire of New England ministers to place themselves as the link between historical and biblical time. Since this rhetoric and typology remained current throughout the seventeenth-century sermons of Puritan New Englanders, and is harnessed effectively in Eliot's commonwealth tract, the possibility that Eliot intended this pamphlet to be preached from the pulpits of Congregationalist and Independent churches in England and New England certainly increases.

The practice of transcribing sermons into written publications was not unusual in seventeenth-century England, and the sermons of New England ministers, in particular John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Thomas Shepherd, were transcribed and published in England. Cotton's *God's Promise to his Plantations* was published in the same year in which it was delivered, 1630. Thomas Hooker's *The Saint's Dignitie, and Dutie Together with the Danger of Ignorance and Hardship*, which was a collection of sermons, was posthumously published in 1651 and sold in London. Later that decade, in 1659, a series of Thomas Shepard's sermons dating between 1636 and 1640, called *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*, were also

⁴⁴ See Exodus, 14 and Numbers 10.

⁴⁵ Samuel Danforth, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 1670. *American Sermons: The Pilgrims to Martin Luther King Jr.* ed., Michael Warner (New York: The Library of America. 1999) 158/9.

published in London.⁴⁶ In *The Christian Commonwealth*, Eliot seems to be reversing this dynamic: by deliberately invoking the preacher's voice, the words appear to be printed for the purpose of recitation in the pulpit. Phyllis and Nicholas Jones describe the New England sermon as having four important components:

The word of God initiates and controls early New England sermons. Beginning with a specific biblical text, they progress from an explication of that "text" and a derivation of a "doctrine" from it to an enumeration and development of "reasons" for and "uses" of that doctrine. This structure could serve equally well a pastor in his Sunday exhortations or a teacher in a mid-week lecture or a cleric selected to preach at a general election. In Puritan England, this four-part structure had come to be the accepted form of the sermon: not only did the first New England ministers have the opportunity to learn this method of preaching from its practice by the brotherhood, but they could also consult manuals on preaching published especially for English preachers of Puritan leanings.⁴⁷

Eliot's familiarity with this established structure is reflected in the structure of *The Christian Commonwealth* to a significant degree but more fundamentally this text reflects the content of the New England sermon. Therefore, perhaps the most significant aspect of *The Christian Commonwealth* is Eliot's appropriation of Old Testament images into his own register. This method of appropriation emphasises his reliance on the exposition of selections from books of the Old and New Testaments, principally Genesis, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Daniel and Revelation to create his own treatise. As in the structure of the sermon, where specific

⁴⁶ A very good account of the practice, production and complexity of transcribing sermons into treatise is included in *Salvation in New England: Selection from the Sermons of the First Preachers*, eds., Phyllis M. Jones and Nicholas R. Jones (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1977) 17-24.

⁴⁷ Jones and Jones eds., *Salvation in New England*, 6. Specific learning manuals include: William Perkins, *The Art of Prophesying* (1592); William Ames, "Of Ordinary Ministers and the Office in Preaching," *The Marrow of Sacred Divinity* (1623); and Richard Bernard, *The Faithful Shepherd* (1607, 1621).

chapters from the Old and New Testaments are elucidated,⁴⁸ in Chapter 1 of *The Christian Commonwealth* Eliot sets out his vision of an ideal commonwealth with direct reference to Old Testament sources. The first chapter begins:

It is the Commandment of the Lord, that a people should enter into Covenant with the Lord to become his people, even in their Civil Society, as well as in their Church-Society,⁴⁹

and ends:

they chuse (a) unto themselves Rulers of thousands (b), of hundreds, of fifties, and of tens, who shall govern according to the pure, holy, righteous, perfect and good Law of God (c), written in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament.⁵⁰

The presence of Moses and Israel are unmistakable in Eliot's treatise, and in the following chapters Eliot expands on this principle of ecclesiastical and civil organisation. Further, similar to the emphasis on specific doctrine to resolve concerns of everyday life in English and New English sermons, Eliot offers what he views as a practical framework for electing leaders and rulers for his theocratic state. He attempts to convince his readers that the Bible provides practical ways of electing leaders and rulers for his theocratic state, and further persuades that the practical problems of a nation of tens and hundreds of thousands can be overcome by the example of Moses, when he prepares to leave Mount Sinai, and leads his tribe to the Promised Land.⁵¹ Just as Moses organises his people, so Eliot boldly dictates the

⁴⁸ In particular, John Cotton's *The Powring out of the Seven Vials* is a series of sermons which elucidated the meaning of Revelation 16, and was motivated by anti-Catholic feeling in both Old and New England. Thomas Shepard's *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*, elucidated the parable from Matthew and discusses New England as representative of the five wise virgins. Both collections were published in London.

⁴⁹ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 143.

⁵⁰ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 145.

⁵¹ "For in Numb. 10. 36. when they rested from their marching, Moses blessed them and said, Return O Lord, to the Myriades of the thousands of Israel..." (*The Christian Commonwealth*, 159); "Myriades of Myriades, Rev. 5.11. which I call supreme, being the highest I find mentioned in Scripture..." (*The Christian Commonwealth*, 137)

practical considerations for England's new civil and ecclesiastical rulers. In addition to expounding biblical text, deriving civil and ecclesiastical doctrine from it, and proposing the uses and institutionalisation of the stated doctrine, the line between prophet and preacher becomes increasingly blurred.

In New England sermons, Moses and the wilderness are types which foreshadow Christian teleological trajectory and justify the Pilgrims' place in the New World. However, in 1650s England the image of the errand does not accommodate the struggles experienced before and after the death of Charles I. Rather, in the view of English Puritans the death of Charles I marked a more important date in the Christian linear trajectory as it signalled the possible beginnings of a new millennium. To incorporate the experience of this audience Eliot draws on the Book of Daniel and, specifically, the explication of the violent retribution in the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar. The promise of the Fifth Kingdom in Daniel's dreams and prophecy are also incorporated to explain the typological implications of England's revolutionary state. The violence, dreams and prophecies from the Old Testament rulers and prophets are shown to foreshadow events in England, and in this way Eliot attempts to bring together biblical time and earthly time, biblical prophecy and civil unrest.

Eliot initially refers to Book Two of Daniel, where the King dreams of "a great image... which was mighty, and whose brightness was excellent", although "the aspect thereof was terrible." (Dan. 2. 31.) Daniel interprets this as the fourth kingdom, which will be crushed and replaced, and further: "in the days of those kings shall God of heaven set up a kingdom, which shall never be destroyed." (Dan. 2. 44.) In direct response to this prophecy, Eliot again incorporates the violent imagery of Daniel by forwarding his own prophetic vision:

Which Prophecie (Daniel's) doth clearly foreshew the forenamed points: for there is an epitomy of all the Monarchies, Governments, and Polities of men who have

had their Humane Glory in this world; the last, and strongest of all which Dominions is the Roman; so mixed and interwoven in many States, by the combining of that dirty Roman Religion, with civil Powers, as that when that Stone Christ, by his faithful Instruments, shall overthrow, and beat in pieces that Religion, they must and shall, according as it is written, beat down withall the strongest Iron sinews of civil States, which are propugnators, and supporters thereof, whether professed or secretly.⁵²

Therefore, just as Nebuchadnezzar is threatened with destruction, in Eliot's typological interpretation, the fate of the English monarchy and the civil structures which maintain it are under the same threat as Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon. Even in his choice of images, Eliot continues to incorporate Daniel's text. Initially he quotes Daniel directly by referring to "the chaff of the summer threshing-floors,"⁵³ and follows this by stating that after the defeat of the "Romish religion" and the governments of "Humane Policy," they will be "of no more account with men than dust or chaff."⁵⁴

Eliot fully justifies the execution of Charles I and, further, with reference to the smashing of images and idols Daniel 7 and Revelation, he emphasises the millennialist implications of the type-antitype construct. In his assimilation of Daniel and Revelation, where the violence of the prophecy is suited to regicide and revolution, Eliot again draws a fine line between preacher and prophet. With reference to Daniel he explains and justifies what has already been done, the execution of Charles I, by paraphrasing Daniel 7. 10: "where is set forth the judgement of God executed upon Antichrist."⁵⁵ Moreover, by again paraphrasing John, in Revelation, he describes how the process of revolution should continue:

⁵² Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 131.

⁵³ Daniel 2. 35. Referred to in: Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 131.

⁵⁴ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 132.

The means of execution of that judgement (God's last judgement), is by the Wars of the Lamb, the Lord Jesus, as appears in the Book of *Revelation* and the people executing those Wars, by this text seem to be a people ruled by this order of Government: which if it be so, may it not give some light to find out the ten Kings which shall hate the Whore, make her desolate and naked, eat her flesh, and burn her with fire?"⁵⁶

By tracing the visions and dreams of Nebuchadnezzar, Daniel and John, Eliot interprets the meaning of current events England. In doing so, he establishes a role for himself as a prophet, or antitype, who also has a vision of the conditions which will precede the fifth monarchy and the second coming. Therefore, the trajectory of Christian teleology is now clearly linked with the overthrow of Charles I and the preparations for the second coming, according to Eliot, are seemingly taking place in England:

(I)t doth deeply concern those holy and faithful ones of the Lord, who have been Instruments in his hand, to accomplish these great and glorious works, whether by Councils or Wars, or otherwise, to be wise, and discerning of the times, to know what Israel ought to do, in this great work of bringing about the Kingdom of David, to lay Government upon his shoulders: that after all these clouds and storms, the peacable Kingdom of Christ may rise up, and the Lord May reign in England. Much is spoken of the right Heir of the Crown of England, and the injustice of casting out the right Heir; but Christ is the only right Heir of the Crown of England (a), and of all other Nations also (b); and he is now come to take possession of his Kingdom, making England first in that blessed work of setting up the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus: and in order thereunto, he hath cast down not only the miry Religion, and

⁵⁵ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 138.

Government of Antichrist, but also the former form of civil Government, which did stick so fast unto it, until by an unavoidable necessity, it fell with it...⁵⁷

In the context of *The Christian Commonwealth*, Eliot acts as the mediator of God's word and allegorically, if not historically, he imagines that his own role is paralleled with, if not foreshadowed outright, by the Old and New Testament prophets. Like Cotton and Winthrop before him, Eliot seeks to play a defining role in the millennial prophecies by recounting and supporting the smashing of the 'idols' which support England's religious and civil structures. Again, like Cotton and Winthrop, Eliot uses typological exegesis in order to encourage his audience to re-enact and recreate an Old Testament theocratic state, and in doing so he performs the role of seventeenth-century preacher turned prophet. The dual performances of the preacher and the audience are, therefore, key features to the success of the treatise.

Following this triumphant tone comes the warning of backsliding and the infinite deferral of the millennial moment, which is typical of the American jeremiad and Danforth's *Errand* in particular. Danforth's sermon demonstrates very well the articulation of backsliding, which ministers believed pervaded New England society in the Colony's later years:

Pride, Contention, Worldliness, Covetousness, Luxury, Drunkenness and Uncleaness break in like a flood upon us, and good men grow cold in their love to God and to one another..... The Lord heaps mercies, favours, blessings upon us, and loads us daily with his benefits, but all his love and bounty cannot heat and warm our hearts and affections. Well, the furnace is able to heat and to melt the coldest Iron: but how oft hath the Lord cast us into the hot furnace of Affliction

⁵⁶ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 138.

⁵⁷ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 132/3. Eliot's jubilant preface to *The Christian Commonwealth* is greatly similar in tone and content to the dedicatory letter to Cromwell in his contribution to the 1653 Tract, *Tears or Repentance*. Further, Eliot mentions Natick, his first praying town, which he uses as an example for the English to follow, and this town was established in 1650, but Indians did not perform rituals of conversion until 1652.

and Tribulation, and we have been scorched and burnt, but hardened thereby, *Isa.*

63:17.⁵⁸

In order to define the peculiarities of the New England jeremiad, Bercovitch outlines the differences between the European model and the New World model:

The European jeremiad developed within a static hierarchical order; the lessons it taught, about historical recurrence and the vanity of human wishes, amounted to a massive ritual reinforcement of tradition. Its function was to make social practice conform to a completed and perfected social ideal. The American Puritan jeremiad was the ritual of a culture on an errand – which is to say, a culture based on a faith in process..... The European jeremiad also thrived on anxiety, of course. Like all “traditionalist” forms of ritual, it used fear and trembling to teach acceptance of fixed social norms. But the American Puritan jeremiad went much further. It made anxiety its end as well as its means. Crisis was the social norm it sought to inculcate. The very concept of errand, after all, implied a state of *unfulfillment*. The future, though divinely assured, was never quite there, and New England’s Jeremiahs set out to provide the sense of insecurity that would ensure the outcome. Denouncing or affirming, their vision fed on the distance between promise and fact.⁵⁹

Eliot’s *Christian Commonwealth* certainly aligns itself with these concerns. As I have already argued above, the importance of characterising the “Errand” from the Old World to the New as a biblical journey is evident when he incorporates the experiences and prophecies of Moses and Israel in his own vision for the future of England. Further, the states of anxiety and crisis, which Bercovitch outlines, and which are present in Danforth’s sermon, are equally prevalent

⁵⁸ Danforth, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 1670. *American Sermons*, 163.

in Eliot's commonwealth treatise. Although *The Christian Commonwealth* promises to create the social circumstances which are necessary to usher in the new millennium, it also warns of the frailties of human nature. From Chapter Three through to Chapter Six, more than half of the treatise, Eliot considers sin, justice, law enforcement and appropriate punishments. In Chapter Three, Eliot asserts:

...sin will grow apace, like ill weeds, if it be not always watched, and often weeded out; and fire of strife will soon flame out, if it be not speedily suppressed and quenched: and it edifieth many ways, that justice should be speedily done; especially it promoteth peace and piety.⁶⁰

Therefore, in order to overcome the perpetual human frailties of sin, justice and punishment must be delivered if proper order is to be restored. In Eliot's theocracy various elected magistrates and courts are responsible for the implementation of justice and punishments and, ultimately, what he refers to as the "Supreme Council" will "declare and pronounce the sentence of Scripture, in all mulcts and punishments, even death itself, and see them executed."⁶¹ This calling to judgement and retribution is itself an exposition of Deuteronomy 17. 11-12., and by focusing so heavily on the presence of sin and retribution by relying on the exposition of Deuteronomy, he invokes the typical mechanisms of the sermon and warns against moral backsliding. This warning manifests itself most concretely when he states that the very virtues of valour and pride needed to "Conquer" the Antichrist should not be allowed to rule the individual: "but still (God) made you Conquerors, not only of your Enemies, but (which is more) your selves also, not to arrogate praise unto your selves; nor improve your Victories beyond the bounds of Christian patience and love to the conquered."⁶² Further, Eliot considers how these preparations, through selfish and power-hungry individuals, might come

⁵⁹ Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad*, 23.

⁶⁰ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 149.

⁶¹ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 157.

to nothing: “that now at last they should rob him (God) of his Crown, Dominion, and Government.”⁶³ Therefore, the potential of proud and self-seeking individuals to stand between England’s present spiritual “wilderness” and the promise of a New Jerusalem is the possible “crisis” which may defer the new millennium. The crisis and deferral are made more specific when Eliot considers: “and if it be not yet done, surely it is either because the Lord hath not yet fully revealed to them, what his will is they should do in the midst of these confusions, or because the unquietness of the times permits them not to go about it.”⁶⁴ As is typical of the American jeremiad, *The Christian Commonwealth* ensures that there is always that state of “unfulfillment” and the gap between what England is experiencing and what Eliot promises will never be reconciled.

Bercovitch goes on to argue that the American Puritan jeremiad turns liminality into a “mode of socialisation.”⁶⁵ Consequently, this means that the final promise, or the final reward is always deferred. In Danforth’s *Errand*, the chosen people are still waiting, but realise that in waiting they constitute their “Chosen” status: “The hardships, difficulties and sufferings, which you have exposed your selves unto, that you might dwell in the House of the Lord, and leave your Little Ones under the shadow of the wings of the God of *Israel*, have not been few nor small. And shall we now withdraw our selves and our Little Ones from under those *healing Wings*, and lose that full Reward, which the Lord hath in his heart and hand to bestow upon us?”⁶⁶ Certainly, in *The Christian Commonwealth*, all social norms are challenged as Eliot proposes to uproot all constitutional structures and replace them with his own theocratic state, but, similar to Danforth’s sentiments, the final reward is deferred: Eliot’s theocratic

⁶² Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 139.

⁶³ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 133.

⁶⁴ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 133.

⁶⁵ “Both Bunyan’s Christian and the New England saint are on an errand – constantly ‘betwixt and between,’ forever on the brink of some momentous decision – but *as rituals* their errands tend in opposite directions. The ritual that Bunyan adopts leads Christian into what anthropologists call a ‘liminal state,’ a sort of cultural no-man’s-land, where all social norms may be challenged. And given the Calvinist tenet that salvation is a lifelong enterprise, it is an errand fraught with all the religious and economic dangers of unfettered individualism: the excesses both of antinomianism and of self-interest. The American Puritan jeremiads seek (in effect) to prevent these excesses by turning liminality itself into a mode of socialisation.” Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad*, 25.

state is one of waiting for the immanent second coming, which is always out of reach. As the next few years would demonstrate, England would never resolve its constitutional crisis in a way that would pacify England's and New England's reformers. In fact, the ultimate deferral for England comes in 1660 when Charles II is restored, and the mantle of Moses and millennial rhetoric is returned to the New World, hence Danforth's return to the familiar themes of the first settlers.

James Holstun says of Milton and his *Readie and Easie Way*: "he creates for himself the identity of a lone prophet who withdraws from his community and stands prophesying in its ruin."⁶⁷ Indeed, this ruin is compounded in 1683, when Milton's work is burned along with Richard Baxter's *Holy Commonwealth* and Hobbes's *Leviathan*. Whether or not Eliot's work was also burned at this time remains uncertain. What is certain, however, is the fact that the General Court in Massachusetts suppressed *The Christian Commonwealth* in 1661 and Eliot was forced to disown the tract. Therefore, Eliot can also be characterised as a 'lone prophet.' After his glance at England he turns again to preach to the Algonquian Indians, and maintains that liminal status as he seeks, but never reaches, the rewards and promise of millennial fulfilment.

When Eliot appropriates the sermon, he appropriates the implied authority of the preacher's voice and positions himself in line with his biblical ancestors, specifically Old Testament prophets and New Testament Apostles. Unlike other commonwealth tracts concerned with civil and ecclesiastical reform, Eliot can point to the practice or enactment of his millennialist model at Natick. Therefore, not only does Eliot invoke the authority of his Old and New Testament ancestors, he also points to the performance of scriptural models of civil and church order which are under his own direction. Consequently, from this written and printed

⁶⁶ Danforth, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 1670. *American Sermons*, 167.

text, the authority of Eliot's New English millennial vision becomes inextricably linked with the eschatological implications of the performance of that vision at Natick.

Biblical Types and Cultural Boundaries in Eliot's Millennial Visions

Although *The Christian Commonwealth* and the "Learned Conjectures" were written at approximately the same time, they differ substantially. In *The Christian Commonwealth*, Eliot positions England as the foremost site of judgement day. However, in his "Learned Conjectures," Eliot is firmly focused on the millennial expectations of New England. In this publication, Eliot justifies the colony through the doubling of the trope of "planting," both in terms of planting the Bible and the colonisers' attempts to 'plant' a new culture. Eliot adds another dimension to this by referring to how the world was first planted and possessed⁶⁸ and considers that Sem's family "peopled and possessed" the Eastern parts of the world, that is America, after Nimrod's rebellion. Not only does this present a further rationale for millennial rhetoric, but it confirms that he has returned his gaze to the New World and the prophecies of Moses in order to understand God's providence. If Eliot can convince himself and his readers that the first planters of America were "Ebrews of Eber," by bringing the Jews into Christianity New Englanders write themselves back into the millennial rhetoric and the millennial performance of the seventeenth century. James Holstun dramatises this situation, by suggesting:

In their conversion of the Algonquians, the Puritans play the role of the pillar of fire bearing the Scriptures in an ark of adar to the virtuous pagans of Bacon's New Atlantis. The New World becomes the appointed site for the millennial encounter of clockwise and counter-clockwise Israelites: the Indian descendents of Shem and Eber bearing themselves eastward, their

⁶⁷ Holstun, *A Rational Millenium*. Quoted in: Reuben Sanchez, "From Polemic to Prophecy: Milton's uses of Jeremiah in *The Reason of church Government* and *The Readie and Easie Way*," *Milton Studies* 30 (1993): 27-44, 39.

civil tabula rasa more and more degenerate, but uncorrupted by gentile civility; and the Puritan Israelites bearing westward the Hebrew Scriptures, with their heretofore undiscovered models for regenerate civility.⁶⁹

Therefore, if the lost tribe is indeed resident in the New World, then it is incumbent upon their preacher and teacher, Eliot, to lead them to the “promised land.” In this context, Eliot invokes the authority of the prophet’s voice in the “Learned Conjectures,” in order to create a biblical history for the Native tribes of the New World, and justify his own missionary project.

Eliot reasons that the New World, being younger, is more likely to hold “new wine,” that is the new authority of church order. Alternatively, England is characterised as being ‘old bottles of the Westerne world’ and may not be able to hold the new order so well.⁷⁰ Further, his conjectures become partisan, when, rather than targeting his English audience as he does with *The Christian Commonwealth*, in the “Learned Conjectures” he engages in a defence of the New England: “But seeing there are some, that do not approve of the cause of our coming into *New-England*, no, though it were that we might be freed from the ceremonies, and have liberty to enjoy all the pure Ordinance of Christ; and that they doubt of our sincerity, and that under a needless pretence of conscience we came hither, indeed and in truth, for wealth, and matters of this world.”⁷¹ Eliot challenges this by stressing that the colony is a “wildernesse” with “difficulties, uncertainties, temptations, & raw beginnings,” and “by coming hither, (the New Englander has) changed a comfortable being for the outward man into a condition full of labour, toile, sorrow, wants, and temptations of a wildernesse, which dwellers in *England* cannot so well see, weigh, or pittie, but the Lord can.”⁷² With the repeated image of the

⁶⁸ Eliot, “Learned Conjectures,” *Jews in America* (London, 1660) 14/5.

⁶⁹ Holstun, *A Rational Millenium*, 115.

⁷⁰ “And God grant that the old bottles of the Westerne world be not so uncapable of the new wine of Christ his expected Kingdom, that the Easterne bottles be not the only entertainers thereof for a season.” Eliot, “Learned Conjectures,” 18.

⁷¹ Eliot, “Learned Conjectures,” 20.

⁷² Eliot, “Learned Conjectures,” 21/2.

wilderness and the omniscient presence of the Christian God, the providential nature of the Puritan errand again resonates in the text. This is compounded by the assertion:

....when God opened a door of quiet departure, and liberty to enjoy the holy worship of God, not according to the fantasies of man, but according to the word of God, without such humane additions and novelties, we thought it better for us to give way by departing quietly and leaving the field to them that were masters of it, than to stand up longer in opposition; and I cannot see why any should cast upon this our quiet departure the imputation of rending.⁷³

In a tract which was written to account for the apparent lineage of Native Americans, Eliot takes the opportunity to justify the colony's existence and defend its current status by criticising England's attitude to the colony as well as its religious structures as they existed before 1649. After denying that he or his New England brethren harbour any mercenary motives (in particular, challenging the accusation that the colonisers were only interested in acquiring gold and the illegal acquisition of land) Eliot altruistically asserts: "The godly undertakers of this plantation had it so much in their hearts, to make the conversion of the Indians one end of their coming."⁷⁴ This transatlantic dialogue manifests itself as a defence of the colony and a crucial part of the Praying Indian's role, as Eliot constructs it, is to emphasise the spiritual motivations which differentiate New and Old England.

Written perhaps six months after *The Christian Commonwealth*, but not published until 1660, the "Learned Conjectures" is similarly concerned with the nature of civil and ecclesiastical order in Old and New England.⁷⁵ In each case, the typological implications of defining and

⁷³ Eliot, "Learned Conjectures," 22.

⁷⁴ Eliot "Learned Conjectures," 22. (misnumbered)

⁷⁵ Cogley suggests that Eliot began writing the letter which would be included in the second edition of *Jews in America* only six months after he completed *The Christian Commonwelath*. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians*, 83.

describing church order are fascinating, since type-antitype formations are defined by cultural and racial boundaries. Like *The Christian Commonwealth*, Eliot's attack on monarchy is justified through recourse to an exposition of the biblical past. After methodically tracing the lineage of Noah's descendents following the flood, Eliot turns to Nimrod, the "young upstart," who rejected "paternal government" and through his own ambition creates his own "Kingly government."⁷⁶ According to Eliot, Nimrod's rebellion is central to his downfall: "thus Nimrods policy turned to his ruine, and his kingdome came to an utter end and confusion, God from heaven blasting that his rebellion against the ancient government of the Fathers."⁷⁷ This text dates from the early 1650s and parallels with England's recent history of "Kingly government" and its "ruin" are clearly drawn. Eliot defines England as part of the "confused company"⁷⁸ and "poison"⁷⁹ of Nimrod's rebellion. In contrast, Eliot suggests that New England Congregationalism can be traced and foreshadowed through a linear process from Moses to Christ to the present:

And although the Lord still followed the line of *Sem*, and *Eber*, until *Christ*, yet he shook off all *Sems* posterity, save that one line of *Abraham* in *Moses* daies....

Christ came and changed the policy of *Moses*, which was national, into the Gospel-policy of congregational churches, and spread it into the world...⁸⁰

Although not overtly stated, the Congregationalism Eliot is speaking of is certainly that of Puritan New England: oblique reference to the Pilgrims' Errand through the example of Moses, as well as the freedom to practice the radical "Gospel-policy" both suggest this link. Therefore, in this text, Nimrod is presented as a typological allegory to characterise England and its recent past. As well, the civil and ecclesiastical structures of New England

⁷⁶ Eliot, "Learned Conjectures," 7.

⁷⁷ Eliot, "Learned Conjectures," 10.

⁷⁸ Eliot, "Learned Conjectures," 7.

⁷⁹ Eliot, "Learned Conjectures," 11.

⁸⁰ Eliot, "Learned Conjectures," 17.

Congregationalism become historical antitypes which have been foreshadowed by Moses and continued from Christ's example. Eliot's biblical allegory and historical typology, therefore, are used to define cultural difference and, common to his Tracts, help establish cultural boundaries between New and Old England.

In *The Christian Commonwealth*, Eliot carved out an evangelical role for himself by stressing to his audience that he had already organised the Praying Algonquian Indians into an ideal and biblically authorised church government. After finding the Algonquian tribe apparently "without any forme of Government,"⁸¹ Eliot endeavoured to: "...bring them under the Government of the Lord only: Namely, that I would instruct them to imbrace such Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, as the Lord hath commanded in the holy Scriptures...."⁸² Indeed, by 1651 Natick had elected civil rulers according to scriptural authority and Eliot finds this authority in the exchange between Moses and his father in law, Jethro. Jethro begins: "Hearken now unto my voice, I will give thee counsel, and God be with thee..... Moreover thou shalt provide out of all the people able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain; and place such over them, to be rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens."⁸³ Eliot interprets this exchange as defining: "That particular form of Government, which is approved of God (c), instituted by Moses (d) among the sons of Israel, (and profitable to be received by any Nation or People, who reverence the command of God, and tremble at his Word)."⁸⁴ In the event, rulers of tens, fifties and hundreds were elected: Waban was elected ruler of fifty men and Cutshamekin was elected ruler of one hundred.⁸⁵ Therefore, before his theory of an ideal church-state reached

⁸¹ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 135.

⁸² Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 135.

⁸³ Exodus 18:19-21.

⁸⁴ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 144/5. Cogley adds: "Eliot ignored or overlooked the fact that Jethro instructed Moses to appoint the rulers." Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians*, 111.

⁸⁵ By 1652 the conversions narratives had begun and by 1660 Natick established its first Indian church, although in the previous year Indians were admitted to full membership of the Roxbury church. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians*, 137.

England, the “poor, blind, and dark Indians,”⁸⁶ as Eliot called them, were in the early stages of developing this very system.⁸⁷ His role in the conversion of Praying Indians and his role in the social organisation of the praying towns in Massachusetts are consistent with type – antitype formations, where, like Moses, he leads the lost tribe from the ‘wilderness’. In his contribution to *Jews on America*, Eliot continues to trace typological links through the New Testament Evangelists and, via Paul, he imagines that through the conversion of the Gentiles and the Jews Israel will be saved:

That if the Apostle, Rom. 11.11.25. *until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in*, is fit to be remembered, and *so all Israel shall be saved*, viz. Israel shall come in under the Gentiles skirt, being some of the croud, whereas others, and that general do apprehend that Israel shall be brought in by their own covenant, and that the Gentiles shall be blessed, quickned, and brought in by vertue of their coming in, and come in as under the skirt of their Covenant.... (A)nd glad shall he be, that can get hold on the skirt of a Jew.⁸⁸

The different uses of the wilderness as type, together with the appropriation of Moses’ and Paul’s authority, is particularly significant to Eliot’s millennialist vision: Eliot uses the wilderness to describe the geographic and religious landscape of American Indians and, in a similar way to Moses, New England missionaries have to endure the hardships of this wilderness in order to assure their own salvation and that of the ‘unconverted Jews.’ Therefore, in different ways this one biblical type, the wilderness, foreshadows the experience of each group: the Praying Indians and the New England missionary colonisers.

⁸⁶ Eliot, *The Christian Commonwealth*, 135.

⁸⁷ J.F. Maclear develops this further: “Eliot turned next to building an Indian Church, but already his imagination was dwelling on the European scene. To his mind this Indian theocracy must be extended to England where, since the death of the king, ancient political traditions had dissolved and a new order was forming.” J.F. Maclear,

In both *The Christian Commonwealth* and the “Learned Conjectures,” therefore, cultural identification is performative rather than constative. Not only are cultural categories themselves changing (English) and newly emerging (New Englander and Praying Indian) but the biblical types, in the form of people (Moses and the Evangelists) and places (the wilderness and the New Jerusalem) are used allegorically or historically to foreshadow three different groups as the stories of Exodus resonate with the social, civil and historical circumstances of each. New Englanders, who had previously thought of themselves as the ‘chosen few,’ had to renegotiate their providential status during the years of England’s Protectorate. Eliot achieves this renegotiation by insisting that theirs is still the mantle of Moses as long as they are leading the ‘heathen’ from the wilderness. The Praying Indian becomes the perfect model of Christian reform and, in typical millennial rhetoric, their conversion is typologically understood as the “coming in” of the Jews. Jesper Rosenmeier suggests that:

It was not simply a desire to save the souls of the Indians that made the advancing of the Gospel crucial for the Pilgrims; equally important, perhaps more so, was their conviction that the Indians must be converted if the marriage of Jew and Gentile that heralded the coming of Christ’s Kingdom were to be consummated.⁸⁹

Finally, Eliot also incorporates the experience of his English audience by insisting on a link between the established theocratic government of the praying towns and the millennial rhetoric of revolutionary England. Therefore despite England’s past resemblance to Nimrod’s rebellion, hope is reflected back on to an English landscape through the example of Eliot’s Indian converts. The conversion of American Indians became increasingly important on both

“New England and the Fifth Monarchy: The Quest for the Millennium in Early American Puritanism.” *William and Mary Quarterly*. Third Series, 32, 2 (1975): 223-260, 247.

⁸⁸ Eliot, “Learned Conjectures,” 2.

⁸⁹ Jesper Rosenmeier, “‘With My Owne Eyes’: William Bradford’s *Of Plymouth Plantation*,” *Typology and Early American Literature*, 81.

sides of the Atlantic as this religious conversion reflected the millennial hopes of English revolutionaries and New England Congregationalists. To this end, Holstun states that even the layout of Natick reflected the eschatological implications of the praying town: “Rectilinearity implies election. The New Jerusalem (Natick), which ‘lieth four-square, and the length is a(s)(sic) large as the breadth’ (Rev. 21:16), finds a humble type in New England – one that will aid in the millennial conversions queuing up the future inhabitants of the sacred city itself.”⁹⁰

Eliot’s typological appropriation of Native American identity in his contribution to *Jews in America* is, in part, contextualised by Thorowgood’s reassessment of American Indian culture. As a preface to Eliot’s theory of American Indian Jewish lineage, Eliot’s text is preceded by Thomas Thorowgood’s own attempts at cultural categorisation. Thorowgood revises the relationship between the Natives and the colonisers by accentuating and perpetuating myths of previous encounters. Of Pocahontas, he suggests that: “King Powhatans daughter did not only keep Captain Smith alive, but for two or three years, under God, she was still the instrument to preserve the Collonie of Virginia from utter ruine.”⁹¹ He then goes on to stress the role of one converted Indian who “was the means of delivering the rest of the English”⁹² from the 1622 massacre. Later in his treatise, which he revised in light of Eliot’s contribution, he insists that: “*The Indians are a rational people, and capable of the Gospel, and worthy of better acceptation than they have found from some parts of the Christian world...*”⁹³ Therefore, Thorowgood’s reassessment of Native tribes also becomes a defence of the colony and Eliot’s missionary work therein:

It is true, they have had tempests, and several storms amongst themselves, which by Gods blessing upon their Christian zeal and prudence have been quieted, and on

⁹⁰ Holstun, *A Rational Millenium*, 123-4.

⁹¹ Thomas Thorowgood, “To the Impartial and Soul-loving Reader,” *Jews in America* (1660) 31/2.

⁹² Thorowgood, “To the Impartial and Soul-loving Reader,” *Jews in America* (1660) 32.

the other hand they are reproached, especially by that Pamphlet, calling it self ill News from *New-England*, or a Narrative of the Persecution there, so that as of Old *Herod* and *Pilat* against Christ, these transplanted good Christians are aspersed by some as enemies to Government, and blamed by others for too much exercise thereof: It was therefore the gentle gale of the Gospel, that carried our Countreymen into *America*, both in reference to the Indians and themselves.⁹⁴

Ultimately, Eliot's idealism manifests itself primarily in *The Christian Commonwealth* and to some extent in his "Learned Conjectures" included in *Jews in America*. The New World order is one which seemingly begins with the overthrow of the Antichrist (Charles I), is closely followed by the conversion of the Jews (or Algonquian Indians), and culminates in the established civil and ecclesiastical polity gleaned from Exodus. In both of these millennialist tracts, Eliot uses specific typological associations, which imply certain roles for particular groups to ensure effective delineation of cultural categorisation. Through the Algonquian Indians performance as one of lost tribes of Israel in the "Learned Conjectures," Eliot is able to secure his New English status, without relinquishing his role in the apocalyptic visions which were firmly focused on England in the 1650s. In the final instance, Eliot and his fellow Puritan New Englanders engineered a role for themselves in the linear historical development towards Christian fulfilment whether the sacred city was to be founded on English, New English or Praying Indian soil.

In the following decades, as I have already signalled with reference to the Tracts, Eliot becomes far more pragmatic in his relationship with England. By 1665, and in sharp contrast to *The Christian Commonwealth*, Eliot reconsiders his idealist policies on church government and revises his reformist agenda in *Communion of Churches*. Gone is the celebratory and revelatory rhetoric, and, in a tempered approach to church reform, more than ten years after

⁹³ Thorowgood, "A Short Discourse, Concerning the New World, or America," *Jews in America* (1660) 41.

the hopes of *The Christian Commonwealth* had been dashed, Eliot suggests that the “Uniting of those two Holy and Eminent PARTIES, The *Presbyterians* and *Congregationals*”⁹⁵ offers a new model of church order. Far from the sermonising of his Fifth Monarchist tract, the *Communion of Churches* outlines the possibilities of a new church order as a hybrid form between Congregationalists and Presbyterians, and negates any reference to the promise of Fifth Monarchism, the new Millennium, or even the middle advent.⁹⁶ Despite this, some remnants of his original commonwealth tract remain. “Teaching elders” continue to be defined by their biblical ancestors; specifically, they are considered to be “ordinary Successors of the Apostles.”⁹⁷ The dangers of backsliding, similar in tone to the jeremiad, remain when Eliot comments on the threat of excommunication⁹⁸ and the dangers of aspiring pride.⁹⁹ However, the most peculiar similarity is in his continued yet veiled exemplification of his own missionary success.

When discussing the New Jerusalem he states: “The *New Jerusalem* is the most glorious City that shall ever be on Earth; and we see that it shall be compacted by *Number* and *Measure*, Rev. 21. 12, to 18....”¹⁰⁰ This is of course the pattern and dimensions of Natick, although the connection is not stated outright. Further, Eliot also refers to the importance of his own missionary enterprise when he comments that the general work of Ecclesiastical Councils is to

⁹⁴ Thorowgood, “A Short Discourse, Concerning the New World, or America,” *Jews in America* (1660) 64.

⁹⁵ *Communion of Churches* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1665) Title page, n.p.

⁹⁶ Eliot’s *Communion of Churches* grew from correspondence between Richard Baxter (Presbyterian) and himself, from 1656 until and 1669. *Some Unpublished Correspondence of the Rev. Richard Baxter and the Rev. John Eliot “Apostle to the American Indians,” 1656-1682.* ed., F.J. Powicke (The John Rylands Library. Manchester: Manchester University Press 1931) 138-176 and 442 – 466.

⁹⁷ John Eliot, *Communion of Churches* (1665) 4.

⁹⁸ “*Excommunication* is a sharp Rod, made up of seven most severe and terrible Twigs; or a strong Purgation, compounded of seven violent Ingredients.” The seven “ingredients” include: being cut from communion with Christ, from communion with the Saints, cast from the Spirit, cast from the House of God, thrust from the Paradise of God, cut from civil communion, and finally being delivered to Satan. Eliot, *Communion of Churches*, 3.

⁹⁹ “The usurpation of *Antichrist* upon the *Civil Authority*, must ever keep the Ecclesiastical Councils in a vigilant fear of that aspiring pride: a worm too apt to breed and grow in the breasts of the learned, and eminently gifted men, if there be not a vigilant spirit of mortification, and humble subjection unto Order.” Eliot *Communion of Churches*, 33.

¹⁰⁰ Eliot, *Communion of Churches*, 6.

convert the “Heathen” and “*spread and propagate the Gospel to all the World.*”¹⁰¹ As such, the presence of the Native American continues in *Communion of Churches*, although in a far more guarded and tempered tone, since their conversion is no longer associated with the conversion of the Jews. The *Communion of Churches*, therefore, resonates with some of the concerns of his former publications and there remains an attempt, albeit more tempered, to imagine the historical circumstances of seventeenth-century New England through typological construction. There remains a desire on Eliot’s part to imagine the re-enactment and performance of biblical antecedents in order to determine cultural boundaries.

Eliot’s continued drive to convert the Natives of Massachusetts to Protestantism is consolidated in the 1650s and 1660s, and his fascination with languages, religion and cultural performances continues in his Algonquian translations. In fact, in earlier years, Eliot suggested that the very language of Native Americans, more than any Western tongue, was profoundly analogous to the original biblical language:

If the holy language was kept for the Churches use, as it seemeth to be, thence it might follow, that as they degenerated from the Church, and the ancient government and the holy waies of God, so they fell under the reach of that confusion: and may it not be worth the searching after, whether all the Easterne world, the posterity of *Eber*, have not more footsteps of the *Hebrew* language, at least in the grammatical frame of the language, than the westerne world hath. It seemeth to me, by that little insight I have, that the grammatical frame of our *Indian* language cometh neerer to the *Hebrew*, than the *Latine*, or *Greek* do...¹⁰²

Further, in the *Communion of Churches* Eliot’s interests in language and translation are signalled when he quotes Paul’s conversion and refers to Acts 26. 13,14: “*I saw a light from*

¹⁰¹ Eliot, *Communion of Churches*, 23/4.

heaven, and heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew Tongue, Saul, Saul, &c."¹⁰³ In the next chapter I shall consider the ways in which Eliot creates a written trace of the Massachusetts dialect and examine the purpose and significance of these translated works for England, New England and the Algonquian Indians.

¹⁰² Eliot, "Learned Conjectures," 18/19.

¹⁰³ Eliot, *Communion of Churches*, 17.

Chapter Three

Written and Spoken Words and Worlds: The Algonquian Translations

There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard.
Psal. 19.3. The Indian Grammar Begun, title page.

Recently, Edward G. Gray has suggested that, “missionaries found themselves with a task not unlike that of the modern semiotician: to identify and codify the range of spoken and unspoken strategies of communication available to themselves and to Indians.”¹ John Eliot was one of the first missionaries in North America to engage with issues surrounding spoken and unspoken strategies of communication, and first began preaching in Algonquian in 1647.² It was, however, not until 1654 and the publication of his *Primer and Catechism*³ that Eliot began to formalise in print a language which previously had only ever been spoken. Closely following the *Primer and Catechism*, Eliot published *The First Book of Moses called Genesis*,⁴ *The Gospel of Matthew*,⁵ and *The Psalter*,⁶ a metrical translation of the Psalms into Massachusetts, which was appended to both editions of Eliot’s Algonquian Bible: *The Holy Bible containing the Old Testament and the New*.⁷ In this chapter I will examine Eliot’s

¹ Gray, *New World Babel*, 29.

² Contrary to previously held views, Cogley argues very strongly that Eliot began his linguistic training in 1646 and not 1643 as has been previously suggested. Cogley states: “Gookin and Winthrop, the only colonists who commented on the matter, reported that the Apostle started his linguistic training in 1646; Gookin added that Eliot began his study ‘not long after’ the birth of the mission.” James deNormandie is credited with the (mistaken) assertion that 1643 is the correct date. Richard W. Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission To The Indians*, 49. See: Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston, 1792); James K. Hosmer ed., *Winthrop’s Journal* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908); James deNormandie, “John Eliot, the Apostle to the Indians,” *Harvard Theological Review* 5 (1912): 359.

³ John Eliot, *Primer and Catechism* (Cambridge, 1654). The earliest extant copy of this *Primer* is thought to be the third edition, re-titled: *The Indian Primer* (Cambridge, 1669).

⁴ *The First Book of Moses called Genesis* Trans. John Eliot (Cambridge, 1655)

⁵ *The Gospel of Matthew* Trans. John Eliot (Cambridge, 1655)

⁶ *The Psalter* Trans. John Eliot (Cambridge, 1658) This was Eliot’s second attempt to translate the Psalms. Eliot, along with Richard Mather and Thomas Welde together authored *The Bay Psalm Book*, 1640, which was a translation of the Psalms from Hebrew to English. As co-author of *The Bay Psalm Book*, Eliot can be credited, in part, with the authorship of the first published book in New England. Also, his Bible was the first Bible to be published in North America.

⁷ *The Holy Bible containing the Old Testament and the New* Trans. John Eliot (Cambridge, 1663. Revised Edition, 1685)

orthographic methods and consider the consequences of transcribing an oral language into written text. As part of this discussion I will continue to address the performative nature of the texts by focusing in the different ways in which English and Algonquian audiences received these publications.

David Murray has commented, with some justification, that Eliot's translations were "totally instrumental."⁸ Further, with particular reference to Eliot's translation and publication of the Bible, Gray asserts that his motivation is similar to other European Reformers whose aims were: "To make language learning more expeditious.... (and) to expand the authority of Scripture while diminishing a corrupt Catholic clerical hierarchy."⁹ Therefore, Eliot's evangelical approach to his religious translations, as well as his language and logic primers, reveals assumptions of cultural and religious superiority which are typical of New England missionary-colonisers. Yet, Eliot's determination to use the printing press as a tool to encourage religious conversion in a community which was essentially "nonliterate"¹⁰ harbours obvious contradictions. Unquestionably, Eliot wanted to replace Native religious, social and political practice with a Puritan, congregational model (demonstrated by the existence of a total of nine Praying Towns in the Massachusetts Bay area by 1670)¹¹; however, given the extent of Eliot's "Indian Library,"¹² he is set apart from most other

⁸ David Murray, *Forked Tongues: Speech, Writing and Representation in North American Indian Texts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991) 7.

⁹ Gray, *New World Babel* 43.

¹⁰ Gray comments: "(T)he Native American tendency to privilege oral communication over written or graphic forms of communication becomes not 'illiteracy' but 'nonliteracy.' As one historian has written, nonliteracy arises 'not from an ignorance but from an absence of texts.'" Gray, *New World Babel* 52. Gray glosses: Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1983) 8.

¹¹ John Eliot, *A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England* (London, 1671) *American Culture Series*, Reel 86.3. Eliot's letter, which is the basis of this Tract, was written in 1670 and then sent to England for publication by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

¹² William Kellaway uses this term in his overview of the financing and printing of Eliot's translations, see: William Kellaway, *The New England Company 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians* (London: Longmans, 1961)

missionary-colonisers in his desire to place the written trace of Massachusetts at the centre of his missionary project.¹³

Recent scholarship, specifically, the work of Hilary Wyss, Kathleen Bragdon, Ives Goddard and David Murray has begun to address the cultural consequences of Eliot's translations. In order to contribute to this discussion, I will initially focus on the linguistic and cultural implications of Eliot's *Indian Grammar* and *Logic Primer*. Following this I will consider the ways in which the Algonquian translation of the Bible was appropriated or adapted by Native, colonial and English audiences.

The Indian Grammar Begun: linguistic and cultural connections

By far, Eliot's most sustained attempt to both record or create a written trace of the Massachusetts spoken dialect, and certainly his most sophisticated¹⁴ language primer is *The Indian Grammar Begun* (1666). Eliot was not a lone voice in this linguistic project and *Indian Grammar* is part of a small tradition of linguistic and cultural transcriptions. William Wood's "Small Nomenclator," which was appended to *New England's Prospect* (1634), is considered to be the first attempt trace an Algonquian dialect, Naumkeag, in print. Wood included his vocabulary to compliment his broader description of the Naumkeags from Northern Massachusetts.¹⁵ Nine years later, Roger Williams published *A Key to the Language of America* (1643), which was a more sustained account of the language and traditions of the

¹³ The Mayhew generations of Martha's Vineyard, as well as Roger Williams who lived and preached among the Narragansett in Rhode Island, also demonstrated a willingness to ensure the survival of native languages in their missionary project. Although the Mayhews and Williams preached and conversed in local languages, they did not commit their linguistic skills to print to the same degree as Eliot. Roger Williams' *A Key into the Languages of America* (1643) has, with justification, received much critical attention, but it remains the only substantial contribution to written Algonquian which Williams made.

¹⁴ Kathleen Bragdon comments: "John Eliot's description of Massachusetts, particularly in his *Indian Grammar Begun*, first printed in 1666, was a remarkably sophisticated study for its time. His analysis, based on work with skilled native bilinguals, approaches modern standards of language descriptions. He proceeded with the assumption that Massachusetts, the language of 'these Sons of our Morning,' was in fact capable of being described according to a limited number of rules, as were the classical languages that formed the basis of his own education." Kathleen Bragdon, "Native Languages as Spoken and Written: Views from Southern New England," *The Language Encounter in the Americas, 1492-1800: A Collection of Essays*, eds., Edward G. Gray and Norman Fiering (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2000) 176/7.

Narragansett tribe. Williams' *Key* is often characterised as a cultural encounter, a text through which not only a language can be understood but also customs and traditions.¹⁶

Where Wood and Williams transcribed the language and recorded the traditions of indigenous New England tribes for an English audience, in later years, with the publication of Abraham Peirson's, *Some Helps for the Indians* (1658) and Eliot's *Indian Grammar*, the purpose and audience changed substantially.¹⁷ Peirson and Eliot were focused on their missionary projects and although they enjoyed recognition and praise for this work in England, as well as financial reward through the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel, they were primarily motivated by their desire to proselytise. The written word represented another vehicle through which this end could be achieved; hence, the publication of Eliot's *The Indian Primer* (1669) and *The Christian Covenanting Confession* (1660/1 and 1670). In these editions, as well as Peirson's *Some Helps for the Indians*, Algonquian and English are inter-linear and the subject is typically a catechism, or instructions on the practice of conversion.

¹⁵ Bragdon, "Native Languages" 175. The overall purpose of Wood's pamphlet was to promote the relatively new colony and encourage further emigration to New England.

¹⁶ To an extent this is true and in some senses Williams presents a fair account of the Narragansett to his London audience and even goes so far as to state: "Boast not proud English, of thy birth & blood, / Thy brother Indian is by birth as Good." (141) However, the question of audience presents an alternative purpose of this cultural and linguistic encounter. The manuscript was written as Williams sailed back to England to secure a charter for Providence Plantation in Narragansett Bay, and the publication of the *Key* was to engage the interest of the authorities and promote his own cause. To this end it seems somewhat opportunistic and perhaps culturally voyeuristic as he attempts to disclose some "Rarities concerning the Natives themselves, not yet discovered." (Dedicatory Epistle) Williams' editor, Reuben Aldridge Guild, notes that Williams is subject to the same linguistic borrowing as Eliot when they suggest that the *Key* was written in response to his experience with three different tribes from Plymouth, Providence and Salem, and further suggests that not all words are Narragansett. (68) *Roger Williams: A Key to the Language of America*. 1643. Publications of the Narragansett Club, Volume 1 (Providence, Rhode Island: Providence Press Co., Printers, 1866).

¹⁷ Peirson's *Some Helps for the Indians*, has slightly more complex printing record. Although printed in the colony for the purpose of teaching Indians who could read the lessons of the Scriptures, especially the ten commandments, the Catechism, which he re-wrote in 1658, was sent to England and published in *A Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, 1659, as part of the Corporation's effort to persuade the English audience of the success of the missionary work in New England. While this motivation should not be minimised, in Peirson's case his primary audiences was the missionaries themselves, in order that they might learn Algonquian dialects, and the unconverted Indians of the region, that they might convert on reading and hearing their texts. Abraham Peirson, *Some Helps for the Indians*. 1658. *Connecticut Historical Society Collections*. Volume III. (Hartford: Published for the Society, 1895) Later texts of this nature include: Josiah Cotton, *Vocabulary of the Massachusetts (Or Natick) Indian Language*, 1707/8 (manuscript) *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*. Third Series, Volume Two. (Cambridge: E.W. Metcalf and Company, 1830); and Jonathan Edwards, *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekanee Indians* (New-Haven: Josiah Meigs, 1738, Reprint, London: W. Justins, 1783)

Nonetheless, *Indian Grammar* was probably the first concerted effort to teach missionaries the Massachusetts dialect of Algonquian.¹⁸ It is a peculiar text because it cannot be categorised as a cultural ethnography, like that of Wood and Williams, nor can it be characterised as a substitute preacher, as is the case with Peirson's language primer. Its motives may have been to encourage religious conversion, as the full title suggests,¹⁹ but the content is far from spiritual. Instead, Eliot begins by categorising the sounds of consonants and vowels ("vocals"),²⁰ diphthongs and double sounds,²¹ and then focuses on parts of speech: pronoun, noun, verb, "adnoun" (adjective), adverb, conjunction and interjection.²² The largest part of the text is Eliot's analysis of verbs in their various modes, which is not particularly unusual, although it does reflect his attempt to force Algonquian into a classical grammatical framework. Particularly fascinating are the verbs used to create this framework: 'to be wise,' 'to pay,' and 'to keep.' Wisdom, money and ownership become the basis on which the language is transcribed and understood. While the importance and respect for wisdom can be traced in both cultures, Eliot also imposes European ideas of "payment" rather than exchange, and a clearly articulated sense of individual ownership, including the ownership of land, property and people, onto another culture. Interestingly, when Eliot discusses the verb in its substantive passive mode with "I am kept," Noowadchanit, Eliot suggests in a preamble that 'to be saved,' Wadchanittuonk, might be treated in a similar way. He does not take this analogy any further, and while there is a trace of the negative mode, "I am not kept,"²³ there is never a written trace of 'I am not saved.' Therefore, while the concept of individualism is promised, in the context of this text, there is no option but to be spiritually

¹⁸ In a letter to Robert Boyle, which become a dedicatory epistle to the publication, Eliot states that he: "(complied) a Grammar of this language, for the help of others who have an heart to study and learn the same, for the sake of Christ, and of the poor Souls of these Ruines of Mankinde..." John Eliot, *The Indian Grammar Begun* (Bedford, Massachusetts: Applewood Books, 2001) A2.

¹⁹ The full title of the language primer is: *The Indian Grammar Begun: or, An essay to bring the Indian language unto Rules, For the help of such as desire to learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them.* Hilary Wyss comments that the full title of *Indian Grammar* shows that, "Eliot emphasized literacy as the core of true conversion." Hilary Wyss, *Writing Indians: Literacy, Christianity, and Native Community in Early America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2000) 22.

²⁰ Eliot, *The Indian Grammar*, 2.

²¹ Eliot, *Indian Grammar*, 2.

²² Eliot, *Indian Grammar*, 5-23.

²³ Eliot, *Indian Grammar*, 62.

saved, since there is no written trace of "I am not saved." Certainly, in this instance, the printed text fixes religious and ideological motivations of the missionary-coloniser, and the printing press plays its role in the codification of language, religion and culture. Therefore, far from objective linguistic analysis, Eliot's *Indian Grammar* reflects his own religious motives to a certain degree, but more clearly formalises European notions of monetary exchange, trade and ownership into a new language and new culture.

It is clear that through the process of transcribing speech into text, Eliot makes no apology for inscribing into that written trace the economic and social interests of the coloniser. There is no evidence to suggest that Eliot intended to address, or even understood, the ethnological relationship of language and culture, an issue that Roger Williams' *Key*, with its focus on the traditions and customs of the Narragansett tribe, engages with fairly successfully. Williams concentrates on traditions such as Native practices of "Salutation," "Eating and Entertainment," "Sleep and Lodging," "Hunting," and "Death And Burial," for example.²⁴ Therefore, while Roger Williams takes Narragansett traditions and customs to England, in a rare move for Eliot, he transports European social and economic structures, rather than purely religious traditions, to Massachusetts.

Translators and Translation

As historians, biographers and literary critics have already recognised, Eliot relied on at least five Algonquian translators whose work is noted in various testimonies appearing in letters, missionary tracts and dedicatory epistles. Critics are generally agreed that in his years of language training and translation, he variously depended upon Cockenoe, John Sassomon, Job

²⁴ David Murray and Ivy Schweitzer each provide cogent analysis of Williams's *Key* and its concern with the relationship between language, culture and translation. See: David Murray, "Using Roger Williams' *Key* into America," *Symbiosis: A Journal of Anglo-American Literary Relations* 1, 2 (1997): 237-253; Ivy Schweitzer, *The Work of Self-Representation: Lyric Poetry in Colonial New England* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

Nesutan, James Printer, and Monequasson.²⁵ There is, however, some debate about Eliot's own ability to translate. Richard Cogley summarizes recent debates about the extent to which Algonquian translators helped Eliot in his Massachusetts publications. On the one hand, he comments: "Ives Goddard, Kathleen Bragdon, Stephen Guice, and Kenneth Miner – have shown that Eliot's command of Massachusett was more than adequate for the task" of completing his Bible translation. Alternatively, he also notes Neal Salisbury's more sceptical analysis: "(T)he Indian assistants, rather than Eliot himself, did the actual translating."²⁶

Importantly, Eliot acknowledges, at least to some degree, his debt to Indian translators in both his spoken and written work. With reference to his first attempt at preaching in Massachusett in *The Day-Breaking if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospel* (1647) Eliot notes that he borrowed "now and then some small helpe from the Interpreter whom wee brought with us, and who could often times expresse our minds more distinctly than any of us could; but this we perceived, that a few words from the Preacher were more regarded than many from the *Indian* Interpreter."²⁷ Also, in *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) the significant role played by his interpreters is evident: "I say therefore although they did much with difficulty understand him (Eliot), yet they did understand him, although by many circumlocutions and variations of speech and the helpe of one or two Interpreters which were then present."²⁸

According to the English understanding of the event, the Algonquian translators were not heeded to the same extent as the English-speaking missionary due to the lack of "regard" bestowed upon them by the Algonquian audience. It seems more likely that a relatively unknown foreigner trying to speak in Algonquian would prove a far more interesting and irresistible spectacle. Nonetheless, in each explanation of the sermon, the New England

²⁵ William Wallace Tooker was one of the first commentators on Eliot's translators, and he discusses the role of Eliot's first interpreter, Cockenoe, as a teacher of Algonquian, and also emphasises the role of Job, Cockenoe's successor, and his role in the translation of the Bible. Cogley extends this and suggests that Job Nesutan, Sassamon, James Printer and Monequasson, Samuel Green's assistant, also collaborated on the translation projects. Hilary Wyss refers to the crucial role of James Printer and Job Nesutan in teaching and translating for Eliot, as well as their role in the publication of the Bible.

²⁶ Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission To The Indians*, 119. (Salisbury refers to Frank T. Siebert to support his claims.)

²⁷ *The Day-Breaking if not The Sun-Rising of the Gospel* (1647) 4.

minister, the New England scribe, and the Algonquian audience, do not properly acknowledge the Algonquian interpreter. From each perspective, the translator, without whom communication would have been impossible, becomes transparent.

Indeed, this apparent transparency is further reflected in the role the translators were accorded by Eliot in his written texts. Eliot acknowledges his debt to Native translators in *The Indian Grammar* when he refers to: “a pregnant witted young man, *who had been a Servant in an English house, who pretty well understood our Language, better than he could speak it, and well understood his own Language, and hath a clear pronunciation: Him I made my Interpreter.*”²⁹ However, he leaves his interpreter nameless, thus denying him full credit for his work while also denying him any visibility in the text. Again, this demonstrates the “effacement” of cultural power relations in his attempts to formalise and sustain a Native language in oral and written communication. A less obvious contradiction, therefore, in Eliot attempts to communicate to a nonliterate audience through a written trace is that it depends upon the metaphorical, or actual, disappearance of the Native interpreter, who is in fact the key to the process.³⁰

Thomas Thorowgood, a contemporary of Eliot and an admirer of his work, suggests that although Algonquians did not practice a written language comparable with the European model, symbolic or hieroglyphic traces were part of Algonquian communicative practice, and in *Jews in America* he includes examples of Native signatures: the signatures of Pessicus, Conaunicus, Mixon, Auwashoose, and Tomanick are reprinted.³¹ These written traces were not part of Eliot’s plan to transcribe Massachusetts and he endeavoured to replace this communicative practice with phonetic transcriptions of Algonquian using the Roman

²⁸ *The Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel* (1648) 43.

²⁹ Eliot, *Indian Grammar*, n.p.

³⁰ As consequence of Eliot’s priority of text over speech, the letter of religious law dominates the oral performances of missionary preachers and penitent converts. For a more in depth analysis of the cultural and

alphabet. Again, there are inherent contradictions in this process of transcription: Eliot is determined to ensure the survival of the sound of Massachusetts in the written trace, but seems to ignore the relationship between language and culture when he refuses to acknowledge an existing practice of written communication. On the contrary, Eliot comments: "Because the *English Language* is the first, and most attainable language which Indians learn, he is a learned man among them, who can *Speak, Reade and Write the English tongue.*"³²

Despite the obvious linguistic and cultural appropriations manifest in the importance attached to English speech and writing, and the use of the Roman alphabet in Algonquian orthography, this relationship between the sound of Algonquian speech and the textual representation of that sound in Eliot's orthography has been largely overlooked. In order to address this, it is necessary to consider Eliot's continued desire to harness the "living voice" of speakers in his written texts.³³ For example, in his transcription of Indian conversion narratives and dying speeches, as well as his translations of religious instruction manuals, Eliot imagines that the voice of the speaker remains transparent and immediate. In a missionary tract, to which Eliot was the main contributor and was published in London by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel, he transcribes the confessions of several Praying Indians. Eliot glosses over issues of translation and transcription, stating "let the work it selfe speake," while he remains "silent," giving the illusion of the transparency, which he believes the written trace of direct speech offers.³⁴ This is repeated in his accounts of the *Dying Speeches*, where each speech is

personal consequences of literacy and linguistic skills, see: Jill Lepore, "Dead Men Tell No Tales: John Sassamon and the Fatal Consequences of Literacy," *American Quarterly* 46, 4 (1994): 479-512.

³¹ Thomas Thorowgood, *Jews in America* (1660) 62.

³² Eliot, *Indian Grammar*, 1.

³³ For this understanding of the properties of the 'living voice' which Eliot tries to incorporate, I am indebted to Sandra Gustafson's explanation, which I have referred to in Chapter One: "A four-term set of oppositions structures Western ideas and images of language: the dead letter mirrors and disrupts stable text while demonic speech mocks the living voice. These four terms can be construed as two opposed pairs. Text that is privileged for its permanence and stability is set against the ruptures effected by demonic speech. When the powers of the living voice are celebrated, they are imagined triumphing over the dead letter. In performance, this doubled dynamic of language both emerges as a set of mutually constituting symbolic categories and produces speech and text as performatives that signify through the very choice of medium." Gustafson, *Eloquence is Power*, xvi.

³⁴ *A Further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel* (London, 1659) *Early English Books, 1641-1700*, 491:18, 7.

purported to be a translation and transcription “in the Language as they were spoken.”³⁵

Further, in the Puritan texts Eliot chooses to translate as religious “instruction manuals” for Algonquian readers, it is the voice of the preacher during his sermon which dramatises and characterises the text.

His pursuit of the authority of the “living voice” of the preacher is detailed in a letter to Richard Baxter. Eliot states: “I believe it will not be unacceptable to you, that the Call of Christ by your Holy Labours (*Call to the Unconverted*, 1664), shall be made to speak in their Ears, in their own language, that you may preach unto our poor Indians.”³⁶ Therefore, when he translates Richard Baxter’s *A Call to the Unconverted*,³⁷ an abridged version of Lewis Bayly’s *The Practice of Piety*,³⁸ and, finally, Thomas Shepard’s *The Sincere Convert*,³⁹ he is conscious of the need to bridge and harness the strategic qualities of the “living voice” of speech and the “permanence and stability” of text.

Originally written for English audiences and, presumably, incorporating a certain amount of assumed knowledge about that audience and their religious understanding, it is difficult to determine how the translated Massachusetts editions of the religious tracts would be received by Christian Indians. However, Salisbury does suggest that of all Eliot’s publications, his translations of Baxter and Bayly’s work were the most often reprinted.⁴⁰ On more practical terms, it is also unclear whether or not Christian Indians read the texts, or had the texts read to them through the sermons of missionaries like Eliot in Massachusetts and Thomas Mayhew in

³⁵ John Eliot, *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians* (Cambridge, 1685) 1.

³⁶ Quoted in, George Parker Winship, *The Cambridge Press: 1638-1692. A Reexamination of the Evidence concerning the Bay Psalm Book and the Eliot Indian Bible as well as other contemporary books and people* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945) 243.

³⁷ Richard Baxter, *A Call to the Unconverted*, Trans. John Eliot (Cambridge, 1664, 1688)

³⁸ Lewis Bayly, *The Practice of Piety*, Trans. John Eliot (Cambridge, 1665, 1685)

³⁹ Thomas Shepard, *The Sincere Convert*, Trans. John Eliot and Grindal Rawson (Cambridge, 1689)

⁴⁰ Neal Salisbury, “Red Puritans: ‘The Praying Indians’ of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot,” *William and Mary Quarterly* Third Series 31, 1 (1974): 27-54, 44.

Martha's Vineyard.⁴¹ What we can be sure of is the fact that Eliot was drawn to texts which continued to develop the instructive nature of his overall linguistic project. To this end, he needed to familiarise Massachusetts Indians with the Christian God, demonstrate how religious conversion should be practised or performed, and, finally, maintain the "living voice" of the preacher within the bounds of the written text.

Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, as the title suggests, is the most overtly instructive of the three manuals as it directs the pious Christian on how to pray and meditate on given occasions: for example, at meal times, when sick and when in despair. From Bayly's point of view the power of the written word is all encompassing and the relationship between the reader and the text is characterised as an inextricable bond. Not only does the text provided essential, enlightening instruction, even if the reader rejects that instruction, the bond between text and reader remains fierce:

Whoever thou are that lookest into this Book, never undertake to read it; unlesse thou first resolvest to become from thy heart, an unfained *Practitioner of Piety*. Yet reade it, and that speedily, least before thou has read it over, God (by some unexpected death) cut off, for thine inveterate Impiety.⁴²

Therefore, Bayly anticipates that his book will provoke the practice of prayer and meditation and the link between the written word and action, or reaction, remains. According to Bayly's hyperbole, this has rather fatal consequences for the 'impious' reader.

⁴¹ It is true that the translation of Baxter's and Bayly's texts went through a second reprint in Cambridge press, which might suggest some success but without any concrete evidence this will always be open to question.

⁴² Bayly, *Practice of Piety*, 1.

Shepard and Baxter extend this dynamic between the written word and the anticipated active response, or what we might refer to as text and performance, by adding speech to the existing relationship between word and action. Baxter's *A Call to the Unconverted* familiarises the reader with the Christian God whom Baxter characterises as a forgiving deity who embraces the penitent sinner. Alternatively, Shepard focuses on a vengeful God and with reference to *Revelation 21.8*⁴³ describes the fate of the unrepentant soul:

The never-dying worm of a guilty conscience shall torment thee, as if though had swallowed down a living poysonfull snake, which shall lie gnawing and biting thine heart for sin past, day and night.... A thousand such bites will this worm give at thine heart, which shall make thee cry out, O time, time! O Sermons, Sermons! O my hopes and my helps are now lost that once I had to save my lost soule!⁴⁴

With reference to the sermon at this desperate point of repentance, Shepard confirms that conversion is most often inspired by the spoken words of the preacher. This belief culminates in Shepard imagining that "every creature" is a "loud preacher" to the truth of God's creation in "the stately theater of Heaven and Earth."⁴⁵ Therefore, the very fact of being is both a proclamation (by a "loud preacher") and a performance (in the "stately theater") of Christianity. Thus, as a written text, a strong link is established between the spoken word, the written word and the enactment of conversion.⁴⁶ Eliot's fascination with the "living voice" in

⁴³ *Revelation 21:8*, "But for the fearful, and unbelieving, and abominable, and murderers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, their part *shall be* in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death."

⁴⁴ Thomas Shepard, *The Sincere Convert: Discovering The Small number of True Beleevers, And The great difficulty of Saving Conversion*, 1640. 5th edition. Corrected and amended (London: 1650) 93-5.

⁴⁵ "When we see a stately house, although we see not the man that built it, although also we know not the time when it was built, yet we will conclude thus, Surely some wise Artificer hath been working here: can we, when we behold the stately theater of Heaven and Earth, conclude other, but that the finger, armes, and wisdom of God hath been here, although we see not him that is invisible, and although we know not the time he began to build? Every creature in Heaven and Earth is a loud preacher of this truth....." Shepard, *The Sincere Convert* 3/4.

⁴⁶ Typically, the Congregationalist conversion process included a public confessional narrative before the gathered church describing past sins and an account of the penitent's moment of revelation.

textual form should not be forgotten or minimised in a study of his orthographic project.

In this context, Eliot's interest in the continuance of the Algonquian voice and the creation of its written trace, does not efface colonial and Native power relations, as David Murray suggests is an inevitable and problematic result when a dominant culture attempts to "translate" another, subordinate culture.⁴⁷ Rather, in this instance, the very process of colonial orthographic methodology is clearly demonstrated.

In the nineteenth century Du Ponceau observed certain assumptions linked with Eliot's phonetic orthography. By comparing Eliot's orthography of Massachusetts, which is mediated through English speech, and Zeisberger's vocabulary of the Delaware dialect, which is mediated through German, Du Ponceau notes that apparent differences in Massachusetts and Delaware vocabulary can in fact be traced to the phonetic register of the scribe.⁴⁸ Further inconsistencies emerge with variations in grammar: for example, Eliot believed that the Massachusetts dialect does not have an equivalent of the substantive verb, "to be."⁴⁹ As Jonathan Edwards (Jnr.) noted in relation to the Mohegan language: "The circumstance that they have no verb substantive, accounts for their not using that verb, when they speak English. They say *I man, I sick, &c.*"⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Murray, *Forked Tongues*, 6 and 12.

⁴⁸ "Our author (Eliot) has, of course, made use of the *English* letters to express the sounds of the *Massachusetts* language; in consequence of which, it is sometimes difficult to recognize even the same words differently spelt by Zeisberger in the *Delaware*. Thus the latter writes *n'dee*, (*my heart*) which is to be pronounced as if spelt *n'day*, according to the powers of the *English* alphabet. Eliot, on the contrary, writes it *nuttah*. This makes it appear a different word, in which we scarcely perceive an analogy with the former. By the first syllable, *nut*, he means to express the sounds, which the *German* represents by *n'd* (perhaps *n't*, for the reason above suggested,) the short *u* standing for the interval, or sheva, between the two consonants; which Zeisberger more elegantly represents by an apostrophe. The last syllable, *tah*, is the German *dee* or *tee*, (*English day* or *tay*), the *a* being pronounced acute, as in *grace*, *face*. If our author had selected the diphthong (sic) *ay* to express this sound, and reserved the *a* to represent its broad pronunciation in *far*, *car*, the student would have been much better able to perceive the analogy between the *Massachusetts* and its cognate idioms." *Notes and Observations on Eliot's Indian Grammar. Addressed to John Pickering, Esq, By Peter S. Du Ponceau. Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Second Series, Volume 9* (Boston: W.L. Lewis, 1832) xi /xii.

⁴⁹ For a concise discussion of Eliot verbs and verb formations, see: Stephen Andrew Guice, *The Linguistic Work of John Eliot*, Diss. Michigan State University, 1990. Ann Arbor: UMI, 1990. ATT9117819, Chapter Six.

⁵⁰ Jonathan Edwards, *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians*, (Rpt. London, 1783) 13.

Edwards' observation highlights certain cultural assumptions and appropriations which are directly related to the transcription of Massachusetts Indian speech patterns. Rather than acknowledge grammatical differences, the lack of a substantive verb in the transcription of Indian voices and unusual grammatical constructions are generally left unexplained in colonial texts. For example, the transcription of direct speech in *New England's First Fruits* (1643) illustrates the cultural implication of what we might understand as verbatim transcription. As discussed in Chapter One, Wequash, a Pequot Indian, addresses himself in the third person as he discusses the process of his conversion: "Wequash, no God, Wequash no know Christ."⁵¹ Because he speaks in pidgin English (following Ives Goddard's use of the term) and demonstrates unusual grammatical construction, the voice might appear "uneducated" and even childlike to an English audience.⁵² This reception, however, is to miss the point: as this example shows, Algonquian speakers of English were engaging with a cross-cultural understanding of language which incorporated English sounds and Algonquian grammatical constructions.

This level of cultural mediation cannot be bestowed upon Eliot. In fact, his response to this grammatical misnomer, the absence of the verb 'to be,' Du Ponceau suggests, is to import it from the Delaware dialect.⁵³ This linguistic borrowing has obvious consequences for the codification of Massachusetts into written text since it creates further distance between the spoken Massachusetts dialect and Eliot's written alternative. Moreover, according to Experience Mayhew, a missionary on Martha's Vineyard in the early years of the eighteenth

⁵¹ *New England's First Fruits*, 6.

⁵² Ives Goddard further demonstrates this argument when she demonstrates unusual grammatical construction and omission of the substantive verb in her transcription of American Indian Pidgin English as it appears in Sarah Kemble Knight's *Journal*, 1704: "Noteworthy is the double use in 'all one speake, all one heart,' presumably meaning *the way he speaks is the way he feels*, with the syntax of 'like father, like son.'" Ives Goddard, "Some Early Examples of American Indian Pidgin English From New England," *International Journal of American Linguistics* 43 (1977): 37-41, 38.

⁵³ "I have only to add a remark respecting the verb *nutapip*, which, as Judge Davis observes, (in the Postscript to his letter,) is used for *I am*, in Eliot's Bible: '*Before Abraham was, I AM-Negonne onk Abrahamwi nutapip*. John viii. 58.'" At the time when Judge Davis wrote to me, I could not explain the meaning of *nutapip*; but I am now able to do it. *N'dappin* is a Delaware verb, which signifies *to be* (in a particular *place*) *stare*; the preterite is *n'dappineep*, *stabam*, *hic stabam*. There can be no doubt but Eliot's *nutapip*, that is to say, *n'tapip* or *n'dapip*, is a contraction of the Delaware *n'dappineep*, and means, *I was there*." Du Ponceau, *Notes and Observations* xxix.

century, Eliot's printed words (and the text of the Bible in particular) accurate or not, may well have provoked and quickened linguistic assimilation between the different Algonquian dialects:

And in y^e first place as to what you desire respecting the *Lord's Prayer*, I am obliged to tell you, That the Martha's Vineyard Indian Dialect, and that of Natick, according unto w^{ch} last Mr. Eliot translated the Indian Bible, are so very much a Like, that without a very Critical Observation, you would not see y^e difference, should I send you A Translation of y^e Lord's Prayer according to y^e Dialect, by Indians here vsed; and therefore y^e doing of it would not at all answer y^e End you aim at. Indeed the difference was something greater than now it is, before our Indians had vse of y^e Bible and other Books translated by *Mr. Eliot*, but since that the most of y^e Little differences that were betwixt y^m, have been happily Lost, and our Indians Speak, but especially write much as those of Natick do.⁵⁴

Bragdon and Goddard confirm this phenomenon and suggest: "Evidence for the influence of published works in Massachusetts in the standardization of Massachusetts orthography can also be found in the documents. Some documents from the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, generally those of a relatively late date, use the spelling *ohke* of Eliot's Bible translation for the word 'land,' apparently replacing the earlier *ahkuh*, a spelling not found on the mainland."⁵⁵ In response to the inter-dialectal borrowings and the unusual cultural clashing between Algonquian sounds and English grammar, Wyss correctly concludes: "Eliot fluctuates between envisioning his project as the description of an already existing language

⁵⁴ Experience Mayhew, "To Paul Dudley," 20 March 1721-22, *Observations on the Indian Language* (Boston, 1884) 5.

⁵⁵ Kathleen Bragdon and Ives Goddard, *Native Writings in Massachusetts*, Volume I (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1988) 19.

and the creation of a new one.”⁵⁶ Again, the ambiguity behind Eliot’s motivation is frequently missed: as is often noted, Eliot grafts existing linguistic structures onto an Algonquian language, but, as is less often observed, his aim is to maintain Algonquian communicative practice in speech as well as text. Eliot’s *Logic Primer* is a similarly complex work, which is also written in Algonquian and English, and aims to encourage an Algonquian readership to learn the rules of argument and discourse through the example of English pedagogy and philosophical teachings.

The Logic Primer: Philosophical and Theological Instruction

Once Eliot had established grammatical parameters, his next step was to formalise rules of logic, which he describes as “the Rule, where by every thing, every Speech is composed, analysed, or opened to be known.”⁵⁷ More specifically, Eliot claims: “*These few short Logically Notions are onely for a Thrid [sic], to lead my Readings to them to follow me through the principal and most usefull Principles, whereby they may be in some measure enabled to understand, open, and improve the plain things of the Kingdome of Christ Jesus revealed in the Scriptures.*”⁵⁸ The educational instruction which Eliot proposes reveals a significant debt to the educational programme at Harvard College. Indeed, *New England’s First Fruits*, to which Eliot contributed (and I have discussed in Chapter One), outlines with great accuracy the timetable for Harvard students from first to third year. This tract demonstrates the focus of the curriculum, under the Presidency of Henry Dunster, on grammar, rhetoric, logic, Greek and Hebrew translations, all of which fasten together scriptural understating and theological argument.⁵⁹ Morison states: “Logic or Dialectic at Harvard, as in the Middle ages, was at the same time an introduction to Philosophy, and a method by which students were trained in the art of thinking. As Grammar taught one to use

⁵⁶ Wyss, *Writing Indians*, 23.

⁵⁷ Eliot, *The Logic Primer*, 21.

⁵⁸ Eliot, *The Logic Primer*, n.p.

the language correctly, and Rhetoric to write and speak with beauty, so Logic taught the use of reason. It was considered fundamental to Mathematics and the Three Philosophies... In a word, Logic regulates the reasoning faculty, and teaches the student to think straight (*recte cogitandi*).”⁶⁰ In the case of Eliot’s *The Logic Primer*, and in the performance of Praying Indian confessions in 1658, which I will discuss below, “thinking straight” equates with thinking as a Protestant European. It might be added that this instruction, that is the formal education of Indian scholars at Harvard, as well as the religious instruction which Praying Indians received, was not so very different to that of other scholars at Harvard. Miller argues that, “Puritan education did not intend that students think for themselves, but it did intend that they should take in the vast quantity of received and orthodox information... He (the average Puritan church-goer) respected the prerogatives of the liberal arts, and never questioned that the rules of grammar, of logic, and of rhetoric should determine the interpretation of Scripture.”⁶¹ Certainly, Eliot’s *Indian Grammar* and *The Logic Primer* demonstrate similar intellectual restraints. In order to demonstrate parity in educational pedagogy, between Native and colonial curricula, it is important to consider the educational framework of Harvard in comparison to the short-lived Indian College.

Under the heading “Rules, and Precepts that are observed in the Collegde,” the religious imperatives of a classical education at Harvard are clearly stated:

1. When any Schollar is able to understand *Tully*, or such like classicall Latine Author *extempore*, and make and speake true Latine in Verse and Prose... And decline perfectly the Paradigm’s of *Nounes* and *Verbes* in the

⁵⁹ Samuel Eliot Morison provides one of the most concise overviews of Harvard and its curriculum in: *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*. Two Volumes (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1936) and *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935).

⁶⁰ Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, Volume 1, 185/6.

⁶¹ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, Volume 1. 1939. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961) 87.

Greek tongue: Let him then and not before be capable of admission into the Colledge.

2. Let every Student be plainly instructed, and earnestly pressed to consider well, the maine end of his life and studies is, *to know God and Jesus Christ which is eternal life*, Joh. 17.3. and therefore to lay *Christ* in the bottome, as the only foundation of all found knowledge and Learning. And seeing the Lord only giveth wisdome, Let every one seriously set himselfe by prayer in secret to seeke it of him *Prov* 2.3.

3. Everyone shall so exercise himself in reading the Scriptures twice a day, that he shall be ready to give such an account of his proficiency therein, both in *Theoreticall* observations of the Language, and *Logick*, and in *Practicall* and spirituall truths, as his Tutor shall require, according to his ability; seeing *the entrance of the word giveth light, it giveth understanding to the simple*, Psalm. 119.130.⁶²

By 1656, Harvard had erected the Indian Colledge to which young Indian scholars were admitted, scholars who, according to Morison had been schooled by Elijah Corlet, master of Cambridge Grammar School.⁶³ Although not much is known of the actual curriculum, it is clear that the same religious imperatives were fundamental to the pedagogical vision: just as Harvard produced ministers for New Englanders, so the Indian Colledge would produce missionaries or ministers to help convert Native American communities. In that sense it was an undoubted failure. Few students lived long enough to realise the founders' dream, and those who did were not inclined to the religious life.⁶⁴ Morison offers a concise account of the lives, education and premature deaths of Indian students, including that of John Sassamon,

⁶² *New England's First Fruits* (1643) 22 (mis-numbered, should read 13/14).

⁶³ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, Volume 1, 353.

⁶⁴ Morison describes the case of John Wampus or Wompas, who became a mariner but was jailed because of his debts. In the event, he had learned enough about the English legal system and bureaucracy to petition the King in England to ask for pardon. Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, Volume 1, 356/7.

Caleb Cheeshahteaumauk and Joel Iacoomis.⁶⁵ Caleb and Joel distinguished themselves in 1658 when, like their fellow New English scholars, they were called before President Charles Chauncy and examined on their linguistic, rhetorical and reasoning skills. Although there is no transcription of the event, there is a record of the event in a note from Chauncy. On 18th August 1658, Chauncy writes:

...*Caleb and Joel*, were called forth upon tryall at the publick Commencement before the Magistrates and Elders, and in the face of the Country, and thereupon very little warning gave good contentment (for their time) to them that were present, being examined by the President of the Colledge in turning a part of a Chapter in *Isaiah* into Latine, and shewing the construction of it so that they gave great hope for the future of their perfecting.⁶⁶

The record of this event stresses the importance of ‘logical reasoning’ in Caleb and Joel’s attempts to ‘shew the construction’ of *Isaiah*. This example attests to the belief of Eliot, and other Congregationalist New Englanders, that Scripture could be “improved” or “opened” with the correct logical application. Therefore, the training that Native scholars received at Harvard was equivalent to that of white students, and as demonstrated by Chauncy’s report they were more than capable of the tasks assigned to them.

⁶⁵ Morison offers an account of the lives, patronage and education, as far as can be known, of the Indian scholars, and also accounts for their premature deaths, which occurred all too often. (Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College*, 352-359) John Sassamon was Harvard’s first Indian student, and his untimely death was used by the English to precipitate what became known as King Philip’s War. Jill Lepore discusses the precarious position Sassamon experiences as a literate Indian in: “Dead Men Tell No Tales.”

⁶⁶ *A Further Account of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*. 1659. postscript, n.p. Certainly, Caleb’s linguistic ability can be left in no doubt after his address to his benefactors in London, which he composed in Latin. Morison includes a transcription of the original manuscript in *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*. (Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, 355) The original is held at the Royal Society in London.

However, for those not so well educated, Eliot's *The Logic Primer* sets out in more basic terms the logic of Scriptural interpretation. *The Logic Primer*, therefore, is a step-by-step approach to Ramean logical and syllogistical reasoning. Perry Miller and Samuel Eliot Morison discuss, at great length and with great conviction, the influence that the French Renaissance scholar Petrus Ramus had on New England Puritan thought. Miller's summary of Ramist logic is particularly useful: "first we invent individual arguments; second, we dispose one with another to form an axiom; third, if in doubt, we dispose one axiom with another in a syllogism to get a conclusion; fourth, we set our conclusions in order and so make a discourse, a sermon, a poem or an oration."⁶⁷ Eliot opens his *Logic Primer* with a pared-down version of this logical structure. The text is interlinear so that the English version runs above the Massachusett, therefore the text was clearly intended for both readers of English and Algonquian:

Of Logic three parts.
Anomayag nishwe chippai.

First part teacheth us single Notions

1. Neginne chippai kukkuhkootomunqun fiyeumooe wahittumooash.

Second part teacheth us bindingly to compose Notions, to make every kind of Proposition.

2. Nahohtoeu chippai kukkuhkootomunqun moappissue moehteauunat wahittumooash, ayimunat nishnoh eiyane pakodtittumooonk.

Third part teacheth us to compose Propositions, by bonds, binding words, to make a Speech.

3. Nishwe chippai kukkehuhkootomunkqnn moehteauunat pakodtittumooondash, kah moappissue kuttoowongash, ayimunat keketookontamoonk.

A speech two fold.
Keketookontamoonk neese chippissu.

First Syllogistical, arguing.

1. Neginne oggusanukoowae, wequohtoonk.

Second Large, orderly discourse.

2. Nahohtoeu sepapwoaeu kohkonumukish kektookaongash.

⁶⁷ Miller, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*, 132.

These seen
Yeush naumukish Gen. 1,1,2.⁶⁸

Eliot goes on to describe and exemplify each of the sub-sections listed before reckoning with the logical constructions of propositions and syllogisms. In each example and explanation Eliot refers to a variety of chapters from the Old and New Testament. In each case, the connections which New England Congregationalists and Harvard educators insisted upon are fully drawn: that is, the inherent connections between language, grammar, logic, reasoning and scripture are fully realised.

In order to compare the reception of Ramean logic between Indian and English groups I will initially consider Ramean logic and exegetical methods as they were used to defend the New England ecclesiology and church polity. I will then consider the effects of Eliot's 'logical' teaching in the public confessions of the Praying Indians at Natick, and consider the ways in which the logical constructions in these speeches prefigured the written form in *The Logic Primer*.

In describing what one must assume to be Eliot's *The Logic Primer*, Perry Miller states:

The book which Eliot translated for the Indians was Ramus' *Dialecticae* reduced to a basic simplicity. That the ministers did their thinking according to Ramus is shown almost without exception by New England sermons; Biblical texts were 'opened' by the logic of Ramus and the rhetoric of Talon; the terms of this system can be seen in the handling of proofs, where often ministers pause to explain technical forms in the Ramist vocabulary.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Eliot, *The Logic Primer*, 21-23.

⁶⁹ Miller, *The New England Mind*, 120.

Recently, Stephen Guice has contested the importance of Ramus via Miner, but, ultimately, he has to conclude that Eliot did deliberately borrow from Ramus. It seems reasonable to assume that a text which is a tool for

Both Miller and Morison outline and account for the uses of Ramean logic at Harvard and are quick to accept that Ramus' treatise challenged Aristotelian logic and, partly due to this challenge, they also accept that his ideas were losing ground in seventeenth-century Europe. Yet, despite Ramus' fall in intellectual popularity across Europe, a substantial number of academics and theologians in Britain and New England continued to find him useful.⁷⁰ In a letter to his nephew, Leonard Hoar comments on the importance of Ramus' reasoning:

Let all those heads be in the method of the incomparable. P. Ramus, as to every art which he hath wrot upon. Get his definitions and distributions into your mind and memory. Let these be the titles of your severall pages and repositoryes in the books aforesaid. He that is ready in these of P. Ramus, may refer all things to them And he may know where again to fetch any thing that he hath judiciously referred; for there is not one axiom of truth ever uttered, that doth not fall under some speciall rule of art.⁷¹

teaching, and not philosophical treatise, would borrow from other texts without necessarily trying to emulate them. Therefore Miller's analysis remains accurate. Guice, *The Linguistic Work of John Eliot*, 181-185. Kenneth L. Miner, "John Eliot of Massachusetts and the Beginnings of American Linguistics," *Historiographia Linguistica*, 1, 1974: 169-183.

⁷⁰ For a general appreciation for the historical context of Ramist thought see: Miller, Chapter V, "The Instrument of Reason," *The New England Mind*; and Morison, Chapter VIII, "The Curriculum: Grammar, Rhetoric, and Logic," *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*. More specifically, however, Morison writes: "At the time Harvard was founded, the vogue of Ramus was already on the wane. The Lutherans preferred the 'Philippian' system of Melancthon; and John Calvin and Beza had been so successful in tying up their version of the Reform with Aristotle that they did not relish Ramus' assault on the Stagyrite. But in the British Isles his reputation continued high throughout the seventeenth century, despite the opposition of some of the best scholars and thinkers such as Casaubon and Bacon." (Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*, 189/90) Miller reaches a similar conclusion when he outlines the importance of Ramus' logic for Puritanism in particular: "The influence of the system varied from place to place and time to time, and was everywhere a cause for debate and tumult. Advocates were extravagant in their praises, opponents no less vehement. In England the teaching prospered along with Puritanism, with which, by the beginning of the seventeenth century, it became almost synonymous. Not all Puritans, to be sure, were Ramists, but many Ramists were Puritans." (Miller, *The New England Mind*, 117/8) Although arguments over the validity of Ramus' philosophical importance raged during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Miller suggest that the first sign of a shift from the dominance of Ramus in the logical theses at Harvard occurs in 1689, with William Brattle's introduction of Descartes to the curriculum. Despite these changes, even as late a 1719, a theses declared: "The Ramist logic is not to be esteemed less than the Aristotelian." (Miller, *The New England Mind*, 121)

⁷¹ Leonard Hoar, "To His Freshman Nephew, Josiah Flynt." London, 27 March 1661. *The Puritans*. 1938. Volume II. Revised Edition. eds., Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) 709.

The exegetical function of Ramean logic seems to have been the key to its success among Congregationalist New Englanders. Perry Miller in particular outlines the importance of Ramus' syllogistical method as it pertains to the Congregationalist church covenant. As was hotly contested at the time, nowhere in the New or Old Testament was the structure of Congregationalism either defined or augmented. Therefore, the great minds of seventeenth-century New England had to determine their church polity through reason and logical deduction of scripture.

On the thorny issue of Congregationalist church covenant, which differed substantially from Presbyterian and Anglican models in England, the New England Congregationalist model had to be defended in terms of its parameters and sources to its English benefactors and lawmakers. Miller highlights this pattern of syllogistical exegesis as he demonstrates the links made between the Covenant of Grace and Covenant of Churches by New England divines:

Two simple syllogisms were most frequently used to extend God's transaction with Abraham in the seventeenth chapter of Genesis so that it could become the constitution for churches in Boston and Hartford. According to the federal doctrine, faith was interpreted as man's acceptance of terms. The first syllogism therefore ran roughly thus: God has commanded his children to form churches, the saints in covenant with God obey His commands, therefore the saints form churches. Putting this obligation within the terms of a conditional covenant rather than of mere submission to fiat secured an all-important advantage: obedience flowed from spontaneous effort and the church was brought into existence by men acting at their own discretion.....

The second syllogism contains in the minor premise an assumption which in many quarters today would hardly be accepted, but which to Puritans, with

their inability to conceive of the church except as an integral part of the state, was as plain as day: In the Covenant of Grace God requires as a condition of salvation that men perform duties to other men as well as to Himself; in the church covenant they undertake to perform social duties; ergo, the saints must undertake the church covenant.⁷²

Miller cites John Cotton, John Winthrop and Increase Mather as the major exponents of Ramist logic, as it is reflected in their influence on education and ecclesiology. Eliot's contribution to this philosophical, theological and educational debate follows a similar pattern. In *The Logic Primer* the syllogism is pared down and it begins with very basic logical formations and ends at the point where the rules of discourse or argument are formalised. However, as is the case with Cotton, Winthrop and Mather, the syllogistical method is applied to scripture at a fundamental level for exegetical purposes. Instead of using it to support the church covenant, however, Eliot defends the contentious practice of infant baptism.⁷³ In *The Logic Primer*, Eliot's syllogism reads:

Every one to whom belongeth the Promise may be baptized.

But the Promise belongeth to Believers their Infants.

Therefore Infants of Believers may be baptized.

Another Argument. Act. 2. 41

As did the Primitive Church, we may do.

⁷² Miller, *The New England Mind*, 444/5.

⁷³ Since the Synod meeting at Cambridge in 1646 the issue of infant-baptism was a contested issue. Williston Walker notes: "The main purpose of the Massachusetts General Court in calling the Synod to meet at Cambridge in 1646 had been the settlement of the questions agitating the colonies as to baptism and church-membership.... (T)he more generally accepted features of the Congregational system were embodied in the Platform, and the vexed points regarding baptism, no longer pressing for immediate solution, were passed over in rather ambiguous phrases." (Williston Walker ed., *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893) 244/5) In later years, specifically at the time of the 1662 Synod, the diminishing number of first generation church-members, which resulted in ever decreasing Congregationalist church numbers, proved to be one of the deciding factors in establishing a Half-Way covenant, where children of existing church – members could be baptised without the public confession which was usually demanded for church-membership.

But the Primitive Church did baptize their Infants.

Minor Proposition I prove.

They who gladly received those counselling words did the thing.

But the Primitive Church gladly received those words.

Therefore the same they did.⁷⁴

Just as Winthrop, Cotton and Mather had ‘logically’ interpreted scripture to meet their needs, so Eliot continues this logical tradition and in this case uses a rather tangential verse from The Acts of the Apostles to defend the practice of infant baptism: “They then that received his word were baptized: and there were added *unto them* in that day about three thousand souls.” (Acts 2.41) The act of baptising infants was a contentious issue with Anabaptists in particular, and Eliot later develops this syllogistical argument in his response to John Norton’s book against infant baptism. In *A Brief Answer to a Small Book written by John Norcot, Against Infant Baptism* (1679) Eliot develops his argument into a much fuller and more convincing riposte.⁷⁵ Eliot uses the example of Sarah and Abraham to persuade that humanity is essentially weak and infant baptism must be used as a way to strengthen spiritual resolve:

How ill do the Anabaptists provide for their own comforts, when they cut off... themselves and their children from this plea and succour of Faith. God in his wisdome and mercy saw that we are weak, and have need of a Patrimony, a Covenant Interest by our Parents, and sometimes to live upon a Talent of his providing, when our own good Husbandry would fail us; and when it is so he directeth and commandeth us to improve our Covenant

⁷⁴ John Eliot, *The Logic Primer*, 57-9.

⁷⁵ Perry Miller discusses the different arguments concerning infant baptism and demonstrates how this developed to the Half-Way covenant in: *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts 1630-1650*. 1933. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959) 200-210.

Interest, our Patrimony, Isai. 51. 2. *look unto Abraham your father, and Sarah that bore you.....*⁷⁶

His initial syllogistical logic is expounded directly from Old Testament evidence,⁷⁷ however, this becomes a more complex argument when Eliot begins to use metaphor as part of the syllogistical exegetical process:

*Rom. 11.16 If the first fruits be holy, the lump is also holy, if the Root be holy, so are the branches also. A Believer and his Children are but one lump, in his Church station, the believing parents sanctifie the whole household, who are under the Parents tuition, a Believer and his Children are but one Tree in the Church or Vineyard of the Lord, and when the Root is holy, the whole tree, all the branches are holy, this is the Ecclesiastical state of all believers.*⁷⁸

The development of the organic metaphor, which centres on vineyards and branches and is drawn from a New Testament source, in turn establishes a parallel with the natural world, natural philosophy and theological doctrine. The significance of the organic metaphor had developed in the colony since the beginning of colonisation, but became particularly compelling with the publication of *New England's First Fruits*, which brought together the establishment of Harvard University and a record of Eliot's early missionary success. Thirty-six years later Eliot uses this same metaphor, but in this case it is conflated with the logic of natural philosophy and the syllogistical exegesis of scripture to defend Congregationalist theological doctrine against Anabaptist aspersions.

⁷⁶ Eliot, *A Brief Answer to a Small Book written by John Norcot, Against Infant-Baptism* (Boston, 1679)13

⁷⁷ "Baptisme is the seal of the Covenant, whomsoever therefore God doth receive into Covenant with him, they have a fundamental right in due order to receive the Seal, the Seal is so annexed to the Covenant, that it called the Covenant, *Gen. 17.13. now God doth receive the Children of Believers into Covenant. Acts 2. 38.39 the*

Eliot, of course, was not a theologian in the league of Cotton or Mather. Indeed, as I have discussed in the previous chapter, shortly after the publication of his most radical theological treatise, *The Christian Commonwealth*, a retraction soon followed. Even in the very early years of the colony, in 1634, Eliot was reprimanded by Cotton, Weld and Hooker for criticising the magistrates.⁷⁹ Despite these limitations, Eliot introduced ‘logical’ principles of exegetical methods and theological debate to Algonquian audiences in the publication of *The Logic Primer*.

Although *The Logic Primer* was not published until after many of the Algonquian conversion narratives were published, it is important to consider the ways in which these logical constructions became part of Indian confessional narratives, since Eliot’s verbal teaching would have preceded the written publication in which these logical and philosophical teachings appeared. Indeed, by considering the application of Ramean logic alongside the metaphorical implications of the Indian confessional narratives, there is evidence to suggest that converted Indians incorporated Ramean logical structures, but resisted wholesale assimilation with their New English brethren.

The confessions of the Praying Indians first appear in *Tears of Repentance* (1653), and then again in *A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England* (1659), and the last recorded confessions contained in Eliot’s Tracts appears in *A further Account of the progresse of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England* (1660).

On each occasion where confessions were heard, Eliot was present to translate the spoken

promise doth belong to you and to your Children, and therefore the Seal doth belong unto them.” Eliot, *A Brief Answer to a Small Book written by John Norcot*, 3.

⁷⁸ Eliot, *A Brief Answer to a Small Book written by John Norcot*, 4.

⁷⁹ Miller’s discussion focuses on the development of New England’s ecclesiastical polity and the “New England Way.” Eliot was reprimanded due to a statement he made regarding the magistrates’ decision to make peace with the Pequot was taken without the peoples’ consent. Eliot insisted that the Magistrates acted unlawfully because they did not consult their members, and instead made their decision in a similar way to a Presbyterian synod. Perry Miller, *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts 1630-1650*, 188.

confessions and responses for the benefit of the gathered church Elders who questioned each penitent on points of catechism. Eliot also stresses the presence of Thomas Mayhew⁸⁰, who verified his accuracy in translation, as well as Mr Walton who transcribed Eliot's English translations.⁸¹ Each confession deals with a different aspect of the Puritan practice and experience: Waban focuses on physical and spiritual sickness; Nishoukhou focuses on the importance of sacrifice; Antony describes the practice of fasting; John Speene emphasises repentance; Piumbouhkou lists examples of the mercy God shows to the 'poore;' and Wutasakompavin follows Waban's example and compares the sickness of the body to the sickness of the soul. Further, the pattern of each confession is identical: after quoting two or three verses from the Bible (in these examples *Matthew* and *Genesis* are most common), each speaker or penitent develops an argument or discourse on how their chosen verse can be expounded or "improved" to provide an understanding of their own physical and spiritual situation.⁸² Waban, Nishoukhou, and the other penitents may not be in the same league as Caleb and Joel, whose Latin translations and interrogations of Isaiah are accounted for by Chauncy in this same Tract, but the confessions demonstrate competent use of analogy and metaphor within a recognisable logical formation which "improves" or "shews constructions" of scriptural meaning.

Nishoukhou's confession is probably the most obviously structured by logical imperatives. He chooses to expound *Genesis* 8. 20,21 and uses the story of Noah and the great flood to understand his own experience, to demonstrate his repentance, and to explore the possibility of God's forgiveness through sacrifice. Nishoukhou begins:

⁸⁰ Eliot stresses the importance of Mayhew's presence to satisfy disputes in translation in *A Late and further Manifestation of Progresse of the Gospel* (1655) (9). This is may be a response to Richard Mather's remarks a few years earlier, when he suggests that Eliot, although thoroughly reliable, is solely responsible for the accurate translation of both meaning and significance: "we have only the testimony of one man to assure us of it." *Tears of Repentance*, 220.

⁸¹ *A Late and further Manifestation of Progresse of the Gospel* (1655) 10.

⁸² Eliot states in a postscript to the transcribed confessions: "They have none of the Scriptures printed in their own Language, save *Genesis*, and *Matthew*, and a few *Psalmes* in *Meetre*, and I blesse the Lord that they read them, and improve them, which putteth my soule into an earnest longing that they might have more zeal." Eliot, *A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel* (1659) n.p.

20. *And Noah built an Altar unto Jehovah, and took of every clean Beast, and of every clean fowle, and offered burnt offerings on the Altar.*

21. *And the Lord smelled a sweet Savour; and the Lord said in his heart, I will not againe curse the ground any more for mans sake; for the imagination of mans heart, is evill from his youth, neither will I again smite any more every thing living as I have done.*

A little I shall say, according to the little I know.

In that *Noah* sacrificed to God he shewed himself thankful; in that he worshipped God, he shewed himselfe godly; in that he sacrificed clean beasts, he shewed that God is an holy man, pure and clean, and all that come to God, and worship him, must be pure and clean: and know that we must by repentance purge our selves, and cleanse our hearts from all sin; which is work we are to do this day.⁸³

In this logical formation, Noah is shown to be thankful and godly because he made a sacrifice to God. This is not written as a syllogism, but could easily be translated into one. Godly and thankful men make a sacrifice to God. Noah made a sacrifice to God. Noah is a godly and thankful man. Nishoukhon may not have the technical vocabulary to construct syllogistical formations per se, but his logic follows the same principles. Eliot argued that logic should serve to 'open' scripture so that it might teach the rules for Christian living, and Nishoukhon is able to quickly expound Old Testament paradigms to provide coherence for his own situation in seventeenth-century Natick. He continues to refer to biblical sources in order to emphasise the importance of sacrifice, specifically through recourse to Abraham's near

⁸³ *A further Accompt of the Progesse of the Gospel* (1659) 10.

sacrifice of Isaac. As this is a public confession, the narrative develops firstly to demonstrate an understanding of scripture, which then leads to self-analysis. Therefore, when Nishoukhou begins to draw conclusions about his own sins and repentance the physicality of the biblical sacrifices become more clearly and elaborately described. Nishoukhou describes the “sweet savour” of Noah’s sacrifices, and later he refers to the brutal possibility of the physical sacrifice of Abraham’s only son. The physicality of these descriptions becomes an integral part of the image created: “God doth not require us to sacrifice our sons, but our beloved sins, our dearest sins..... (N)ow if we offer a spirituall sacrifice, clean and pure as *Noah* did, then God will smell a favour of rest in us, as he did in *Noah*, and then he will withhold the Rain, and give us fruitful seasons.”⁸⁴ As Nishoukhou draws parallels between Noah, Abraham and his own experience, the physical nature of sin is enriched by the sensory description of sight and smell. The idea that sin can be expunged, that it is produced by man but can be cut off and sacrificed to God as an offering is an unusual twist in the tradition of sacrifice. Nishoukhou inverts the tradition of sacrifice by positing that it is the *unwanted* ‘object’ which should be offered up as a sign of repentance, a complete inversion of Abraham sacrificing his most precious and most wanted possession, his only son. This manipulation of established metaphorical use in this confession is particularly interesting. Nishoukhou demonstrates patterns of logical reasoning and exegetical method which Eliot has taught him and which later became codified in *The Logic Primer*. However, Nishoukhou modifies this method of logical construction by developing his own metaphorical associations in order to link his spiritual and physical selves.⁸⁵ His ability to control the discourse through his own

⁸⁴ *A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospell* (1659) 11.

⁸⁵ A useful comparison might be William Ames’ “Logical Analysis” of the Bible, which works to the same formula, but is directed towards academic understanding and implementation of established logical formations, rather than confession. Ames begins:

Psalm i.

1. Blessed is the man that walketh not in the counsel of the wicked, nor standeth in the path of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful.
2. But his delight is in the law of the Lord, and in His law doth he meditate day and night.

Analysis

The major premise of the Holy Spirit in this first Psalm is to urge upon every man a zeal for righteousness, religion, and a virtuous life. A single argument is applied to persuade him of this; it is derived from the blessedness peculiar to the righteous, joined to such a life.

metaphorical connections is perhaps evidence of his attempts to carve a mark of Native or personal identity on pre-existing Puritan religious practice.

Common to the confessions of this and other Tracts are links made between physical and spiritual selves. Waban, for example, uses physical sickness as an analogy to describe spiritual 'sickness.' However, after tracing this analogy to expand upon the process of repentance and forgiveness through a reading of *Matthew* 9. 12,13 Waban conflates the image so that "God is a Physitian of souls" and again, the physicality of sin becomes paramount. John Speene's confession to some extent informs Waban's confession. Not only is God the physician, but according to Speene, he is also the source of physical sickness and this sickness becomes part of a process of retribution. The physical manifestations of the consequences of sin are clear: "for we are called to fasting this day, because of this great raine, and great floods, and unseasonable weather, whereby the Lord spoileth our labours: our corne is much spoiled with the wet; so that the Lord doth threaten us with want of food... also we have great sickness among us."⁸⁶ Finally, the representation of the leper by Watsakokompavin demonstrates the possibilities of God's power and forgiveness as it conjoins physical and spiritual health. Therefore, just as God is characterised as the cause of sickness, Waban qualifies this by asserting: "(S)ee our need of Christ, to heale all our diseases of soul and body."⁸⁷

The confessions may well be formulaic as they expound biblical text in order to explain the speaker's own situation, and they may also demonstrate similar logical patterns to European

The meaning and premise of the whole Psalm can be explained by a single syllogism of the following type. If only the righteous are blessed, then those who wish to be blessed should strive after righteousness. But the first term is true, hence also the second....

A brief comparison shows the similarities in formula, the confessions certainly take this form but they differ in their use of metaphor and analogy, and the Indian narrative demonstrate a richness of language often resisted by Puritan New Englanders. Although Ames (1576-1633) did not travel to the New World (preferring to stay in Holland), he remained influential among Puritan New Englanders. This translation of Ames' examination (from Latin) is taken from: Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, Volume 1, 269.

⁸⁶ *A further Account of the Progresse of the Gospel* (1659) 14/15.

models. However, the use of metaphor and analogy demonstrates a richness of language which signals the Praying Indians' desire to mould the new religious rites and logical constructions in their own way.

Eliot's *Logic Primer* gave little credence to this level of creativity, and instead reflected the theological and philosophical principles of the Harvard curriculum as described in 1646: "The study of Scripture was specifically declared to involve 'observations of Language and Logicke.'"⁸⁸ Therefore, just as *The Indian Grammar* transports European notions of language rules and grammatical formations, as well individualism and trade, *The Logic Primer* transports ways of reading and analysing Scripture, and other religious publications, through European philosophy as it is formalised in Ramean logic. Indeed, there are relatively few pockets of resistance where Algonquian speakers, can engage with the English language or the written trace of Massachusetts without fear of being misunderstood, culturally appropriated, or erased from the very process of translation. *The Logic Primer* seeks to plant European logical structures in Native minds and, yet, with reference to the public confessional narratives, as detailed above, there is evidence of small pockets of resistance to the full cultural assimilation which Eliot anticipated. With reference to Eliot's Algonquian Bible, there is increasing evidence to suggest that Praying Indians actively resisted wholesale assimilation with their colonial neighbours. To fully appreciate the appropriation of the Algonquian Bible by Praying Indians, their methods should be understood in a larger transatlantic context.

Eliot's Indian Bible and marginal voices

A far larger political, linguistic and religious statement than both *The Indian Grammar* and *The Logic Primer* was the translation and publication of the Bible into the Massachusetts dialect of Algonquian. To date, a comparison of these very distinct English-speaking and

⁸⁷ *A further Accompt of the Progesse of the Gospel* (1659) 9.

Algonquian-speaking audiences, in both the New and the Old World, and their different receptions of the Bible, has been largely neglected. And yet, this was the crowning glory of Eliot's achievement: the Massachusetts Bible was first published in 1663 and then reprinted in 1685. Both editions contained the Old and New Testament, a translation of the metrical Psalms and a copy of Eliot's "Rules for Christian living." Wilberforce Eames and George Parker Winship have provided reliable accounts of the costs and logistics of printing the Bible, as well as the costs of printing many of Eliot's other Massachusetts publications.⁸⁹ Suffice it to say, the printing of the Bible was a costly exercise and Eliot worked hard to justify those costs to his sponsors. Rather than reassess these costs, I am more interested in both the intended audiences and subsequent uses of the Indian Bibles.

Christopher Hill's *The English Bible and the Seventeenth Century Revolution* provides an excellent account of the political, social, cultural and literary importance of the Bible in this century of revolution. Broadly speaking, Hill traces the development of Bible publications from the first English translation of Tyndale's New Testament, to the European Protestant influences of the Geneva Bible, and then considers the political motivations behind the King James or Authorised Version. Hill suggests:

The Bible had been a political creation from the beginning. Christians rearranged the Hebrew Scriptures in the second century AD to produce 'the Old Testament.' Gnostic texts were excluded from the New Testament, the epistle to James and the Book of Revelation were admitted to the canon very late. Translations into vernacular were – and were

⁸⁸ Miller, *The New England Mind*, 115.

⁸⁹ Eames contribution to Pillings' *Bibliography* gives details of printing costs and states that the second edition of *The Holy Bible*, 1685, cost 900l (£900). Pillings, *Bibliography*, 156. For an account of the logistics and expenses of the publication of the Bibles, see: George Parker Winship, *The Cambridge Press: 1638-1692: A Reexamination of the Evidence concerning the Bay Psalm Book and the Eliot Indian Bible as well as other contemporary books and people* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945). For an account of the New England Company's role in the publication of Eliot's Algonquian translations see: William Kellaway, *The*

recognized to be – political constructions. Luther’s German version was directed against radical sectaries as well as against papists. The Bishops’ Bible of 1568 was intended to replace the Geneva Bible.⁹⁰

Although Eliot’s Massachusetts translation was not intended to compete with or replace another version of the Bible in this sense, its existence was in many ways just as politically motivated. It is important to note that in the first run of the New Testament, 1661, around forty copies were sent to England and of the first edition of the complete Bible, 1663, twenty were sent to England, each with a dedication to Charles II, the newly restored King.⁹¹ These dedications are significant as they explain, in part, the reasons for such an extravagant and costly publication, which, in truth, could be read by very few people. In part, the publication of both the New Testament and the complete Bible are gestures towards England to demonstrate the success of the colony as it responds to its original charter: to spread Christianity throughout the New World.⁹² The dedicatory epistle of the 1663 Indian Bible reads: “Religion is the End and Glory of Mankind. and as it was the Professed End of this Plantation; so we d[e]sire ever to keep it in our main Design (both as to our selves, and the Natives about us) and that our Products may be answerable thereunto.”⁹³ It is fair to say that this really was Eliot’s motivation.⁹⁴ However, it is unlikely that the Commissioners of the United Colonies who prefaced the Bibles with this dedicatory address had similar intentions.

New England Company 1649-1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1961).

⁹⁰ Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and The Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (London: Penguin Press, 1993) 56.

⁹¹ According to Eames, five hundred New Testaments and one thousand and forty complete Bibles were printed in New England between 1661 and 1663. Robert Boyle recorded his experience of the Charles II’s response to the Bible in a letter dated April 21, 1664. Boyle confirms Charles’ vague interest, but after glancing through it is easily distracted by another visitor, an unexpected “Enuoye” from the “Empourour.” Pillings, *Bibliography* 136, 140/1.

⁹² The original seal of the Massachusetts Bay colony was a picture of an Indian saying the words: “come over and help us!”

⁹³ *The Holy Bible*. (Cambridge, 1663) [Huntington Library] n.p.

⁹⁴ In fact, Eliot’s motivations might be paralleled with those of John Foxe and Thomas Beard. Hill contends: “John Foxe attributed ‘this gift of printing’ to direct divine intervention.... Thomas Beard, Oliver Cromwell’s mentor and friend, followed Foxe in seeing divine Providence behind the coincidence in time of the invention and development of the printing press and the translation of the Bible into English.” Hill, *The English Bible* 9/10. Similar imperatives may well have occurred to Eliot since his painstaking efforts to translate the Bible into

A far larger portion of the address is taken up with flattering the King and playing on the rivalry felt between England and the French and Spanish colonies. Initially, Eliot is praised for his 'painful labour in the work' and then the significance of royal dedication to Eliot's missionary endeavours demonstrates an appeal to Charles II's pride. The commissioners assert that Royal Patronage for this project will, "stand among the Marks of Lasting Honour in the eyes of all that are Considerate, even unto After-Generations."⁹⁵ Finally, the defining feature of the dedication is the appeal it makes to England's, and by extension Charles II's, reputation as a world power, while the colony defends itself against the fact that Spanish colonisers seem to be becoming far wealthier than their English counterparts:

The Southern Colonies of the *Spanish Nation* have sent home from this *American Continent*, much Gold and Silver, as the Fruit and end of their Discoveries and Transplantations: That (we confess) is a scarce commodity in this Colder Climate. But (sutable to the Ends of our Undertaking) we Present this, and other Concomitant Fruits of our poor Endeavours to Plant and Propagate the Gospel here; which, upon a true account, is as much better than Gold, as the Souls of man are of more worth than the whole World.⁹⁶

In a curious defence of the colony's inadequacy, through the promotion of England's apparent moral and religious superiority over Spain, the Indian Bible is characterised by the commissioners as an object of English national pride.

Linked to this attempt at a nation-building exercise, for other English readers, or perhaps more accurately, English owners, the Indian Bible was presented as a gift in thanks for

Massachusetts were finally realised in 1661 with the publication of the New Testament, some twenty or so years after the arrival of the printing press in the New England colony.

⁹⁵ *The Holy Bible*. [Huntington Library] n.p.

generous financial contributions to the mission. For Lady Armyne, and other owners like her, the Bible was a linguistic oddity or cultural artefact. In this sense the Bible became a symbol and a gesture, not a book to be read.⁹⁷ This objectification of the Indian Bible, together with the reverence which it provokes, is similar to that of the response which Hariot describes in 1588 when the English Bible is introduced to Indians of Virginia: “yet would many be glad to touch it, to embrace it, to kisse it...”⁹⁸ The English response may not be so physical, but the very existence of an Indian Bible is consistent with this kind of objectification. Therefore, an Indian Bible in England is meant to provide England, or its English owner, with a symbol through which it can imagine itself, either as a leading European power, or as an armchair missionary and part of the “Errand”⁹⁹ in the New World.

However, it is fair to say that beyond the political motivations of the New England Commissioners, Eliot primarily intended his Bibles to be read by Algonquian speaking Indians, and the marginal notes, which have been recorded and translated by Kathleen Bragdon and Ives Goddard, confirm that Algonquian Indians owned, wrote on, and read Eliot’s Indian Bibles well into the eighteenth century. Domestic use is further emphasised by the fact that the New Testaments and both editions of the Bible were distributed in New

⁹⁶ *The Holy Bible*. [Huntington Library] n.p.

⁹⁷ Some owners include: Mary Armyne [Huntington copy], a donator to the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel and friend of Baxter, Richard Baxter, Eliot’s friend and correspondent, and Robert Boyle, President of the New England Company. Ralph Frecke, was sent a copy of the Massachusetts Bible for his donation of Bryan Walton’s Polyglot to Harvard Library. (Morison, *Harvard in the Seventeenth Century*. Vol 1, 285) Even into the eighteenth and nineteenth century, in New England, copies of the Bible were passed down as heirlooms, for example, one owner writes: “The property of Anna Pecke presented to hir by her grandfather” and a later signature, presumable of a descendant, reads, Angelina Peck - Pawtucket, 1831.” (Pillings, *Bibliography*, 150) Wilberforce Eames has recorded a list of owners in his contribution to: Pillings, *Bibliography*, 126-185.

⁹⁸ Thomas Hariot, *A Brief and True Report of the New found Land of Virginia* 1588. *The English Literature of America 1500 – 1800*. eds., Jehlen and Warner, 64-89. This physical response is also rumoured to be true of Queen Elizabeth I: “in her first procession through London in 1588 (she) is said to have pressed to her bosom the English Bible.” (Christopher Hill, *The English Bible*, 30.) Ironically, this fetishism which the Bible comes to symbolise is very close to the iconic uses of the Bible displayed by Catholics and Catholic missionaries, which Puritans so abhorred. For further discussion of Jesuits uses of the Bible in the New World, see: James Axtell, “The Power of Print in the Eastern Woodlands,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series. 44, 2 (1987): 300-309.

⁹⁹ In the Commissioners dedication to the New Testament, 1661, the Errand of teaching and converting the “wilde Indians” is described as being at the very heart of the project. *The New Testament*, trans., John Eliot (Cambridge, Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1661). Dedicatory Epistle, n.p.

England without this dedicatory address, and the reprinting of the Bible in 1685 was provoked by the loss of so many during the destruction of King Philip's War.¹⁰⁰

To gauge cultural differences and changes which the publication of the Bible may have brought to the New World, ownership, discernible through the marginalia common to English and Indian-held copies, is one of the most significant features. English and New English owners, including Lady Armyne and Thomas Shepard (the son of the Reverend Thomas Shepard), sign and date their books typically on the first page or the title page. Since books were a relatively rare commodity, Morison comments: "Your seventeenth-century scholar was fond of seeing his name in writing, and a book-label gave him the thrill of seeing it in print. He had a keen sense of possession, which he was wont to spend in Latin formulae, often including the date (which enables us to ascertain that it was bought when in college) and the price."¹⁰¹

The Indian signatures also determine ownership, but differ in that they appear on various, random pages.¹⁰² Bragdon and Goddard have compiled a limited, but reliable transcription of Indian owners, typically: "I Mantooekit (x) This is my hand," or "James I wrote it, [I] this times, this 25th of June, 1695."¹⁰³ The Bibles seem to have been a shared commodity and in the Library of Philadelphia copy,¹⁰⁴ one Indian reader writes: "This is Joseph's. And this is his book. And I am Moses Papenau. All people, know it to be so, that he is God in heaven who created us and everything in this world."¹⁰⁵ This notion of collective ownership is not so

¹⁰⁰ After King Philip's War, and the removal of the Indians to Deer Island, Eliot wrote: "When the Indians were hurried away to an Iland at half an hours warning, pore souls in terror y^{ei} left their goods, books, bibles, only some few caryed y^r bibles, the rest were spoyled & lost. So y^t wⁿ the wares w^r finished, & y^{ei} returned to y^r places y^{ei} w^r greatly impov'ished, but y^{ei} especially bewailed y^r want of Bibles, y^s made me meditate upon a 2^d imp^rssion of or Bible, & accordingly tooke pains to revise the first edition." *Roxbury Church Records* (Boston, 1881) 196. Quoted in Pillings, *Bibliography*, 154.

¹⁰¹ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 151.

¹⁰² Morison notes that Harvard students also wrote on random pages in their own books, but the argument that they differ substantially from Algonquian readers remains, since individual ownership was not in question. Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, 151.

¹⁰³ Bragdon and Goddard, *Native Writings in Massachusetts*, Volume 1, 391 and 405.

¹⁰⁴ Eames no. 45 and Pillings *Bibliography*, 165-166.

¹⁰⁵ Bragdon and Goddard, *Native Writings in Massachusetts*, Volume 1, 443.

discernible in New England and is certainly not the case with the signed books of the Harvard students. Although, according to Morison, Harvard students did share rare books yet the concept of individual ownership was never questioned. The written trace of the Indian experience demonstrates that the book becomes a way to communicate the thoughts of the reader, whether he is the owner or not. Therefore, through these signatures and marginal notes a hybrid form of ownership emerges: this notion of ownership borrows from the individual ownership typical of an English or European model and collective ownership which was most commonly practice in tribal communities.

This resistance to a European form of ownership is mirrored in the dialogues which emerge in the marginal notes of the bibles. A direct example of this is recorded in The Congregational Society Library copy.¹⁰⁶ Next to the opening of the Book of Daniel, “In the third year of the reign of Jehoiakim king of Judah came Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon unto Jerusalem, and besieged it,” (Daniel I.1.), is written: “You, Thomas, remember: do not fornicate.”¹⁰⁷ This seems to be advice from another reader, but why this particular passage is the source of these words of wisdom is not clear.¹⁰⁸ Some marginal notes respond more clearly and directly to the text, and this is true of the George W. Pratt copy.¹⁰⁹ Alongside 2 Samuel 1.1-2, which describes the deaths of Saul and his son Jonathan, the notes read: “Saul and Jonathan [were] lov[ed].”¹¹⁰ In the same Bible, next to Judges 4.1, 5.1, and 6.1, there is a record of the deaths of the writer’s, or writers’, family or acquaintances, respectively, “Ephraim Naquatta died on July 7, 1731,” “Joshua Seiknouet died January 22, 1716,” and “Peapsippo died August 9th, 1715.”¹¹¹ There is a clear indication that the Indian Bibles were read, given the commentary on the Books of Samuel and Daniel, but they were also used to record important events in the life of these particular Indians for their own memory, and that of the wider reading

¹⁰⁶ Eames no. 16, Pillings, *Bibliography*, 160.

¹⁰⁷ Bragdon and Goddard, *Native Writings in Massachusetts*, Volume 1, 377.

¹⁰⁸ Hilary Wyss suggests that this might be written by Thomas himself. While there is no way of verifying this either way, it is just as likely to be written by someone else. Wyss, *Writing Indians*, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Privately owned, Eames no. 47 and Pillings, *Bibliography*, 166.

community. These written traces, at the very least, reflect the level of acceptance with which Christian Indians of New England approached the written word. As the bibles are shared, the notes become a method of communicating to a wider community through the written word. In this way, dialogues between various Christian Indian readers emerge, as they record advice and important events, and as they interact with the text itself a change occurs in communicative practices which bridges the oral tradition and a written practice.

Therefore, the book, in this case the Bible, was not just an object, but was a site of dialogue, exchange and perhaps resistance. James Axtell notes that the Jesuit missionaries continued to encourage the objectification of the Bible in a deliberate attempt to perpetuate the myth of the “shamanic” qualities of the book and those who could read from it.¹¹² In contrast, the Christian Indians of Massachusetts wrote on, and conversed in the margins of these texts succeeding, to some extent, in incorporating their “living voices” into the written traces of their thoughts, advice and personal loss. At the very least, this demonstrates an attempt to appropriate the Bible for a specific purpose. While the English audience objectified the Algonquian Bible and valued it as a national, as well as personal, symbol of England’s contribution to the errand in the New World, and the New English understood it to be promotional tool to secure continued financial support for the colony, the Indian appropriation of the Bible is far more interesting and disruptive.

The marginal ‘voices’ exist autonomously without colonial interruption or explanation, and, through Eliot’s attempts to capture the “living voice” of the Massachusetts dialect in a phonetic orthography, Algonquian Indians to some extent reclaim their voices through written communication, the very medium which initially alienated them. As bibles passed through generations, Algonquian Christian Indians adapted a tradition of spoken communication to

¹¹⁰ Bragdon and Goddard, *Native Writings in Massachusetts*, Volume 1, 461.

¹¹¹ Bragdon and Goddard, *Native Writings in Massachusetts*, Volume 1, 459.

establish a new form of dialogue or “silent” conversation in the written traces of the margins. As a result of the printing press and the printed text, Christian Indian readers in particular adapted their oral communicative practices to include the new written practice.

Jill Lepore argues:

In order to become literate, seventeenth-century Indians had first to make a graduated succession of cultural concessions – adopting English ways and English dress, living in towns, learning to speak English, converting to Christianity.¹¹³

While I would not necessarily argue with this, I would add that the cultural and religious changes, as well as linguistic assimilation, existed in a peculiar hybrid form. Through the written traces of ‘voices’ in the marginal notes of the Indian Bibles, a hybrid form of ownership emerges, which borrows from the individual ownership typical of an English / European mode, as well as borrowing from collective notions of ownership which were most commonly practiced in tribal communities. As a result of the printing press and the printed text, Christian Indian readers in particular adapted their oral communicative practices and developed a new communicative practice, in order to record their lives and experiences for fellow readers and posterity.

Over the past four centuries, Eliot has been variously characterised as a well-meaning missionary and as a perpetrator of cultural genocide. Certainly, throughout his long career in the colony, and in his publications in both England and New England, these ambiguities and contradictions consistently manifest themselves. While I have argued that Eliot’s interest in

¹¹² James Axtell, “The Power of Print in the Eastern Woodlands,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 44, 2 (1987): 300-309.

¹¹³ Jill Lepore, “Dead Men Tell No Tales,” 482.

the “living voice” is an important context for his translation projects, and that the written traces in the margins of the Algonquian Bibles are important for the reclamation of the “living voice,” in the most recent publication of Eliot’s *Indian Grammar* this process of reclaiming and recovering spoken Algonquian has taken a surprising turn. In the Foreword to the *Grammar*, reprinted in 2001, *Caring Hands*, Touohkomuck Silva Clan Sachem Natick Praying Indians writes:

Many colonists were interested in understanding the native language, which prompted Eliot to pen a grammatical representation. Eliot had no written reference for this complex language other than his own Bible translation and aptly entitled this new work *Indian Grammar Begun*. Although the original text was written for English speaking non-natives, today many Algonquian Natives utilize Eliot’s works for their language reaffirmation and / or spirituality..... Kuttabotomish to the Reverend John Eliot, whose gifts to our people have spanned over 350 years and continue to reach his beloved Praying Indians.¹¹⁴

In this final appropriation of Eliot’s text, descendents of Algonquians from Massachusetts Bay learn and reclaim their language, but, according to the Foreword, they are also finding a way back to their spirituality. Although Eliot wished to separate native language and native culture, it seems that in the past and the present the written trace of Algonquian provided opportunities to resist linguistic and cultural assimilation. Indeed, with reference to a return to spirituality (which is not the strict Congregationalism which Eliot championed but, rather, a composite of Native and Christian traditions)¹¹⁵ in this latest incarnation Eliot’s language

¹¹⁴ *The Indian Grammar Begun*. n.p. Foreword by *Caring Hands*, Touohkomuck Silva Clan Sachem Natick Praying Indians.

¹¹⁵ Testament to this is a website created by Natick praying Indians: “A. Richard (Dick) and Jill Miller of Natick are creating this Web page with help from a lot of friends, including the Natick Praying Indians under Caring Hands, their Clan Mother. We are delighted to find this small tribe of Native Americans still practicing the blend

primer is appropriated to meet the political and cultural needs of present-day Algonquian descendants.

In the following chapter I will analyse in greater depth the issues raised in this chapters, the use of logical argument for the purpose of religious instruction, and the attempts by Eliot to determine the “living voices” of the Christian Indian and Indian missionary as he brings together real and imagined Christian and non-Christian Indians in his *Indian Dialogues*, 1672.

Chapter Four

Performative Dialogues and Monologues: *Indian Dialogues and Dying Speeches of Several Indians*

Still my soul admireth to see the great use that is to be made of the Word of God, which doth engage my soul more and more, to the frequent use of the scriptures.
Lord Jesus Christ help me to perform it.¹

Surely our Saviours's *Dialogism* with his Hearers in my Text, is not meer Rhetorical Elegancy to adorn his Testimony concerning *John*, but a clear and strong conviction of their folly in slighting and despising that which they sometime so highly pretended unto, and a wholesome admonition and direction how to recover their primitive affection to his Doctrine and Administration.²

Eliot's concern with speech and text is the thread that unites his seemingly eclectic publications. In the previous chapters I have focused on the ways in which Eliot attempts to mimic speech in text, as his missionary tracts, *The Christian Commonwealth*, and his translated works demonstrate. In this chapter I will consider *Indian Dialogues* and *Dying Speeches of Several Indians* in light of the arguments of the previous three chapters, where I have variously drawn attention to the strategies Eliot uses to manipulate the mediums of speech and text. In *Indian Dialogues* and *Dying Speeches*, the spoken word, in the form of conversation, dialogue, or the monologue of the dying penitent, is harnessed in the text by means of mimicking³ the whole speech-situation. As discussed in Chapter One, the speech-situation, according to Austin and to some extent Butler, requires the presence of the speaker and listener in order that the full communicative force of the utterance, which includes physical gestures, be established and understood.⁴ In Eliot's *Indian Dialogues* and *Dying*

¹ John Eliot, *Indian Dialogues: A Study in Cultural Interaction*. 1671. eds., Henry W. Bowden and James P. Ronda (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1980) 156.

² Samuel Danforth, *Errand into the Wilderness*, 1670. *American Sermons*, ed., Michael Warner, 159.

³ In this discussion I am following Bhabha's use of the term mimic, specifically when he refers to Lacan's notion of mimicry: "mimicry is like a camouflage, not a harmonization of repression of difference, but a form of resemblance, that differs from or defends presence by displaying it in part, metonymically." Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) 90.

⁴ Contrary to the possibilities of written performative strategies, Austin argues: "written utterances are not tethered to their origin in the same way that spoken ones are." As I have outlined in Chapter One, via Butler's critique of performative language, written "utterances" are not as performative as spoken utterances because the

Speeches, speech is transformed into text in the form of dialogue and monologue.

Therefore, the successful mimicry of the speech-situation through real and imagined utterances, complete with nominal speakers, listeners and actions, is key to the successful performance of Indian conversion to Christianity. This mimicry, as I will demonstrate, is key to the successful enactment of the missionary project and the performance of colonial dominance, but, as I discussed in relation to the confession and conversion narratives, this can also be viewed as a site of disruption where Praying Indians harness and manipulate colonial discourse.⁵

Eliot's Preface to *Indian Dialogues* outlines the real and imagined content of the text and defends the use of the conversational form, or dialogue, as an appropriate tool for religious instruction:

These dialogues are partly historical, of some things that were done and said, and partly instructive, to show what might or should have been said, or that may be (by the Lord's assistance) hereafter done and said, upon the like occasion. It is like to be one work incumbent upon our Indian churches and teachers, for some ages, to send forth instruments to call in others from pagantry to pray unto God. Instructions therefore of that nature are required, and what way more familiar than by way of dialogues?⁶

force of the speaker and speaker's bodily gestures cannot be known, so the "total speech situation" is incomplete. To mask this dilemma, the Tracts prioritise the immediacy of speech and the performance of confessions by insisting on verbatim accounts and elaborating on the appearance of the penitents and the emotional turmoil witnessed during the confessions. See Chapter One.

⁵ Homi Bhabha observes that during the process of colonial mimicry certain aspects of the "Other" remain resistant to the coloniser's religious, political and social structures. Therefore, while "(m)imicry is ... the sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform, regulation and discipline, which 'appropriates' the Other as it visualizes power," Bhabha further argues that "the *menace* of mimicry is its *double* vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority." Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994) 86, 88.

Eliot's assertion that the familiarity of the dialogue is reason enough for its use as a model for religious instruction is contentious, and, as Scanlan has argued, assumes the unlikely scenario that Native Americans have a working knowledge of classical discourse.⁷ After outlining the obvious contradiction (that the *Dialogues* are written in English, not Algonquian, a fact which is notable because Eliot had already published fairly extensively in Algonquian), Scanlan notes: "There is more at work in the *Dialogues* than the attempt to provide his 'Indian' teachers with yet another tool with which to ply their trade."⁸ Scanlan provides a comprehensive and convincing account of the political and social implications of the *Dialogues*, which he argues are barely veiled in the conversations between anonymous, imaginary and appropriated Native American speakers.

In the *Dialogues*, all the speakers are Algonquian and some are fictional while others are fictionalised. The most obvious demonstration of fictionalisation is Eliot's dramatisation of Metacom's (King Philip's) conversion in the third dialogue. Philip Keitasscot, the sachem, claims: "I desire wholly to give myself to the knowledge of, and obedience to the Word of God, and to abandon and forsake these sins which the word of God reproveth and condemneth."⁹ In 1671, Eliot found it irresistible to conjure the conversion of one of the most powerful tribal rulers in the Massachusetts Bay area. By 1675, and in the wake of the devastation wrought by what became known as King Philip's War, these false words would haunt Eliot and his fellow missionaries.

In 1675 and in the decades that followed, many white settlers wrote diaries, letters and tracts confirming the violence of the struggle between white and Native groups and apportioned

⁶ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, Preface. n.p.

⁷ "The dialogue is a distinctly Western form, and it would hardly have been familiar to Indians whose own language was not a written one. The *only* people for whom these dialogues would have been familiar were the English settlers. These dialogues were not written for the Indians, as Eliot pretends, but for the English colonists whom Eliot hoped to convince to support his work." Scanlan, *Colonial Writing in the New World*, 173-4.

⁸ Scanlan, *Colonial Writing in the New World*, 173.

⁹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 143.

blame along racial lines.¹⁰ It is also apparent from the literature of the period that the roles which Native Americans are given in the texts are specifically designed to demonstrate barbarity and cruelty to an English or colonial audience. Clearly, like Eliot, those who recorded details of the conflict had their own agenda, and their views are at the very least biased, if not altogether fictionalised, to meet certain political needs. Edward Randolph's "Report on New England" to the Privy Council in 1676 serves as an excellent example. Randolph was not a 'colony' man, and might be better described as England's man in New England. In his "Report" he accuses the Massachusetts administration of contributing "very much to their own misfortunes," by showing Indians how to, "handle" and "fix their muskets," and furnishing them "with all sorts of Arms."¹¹ Randolph also comments that the Praying Indians at Natick, which Eliot had spent years characterising as peace-loving and sympathetic to the colonisers, were "the most barbarous and cruell Enemies to the English above all other Indians."¹² Further, with particular reference to Metacom (King Philip), Randolph comments that he is not the converted penitent which Eliot tries to imagine in his *Dialogues* but, rather, a cowardly leader who has left his people to fend for themselves: "The War at present is near and as for the Sachem Philip not being able to support his party....hath left them."¹³ In colonial literature of this period, Philip's or Metcom's role is a complex one: the roles which he is given interchange between that of a barbarous heathen, a war-lord, a penitent, and a cowardly, defeated sachem. In each case the audience and political context determine the role which Philip is assigned. In pre-war Massachusetts, the role which Eliot assigns Philip is equally motivated by his awareness of his audiences, his hopes for the

¹⁰ During King Philip's War many letters were written from New England to London including those published (anonymously) under the title: *New England's Present Sufferings, Under their Cruel Neighbouring Indians* (London, 1675). Other letters, including those from James Cudworth, John Easton, Nathaniel Thomas, John Levertt, Edward Palmer, John Freeman, and Samuel Gorton (jun) at the request of Sachem Philip, are included in: *Collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, First Series, Volume IV* (Boston, 1799) 80-94. Further publications in relation to the conflict include: Mary Rowlandson, *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God*, 1682; Benjamin Church, *Entertaining Passages Relating to King Philip's War*, 1716; and William Hubbard, *A Narrative of the Indian Wars in New England*, 1814.

¹¹ Edward Randolph, "Report on New England," 1676. Ms. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, 12.

¹² Randolph, "Report on New England," 12.

¹³ Randolph, "Report on New England," 13.

development of the mission, as well as the tensions manifest in the relationship between New and Old England.

Returning to Scanlan's concern about Eliot's intended purpose and audience, it is certainly difficult to decide which audience would be most influenced by Eliot's fictionalised performance of Philip's apparent conversion: would potential Algonquian converts be encouraged to follow their sachem, or would colonial readers, eager to erase the perceived threat of tribal practice and cultural difference, be comforted by imagining the religious and cultural conversion of the powerful Native leader? As Scanlan notes, Eliot certainly has his colonial audience in mind, but it would be wrong to discount the 'official' audience, Indian missionaries, completely. After all, their education and schooling, as noted in Chapter Three, would have equipped them with sufficient literary skills to read and explain the English text to an Algonquian audience.¹⁴ Therefore, the political leanings and social status of the intended audiences is certainly worth close analysis and I will elaborate more fully on this issue throughout this chapter.

Initially, however, it is important to outline the overall structure of the *Dialogues*. Each of the four dialogues has a different set of speakers and each provides some reference to setting and context. In the most basic analysis, each dialogue reveals the dramatic enactment of conversion from the perspectives of both the missionary and the penitent sinner. Eliot's twentieth-century editors, Bowden and Ronda, suggest a symmetry to the work which rests on the cultural, theological and intellectual aspirations of the text:

¹⁴ Frank Kelleter suggests three different audiences: the Commissioners of the United Colonies (colonial), the Puritan missionary (Indian and English), and a Protestant readership in America and England. I will consider each of these audiences in due course, and although I do not disagree with Scanlan or Kelleter on their identification of these different audiences, my analysis of the construction of the 'speech-situation' with regards to both the *Dialogues* and *Dying Speeches* offers a fuller understanding of the relationship between the cultural performances and the audiences for whom they were intended. Frank Kelleter, "Puritan Missionaries and the Colonization of the New World: A Reading of John Eliot's *Indian Dialogues* (1671)," *Early American Re-Explored: New Readings in Colonial, Early National and Antebellum Culture*, eds., Klaus Schmidt and Fritz Fleischmann, *Early American Literature and Culture through the American Renaissance*, Volume Five (New York: Peter Lang, 2000) 82/3.

In dialogue I Massachuset persona discuss the cultural impact of Christianity with missionaries who lead them through misapprehensions to positive response, which is then nurtured (dialogue II) by a more purely theological interchange. Now Wampanoag spokesmen go through a similar intellectual transformation depicted again in twin conversations, both of them comprised within segments of dialogue III.”¹⁵

Certainly this analysis goes some way to describe the structural implications of the *Indian Dialogues*, but the symmetry might also be explained in the context of local and transatlantic concerns of the Puritan colonial missionary. In dialogue I, conversations which are primarily between Kinsman and Piumbukhou (although other speakers interject occasionally), rotate around the practice of prayer and penitence as opposed to the practice of “dancing”, “sacrifice” and “play.”¹⁶ Dialogue I highlights the personal experience of religious and cultural conversion and focuses on the local and practical concerns of food, shelter and security, for example, through the questions and responses of Kinsman and Piumbukhou:

Kinsman: Doth your praying to God exempt you from sickness, poverty, nakedness? Will praying to God fill you with food, gladness, and garments?

Piumbukhou: Our friends at Natick were when I left them in good state of health, peace, and comfort: for which we give God thanks, who is the father of all mercies.

¹⁵ Bowden and Ronda, eds., *Indian Dialogues*, 50. Although the break between dialogue three and four is not highlighted in the text, there is a distinct change of character, setting and purpose to the final section. As Bowden and Rhoda maintain: “After expounding his favorite ideas on Sabbath holiness, Eliot shifts the scene to an imaginary future time. Philip is no longer mentioned by name, and we can only speculate if the Wampanoag leader is projected here as a penitent Christian inquirer. In fact this literary setting creates a fourth dialogue.” (50)

¹⁶ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 64.

Touching your question, whether praying to God doth exempt us from sickness, poverty, and fills us with food and garments. I answer, if praying to God did bring with it outward plenty and worldly prosperity, then all carnal people would pray to God, not because they love God, or praying to God, but because they love themselves, and love food, clothing, and worldly pleasures.¹⁷

Conversion at a local level is concerned with local practicalities, and Piumbukhou's ambivalent response to Kinsman's question about health and security typifies the colonial missionary's appropriation of current events to explain the power of their deity over Indian gods. This conversation is predicated on personal experience and dramatises the torment of the individual's experience of his troubled mind, body and soul in the act of his converting, which is similar to the conversion in dialogue IV. The Penitent in dialogue IV confesses: "My outward condition is full of affliction, and those frowns from the brow of providence do make me fear that the wrath of God is set against me and will wear away my life with grief, and then cast me away into hell among the damned, where I shall perish forever."¹⁸ Therefore, *Indian Dialogues* begins and ends with the experience of the *individual* and his/her journey to 'salvation,' and it is the personal and local experience of religious conversion which frames and contextualises the wider social and political concerns of the *Dialogues*.

In contrast, a transatlantic social and political scope forms the basis of dialogues II and III. As Bowden and Ronda suggest, dialogue II demonstrates an exchange more theological and intellectual in nature between Waban (a familiar figure in Eliot's writing and a strong presence among seventeenth-century Massachusetts Christian Indians), Nishohkou (a Sachem at Nipmuk who, along with Waban, was one of the penitents recorded in *Tears of Repentance*), and Peneovot (an imagined character and potential convert). As suggested, the

¹⁷ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 65.

speeches and conversations between these three interlocutors are far more theologically driven and all argument is predicated and resolved on the basis of scriptural evidence. Far from dealing with the practicalities of health and security, this dialogue becomes, to some extent, a dialogue with biblical text. In order to help Penevot understand the nature of spiritual conversion and God's "majesty and power" Waban quotes and refers to Isaiah, Job, Psalms, Malachi, and the Letter to the Hebrews, and explains the experience of revelation and the journey towards salvation.¹⁹ In this second dialogue, the penitent is asked to compare himself to biblical figures. As I have argued in Chapter Two with reference to Puritan typology, this entails a comparison between himself and biblical antecedents who, according to scripture, have lived and died as examples for the rest of the world to follow. Therefore, the penitent is asked to position himself in the framework of a biblical past, which is also a temporal past. Ultimately, he becomes part of a much wider history of spiritual transformation. This explanation demonstrates a firm movement from a local framework of conversion, where the personal experience is the defining feature, to the more global or (as the colonial missionary might understand it) universal scale of the missionary project. The very presence of Waban, whose reputation as Chief Justice would be well known to colonial and Indian audiences, brings to the fore issues of law, order, and social hierarchy which Eliot drew directly from scripture. Again, this implies and insists upon a much broader context than one individual conversion could illustrate. In place of the local experience, broader issues of government and social hierarchy, on which Eliot had fully elaborated in *The Christian Commonwealth*, are highlighted and are equally relevant to English, New English and Indian audiences. In dialogue III these implications become more fully realised, and the transatlantic context is more clearly asserted.

As I have noted above, Keitasscot is a loosely veiled representation of Metacom (King Philip) and, contrary to historical reality, converts to Christianity in dialogue III during his

¹⁸ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 150/1.

conversations with Anthony and William. As might be imagined, the status and reputation of kings and kingship play a significant role in this dialogue. Initially, the King of England is said to have sent over “means to encourage and promote our praying to God.” In fact, by praying to God, William suggests that the King will take notice of them.²⁰ Eliot’s promotional tactics are all too familiar, but in this instance he reserves the greatest respect for colonial authority: “But if you pray to God, you shall find deference.... Yea, farther, the Governor and Magistrates of the Massachusetts will own you, and be fatherly and friendly to you. The commissioners of the United Colonies will own you.”²¹ The transatlantic relationship is intact, but Eliot’s preferred patterns of government and religion are thinly veiled. Rather than criticise the English Monarch outright, having learned his lesson with *The Christian Commonwealth*, Eliot criticises tribal ‘monarchy.’ This, in turn, quickly lapses into an attack on monarchy generally, followed by a verbal assault on Catholicism and Papal authority. I will consider the complexities of the transatlantic dialogue in more detail below, but the defining feature of dialogue III is William’s appraisal of the compatibility of civil and ecclesiastical hierarchy, which is directly analogous to Eliot’s sentiments in *The Christian Commonwealth*: “Church order doth not abolish civil order, but establish it. Religion teacheth and commandeth reverence and obedience to civil rulers.”²²

Therefore, dialogues II and III deal with broader concerns relating to biblical teleology through the historical significance of New England. Further, the justification of Congregational civil and ecclesiastical hierarchy is achieved through a contrast with Catholic and monarchical models and this comparative approach, which I will detail below, would have been pertinent to an English, New English and Algonquian audience in different ways. This symmetry, or what might be termed social mirroring, based on both local experiences and global or universal concerns, allows for a more coherent analysis of the *Indian Dialogues*

¹⁹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 98/9.

²⁰ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 126.

²¹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 126.

in relation to recent critical expansion in the definition of 'dialogue' to include cultural and temporal concerns.²³

Similarly, Eliot's *Dying Speeches*, with its unusual composite structure which borrows from monological and dialogical forms, displays cultural, temporal and transatlantic exchanges. In this case, the speeches were recorded, translated and transcribed into English; therefore, the boundaries between truth and fiction (or perhaps accuracy and inaccuracy) are not so readily available. In each episode, the "dying speech" is framed with a short introductory biography of the individual, and in the case of Old Jacob this provides a local, personalised context: "He was among the first that Prayed to God, he had so good a memory, that he could (reher-s) the whole Catechisem, both Questions and Answers, when he gave thanks at meat, he sometimes only pray the Lords Prayer."²⁴ In his introduction of Waban, Eliot swamps Waban's personalised, local experience of conversion with an accounts of Waban's role in the civil and ecclesiastical framework of the praying towns: "(H)e (Waban) was chosen Ruler of fifty, he hath approved himselfe to be a good Christian in Church order, and in Civil Order, he hath approved himselfe to be a Zealous, faithfull and stedfast Ruler to his death."²⁵ In a similar way to the *Indian Dialogues*, there is a balance between the personal, localised experience and the broader civil, and ecclesiastical framework. The introductory remarks form a meta-narrative to each speech, which encourages and complicates a broader cultural dialogue between the missionary coloniser, the translator, and the dying native speaker.

²² Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 128.

²³ David Murray extends the definition of dialogue and the dialogic process to include the relationship between tribal experience and the nineteenth and twentieth century anthropologist in particular. Further, Virginia Cox has established a coherent historical and aesthetic framework for the Italian Renaissance dialogue, which again extends and limits the definition of the dialogue in practical and fundamental ways. Each critical perspective has been influential in my analysis of Eliot's *Indian Dialogues* and *Dying Speeches*. Murray, *Forked Tongues*; Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue: Literary Dialogue in its Social and Political Contexts, Castiglione to Galileo* (Cambridge: Cambridge Universty Press, 1992)

²⁴ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 5.

²⁵ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 2.

In *The Renaissance Dialogue*, Virginia Cox argues that: “If the dialogue is a representation of a communicative process it is also, like any text, a communication itself. The oral exchange depicted in a dialogue acts as a kind of fictional shadow to the literary transaction between the reader and the text, conveying at least some of the same information, with similar intent.”²⁶ Cox analyses the communicative aspect of dialogue to incorporate the literary speech act and acknowledges: “Recent speech act theories of literature have sought to remind us that literary discourse is a form of utterance, differing in detail, but not in kind, from utterance in everyday speech.”²⁷ In this context, it becomes apparent that the real and imagined speech acts in both the *Indian Dialogues* and *Dying Speeches* do not exist within the same interpretative framework, therefore, the performative strategies of both texts are multi-layered. In the case of the *Indian Dialogues*, the Indian ‘characters’ in the text are framed within a dialogue between an omniscient narrator (or director) and anonymous spectators creating a meta-dialogue (or the “fictional shadow” of literary speech acts) between Eliot and his Indian, English or New English readership. *The Dying Speeches*, although ostensibly monological, maintain the speaker / listener dynamic of the dialogue, and in their linguistic translation and textual reproduction they establish a dialogue between cultures and religions, and between the speaker and the reader. Structurally, both texts function on several different communicative levels: through the mimicry of imagined and real speech situations, through the creation of narrators/directors and spectators of the religious rites, and, finally, through the relationship between the writer and reader of the texts. From Cox’s general definition of the dialogue and from Eliot’s own *Dialogues*, it is clear that the performative nature of the dialogue is an essential component of the genre. Therefore, in the remainder of this chapter, I will analyse the dialogues and monologues of the texts as literary speech acts, or performative utterances, while also considering the religious, cultural, transatlantic, temporal, and self-reflexive implications of each publication.

²⁶ Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue*, 5.

²⁷ Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue*, 40.

Performing Prayer: Speech acts and Religious Consumption

Indian Dialogues begins by setting out the religious limits and intentions of the whole text: “The church did sent [sic] forth sundry of the brethren to several parts of the country among their friends and relations, to instruct, exhort and persuade them to pray unto God...”²⁸ The aim of the selected brethren is to convert Native tribesmen to Christianity through education and the performance of religious rites. In dialogue I particularly, prayer becomes a vehicle for this educational endeavour. Significantly, in the act of prayer, speech and performance become inextricably linked. Therefore, prayer can be defined as a speech act, or performative utterance, since the saying and doing of prayer cannot be separated. Further, the intended effect of this performative speech act is to “exhort” and “persuade” unconverted Natives to “turn from their lewd and lazy life to the living God.”²⁹ In dialogue III, the effect of the public performance of prayer is lauded by a collective response from members of Philip’s tribe keen to understand the “exercises” which “praying Indians practice.”³⁰ The spectacle of prayer becomes one of the most important instructive tools as they claim: “We like it very well, and shall willingly give attendance unto their prayers. And besides, it is not long to their sabbath. We desire they would stay the sabbath, and teach publicly and let us see their sabbath conversation also.”³¹ For Eliot, therefore, successful conversion is most likely assured when the non-believer is able to see, hear and witness the Puritan practice of prayer and the Sabbath.³² Further, in relation to Puritan iconicity and religious rites, Ann Kibbey notes: “The Protestant icon is the actual performance of religious rites such as the Lord’s Supper: what one sees as the participants enact the sacramental events and other church rituals.”³³ In dialogue I in particular, Eliot attempts to reproduce the spectacle of prayer and the Sabbath in

²⁸ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 63

²⁹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 63.

³⁰ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 131.

³¹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 131.

³² To emphasise this further, Philip refuses such a spectacle and will consider only “private conversation” not “public teaching” of the Sabbath.

³³ Ann Kibbey, *The Interpretation of Material Shapes in Puritanism: A Study of Rhetoric, Prejudice, and Violence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) 45.

order to create the same effects in text as he imagines are evident in the speech acts and performances of religious rites.

The first performance of prayer in dialogue I takes place before a meal and, just like the Lord's Supper, it is a performance of thanks and consumption. This first 'prayerful' exchange is worth quoting at length in order to clarify the significance of the performance of religious rites:

Kinswoman: You make long and learned discourses to us which we do not understand. I think our best answer is to stop your mouth, and fill your belly with a good supper, and when your belly is full you will be content to take rest yourself, and give us leave to be at rest from these gastering and heart-trembling discourses. We are well as we are, and desire not to be troubled with these new wise sayings.

All: You say true. Ha, ha, he.

Pium. It is good to be merry and wise. I am hungry and weary, and willing to eat. God hath appointed food to be a means of sustaining, relieving and repairing our spent strength. This being a work above the power of the food we eat, or of ourselves that eat it, and only in the power of God himself to bless it, for such great uses. Therefore, God hath taught us, and it is our custom, among all that are godly, to pray to God for a blessing before we eat and therefore I entreat you to have so much patience and compliance, as to give me that quiet liberty to pray to God before we eat.

Kinsman: I pray do, and we shall with quietness and silence attend to such a service unto God.

Pium: Let us lift up our eyes and hearts to God in heaven, and say, almighty, glorious, merciful and heavenly Father, thou dwellest in the high heavens

..... We are poor worms under they feet, thou feedest every living creature, and makest our food to be like a staff to sustain out faint and weary bodies.³⁴

Kinswoman demonstrates the effects of Piumbukhou's previous speeches to them when she acknowledges that his discourses have a "heart-trembling" effect, demonstrating that the performative function of the fictional speech act (the "long and learned discourse") is consistent with Eliot's instructive and educational motivations underlying the text. By way of explanation, Piumbukhou instructs his gathered audience on the reasons why prayers and thanks before and after eating are appropriate, and Kinsman seems particularly impressed by the spectacle as he urges the others to "attend" Piumbukhou's performance. Piumbukhou then enacts his apparently spontaneous prayer, which is then repeated after the meal as a performance of thanksgiving. After further verbal exchanges, Piumbukhou teaches Kinsman about the reasoning behind prayer and presents a three-point explanation, detailing that God should be thanked for his mercy, for his protection, and for the good health which he secures for Christian Indians. Rather than placing the emphasis on theological and even spiritual implications of prayer, by far the most prominent aspect of the explanation is the physical sustenance provided by the food which is prayed over:

While we sleep our food is boiled up within us, and digested into all parts of our body, and new spirits are extracted out of our food, and sent up both to our head, heart, and all parts of our body, so that we are fresh and strong in the morning after a good night's rest. Now all this is the special work of God, beyond the power and skill of man to perform for us, and therefore it is great reason to pray for this blessing when we go to rest.³⁵

³⁴ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 72/3.

³⁵ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 79.

Having been asked why prayer after food was so essential, Piumbukhou states: "Let us first give thanks, and then we will discourse that point. Attend all. We do give humble thanks unto thy holy name, O Lord our God, for our life, health, food, raiments, and for the present food whereby we are refreshed. We thank thee, O Lord, for the love we find among our friends, and for our freedom in good discourse for the good of our souls."³⁶ In each example, with the use of food as a controlling device, the performance of prayer as a public gesture towards an attentive audience ("Attend all") is key to the explanation of religious rites. Therefore the local performances of prayer and the Sabbath in dialogue I deal most directly with personal concerns and everyday activity, and do not stray into wider theological, civil, or transatlantic concerns.

The performance of prayer through the consumption of food is also used as part of a religious dialogue between clashing spiritual practices, where various responses and descriptions of food become religious and cultural markers. As noted in Kinswoman's speech above, she wants to fill Piumbukhou's belly with 'a good supper' in order to 'stop his mouth.' Piumbukhou's explanation and enactment of prayer follows where he asserts the wholesome properties of food and eating. There is no doubt that the logic of the text creates an opposition between Kinswoman's and Piumbukhou's responses to food and eating. This is more concretely asserted when Piumbukhou finally makes the link between the physical and spiritual appetite: "The body is fed by food, the soul is fed by the word of God, and prayer. You that pray not to God, you feed your bodies only."³⁷ The trope of eating therefore extends into the religious dialogue as Piumbukhou tries to convert Kinsman and other tribal members. When Sontim ponders what pleasures might be lost in his conversion to Christianity, Piumbukhou responds without ambiguity, and again uses food and eating habits to distinguish between the "soul food"³⁸ of Christian and tribal practice:

³⁶ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 76.

³⁷ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 84.

³⁸ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 87.

If foolish youths play in the dirt, and eat dung, and stinking fish and flesh, and rotten corn for company's sake, their sachem makes this law: if you come forth from that filthy place and company, and feed upon this wholesome and good food I have provided, then you shall be honoured and well used all your life time. But if you so love your old company, as that you choose rather to feed on trash, and venture to perish among them, then perish you shall, and thank yourself for foolish choice.³⁹

The opposition between tribal and Christian practice is clearly demarcated in the *Dialogues*: tribal dancing, sacrifice, play, and apparently gluttonous use and consumption of “stinking” food are contrasted with prayer and the Christian properties of food which apparently feed and sustain the spiritual and physical appetite. The logic of the text steers the reader towards accepting the Christian viewpoint and consequently the reader is also forced to make a value judgement on tribal practices. Following this, in the third dialogue Philip hovers on the brink of conversion and his concerns are similarly coded in terms which link physical, spiritual and medicinal consumption: “I am a sinful man as well as others, but if I must be admonished by the church, who are my subjects, I know not how I shall like that. I doubt it will be a bitter pill, too hard for me to get down and swallow.”⁴⁰

There is only one instance where there may be a real dialogue in the classic sense of the term, where two sets of beliefs might be dialogically resolved. This occurs in dialogue I when Piumbukhou concedes that traditional medicinal cures are valid, valuable and to be encouraged: “When you pauwaus use physic by roots, and such other things which God hath made for that purpose, that is no sin. You do well to use physic for your recovery from

³⁹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 86.

sickness.”⁴¹ To some extent this illustrates Frank Kelleter’s analysis of *Indian Dialogues*, where he challenges the image of the “doomed” Indian “roaming the woods” and claims: “There may be no Western speakers in the *Indian Dialogues*, but it is all Western talk. Nevertheless, Native American perceptions do find their way into these white *Dialogues* by way of distillation and refraction.”⁴² However, in this case the Native American perceptions and practices are validated only at a local level, since the powers attributed to natural medicine do not extend to an overall acceptance of tribal religious practices. In general, it is fair to say that the defining tone of dialogue I is not founded on religious or cultural dialogue but, rather, on an opposition between tribal and Christian religion where bias is achieved through the trope of consumption: the consumption of food, and, by metaphorical extension the consumption of religion thereby satisfying the appetite of the soul.

Biblical Antecedents and Temporal Dialogue

In order to convince and encourage potential converts like Philip, Eliot typically uses the example of biblical leaders and their stories of conversion. As might be anticipated in any use of biblical sources, Eliot emphasises a literal interpretation of the Bible. Through William, an Indian missionary, Eliot stresses the permanence and truthfulness of the Bible: “We have every word of God perfect and pure unto this day, which cannot be said of any other writing in the world.”⁴³ Previously, Anthony, another Indian missionary, has informed Philip that the Bible is:

.....The word and the will of God written in a book, whereby we not only hear it with our ears, when it is spoken by others, but we may see it with our eyes, and read the writing ourselves. And this is a great benefit to us, to

⁴⁰ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 128. Eliot’s focus on the body’s need for physical and spiritual sustenance is reminiscent of Winthrop’s metaphorical use of the body. In “A Model of Christian Charity” Winthrop imagines dry bones “knitted” together to form the gathered church and the commonwealth state.

⁴¹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 89.

⁴² Frank Kelleter, “Puritan Missionaries and the Colonization of the New World,” 83.

have God's word and will written. For a word spoken is soon gone, and nothing retaineth it but our memory, and that impression which it made upon our mind and heart. But when this word is written in a book, there it will abide, though we have forgotten it. And we may read it over a thousand times, and help our weak memories, so that it shall never be forgotten.⁴⁴

Therefore, the use of text to establish the permanence of God's spoken word is preferable to the unreliability of man's memory. Interestingly, it is man's collective forgetfulness, "we have forgotten," which implies a temporal unity and is the common thread which links man's experience in the past to the present. This apparent distrust of oral communication as opposed to written communication is theorised by Walter J. Ong, in *Orality and Literacy*. In his exposition of "Speech-act and reader-response theory," Ong argues that illocutionary acts, that is acts of promising, responding, asserting and commanding, for example, "do not mean quite the same thing in an oral culture that they mean in a literate culture. Many literate persons with experience of highly oral cultures..... regard oral peoples, for example, as dishonest in fulfilment of promises or in responses to queries."⁴⁵ There is certainly some tension in Eliot's *Dialogues* in his attempts to endorse a literate culture through the imitation of the medium of speech; after all, he continues to value the performance of the missionary preacher and the oral performance of the penitent's confession.⁴⁶

In the *Dialogues*, as in other publications, the value of the written word is balanced with Eliot's high regard for oral performances of the missionary preacher. From the written text of the Bible, therefore, Anthony speaks of Solomon, the "wise king" who told the young man to rejoice in youth, "but know thou, that for all these things God will bring thee into

⁴³ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 143.

⁴⁴ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 139/40.

⁴⁵ Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy*. 1982. (London: Routledge, 1999) 170.

judgement.”⁴⁷ In this case, the dialogue is between maturity and youth, and Anthony borrows from biblical sources to provide a further precedent more appropriate for Philip’s conversion. Eliot is keen to establish a regal or kingly context for Philip’s conversion, and so recalls the story of Felix, whom Anthony describes as a “a great ruler.” Felix, like the young man Solomon speaks to, “trembled when he heard that word,” of God ‘bringing them into judgement.’⁴⁸ Therefore, Eliot constructs the traditional opposition between maturity and youth, which implies a further opposition between wisdom and ignorance or naivety. He then reverses this opposition when Anthony, the young man, assumes spiritual wisdom, and Philip is given the role of Felix, who may be “the great ruler” but is ignorant or naïve in the practices of Christianity. The construction of this image between maturity and youth later manifests itself in the examples of David and Eli:

And for your further encouragement, we find in the scripture that great kings and rulers have meekly submitted to this soul physic. David was sharply reprov'd by the prophet, and he meekly submitted to it, II Samuel 12. And so it was with Eli, I Samuel 2:27. Let it not therefore be unacceptable unto you, to imitate so great, so good examples. If sachems might sin, and no body might admonish them, because they be rulers, and the ministers and people are the subjects, it were the most miserable condition in the world to be a sachem or a ruler.⁴⁹

Like his biblical predecessors, Philip feels the sharp reproof of the ‘prophet,’ in this case William, and responds: “I feel your words sink into my heart and stick there. You speak

⁴⁶ In the following century, the oratory of Chief Logan in particular would become especially important and inspirational to Thomas Jefferson. See: *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1787) (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1955) 63.

⁴⁷ Ecclesiastes 11:9; Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 129.

⁴⁸ Acts 24:24; Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 129.

⁴⁹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 130.

arrows...”⁵⁰ This dialogue, between Philip’s current position as sachem and his biblical predecessors, is extended when the “wicked” and “evil” rulers, Balshezzar and Manasseh respectively, are described as Philip’s antecedents. Further, the consequences they encounter when they reject “God’s word” illustrate to Philip a possible future for himself if he too rejects religious conversion. Anthony describes Balshezzar’s story as: “another sad story in the fifth chapter of Daniel, where the wicked sachem did act profanely against God of heaven, and then appeared fingers which wrote *Mene, Mene, Tekel Upharsin*. But let the interpretation of that be unto your enemies, and not to you, beloved sachem.”⁵¹ The fact that Anthony uses the term sachem to describe Philip and the biblical figure immediately implies similar social status and Balshezzar’s fate stresses the importance of the choice facing Philip. Furthermore, it also implies the conflation of political and religious power. William confirms these choices by describing Manasseh and his conversion. Having once been a “great sinner,” whose “sins were such as that it is an abhorring to read them,”⁵² and, according to William, far worse than Philip’s, Manasseh repents and is forgiven: “Then Manasseh knew that the Lord he was God. So I say unto you, beloved sachem, humble yourself before that Lord. Set up praying to God among your people, walk in ways of wisdom and religion, and you shall find that God will be merciful to you, and your latter days shall be blessed, and be a blessing.”⁵³

This use of the biblical antecedents therefore serves as a didactic tool to demonstrate how Philip should act. In this implicit dialogue between the biblical past and the experiences of the present, the actions taken by various Old Testament “sachems,” as Eliot refers to them, their repentance and conversion are actions which Philip is asked to perform for himself and his people. As was the case with Eliot’s contribution to *Jews in America*, in this section of the *Dialogues* he firmly places Indian tribal experience and conversion to Christianity into a

⁵⁰ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 130.

⁵¹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 146.

⁵² Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 146.

⁵³ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 147.

Christian teleological framework by tracing the enactment of conversion from the biblical past to the colonial present.

In dialogue III, therefore, there is an implicit dialogue between biblical figures and Indian tribal leaders. Thus, if indeed the Bible is historically accurate, as the logic of Puritan theology and typology contests, the implied dialogue between biblical figures and the Indian sachem becomes a dialogue between the past and present as one impinges upon the other. After all, Old Testament kings and rulers are historically and spiritually linked with Philip when they are referred to as sachems; further, Philip is continually encouraged to identify with their experiences and where appropriate follow their example. Moreover, Eliot must have intended that when Indian audiences read or listened to readings of the text these cultural assimilations would resonate with their own experience. As I have discussed in Chapter Two, in Eliot's "Learned Conjectures," Indians and Indian conversion become part of the Christian teleological design. In the 1650s Eliot managed to appropriate Indian experience by claiming they might be one of the lost tribes of Israel, and so wrote them into biblical history. In this way, Indian converts of the mid-seventeenth century were given a place in the past, present and future of Christian society. To some extent this temporal dialogue between the past and present manifests itself in the *Indian Dialogues*: Philip is encouraged to convert by re-enacting his biblical antecedents and, subsequently, Eliot invites Indian audiences to respond to Philip's example. As this analysis demonstrates, in dialogue III, Eliot's concerns are not driven by isolating local experience, but, rather, he is driven by efforts to locate local experience in a broader temporal and religious framework. In the following analysis of dialogue III, the civil implications of religious conversion are centrally located within the text and reveal further dialogues between Indian, missionary, colonial and English speakers and audiences.

Cultural Critique and a Transatlantic Mission

In the preceding analysis of the religious dialogues embedded in Eliot's work, it is perhaps difficult to separate religious and cultural differences. Certainly, in relation to the Tracts, *The Christian Commonwealth* and the *Indian Dialogues*, for both Puritan society and tribal society social, civil and spiritual practices insisted upon their own internal consistencies.⁵⁴ While it is possible to read native performances in Eliot's texts in ways which may disrupt the logic of the text, as David Murray suggests, the Puritan absolutist approach to consistencies between civil and religious practices, left little room for negotiation:

Clearly it was no part of Eliot's plan for his Indian missionaries that they should build bridges or negotiate between cultures, reflecting that more general Puritan absolutism which leads the editors of Eliot's *Dialogues* to describe the Puritan as 'religiously and culturally aggressive, against all forms of behaviour they considered ungodly.'⁵⁵

Rather, Eliot's cultural dialogue, if the term 'dialogue' can be loosely applied, exists more effectively in a transatlantic context. To this end, tribal practice becomes meshed with European Catholicism and monarchical hierarchy. As I will argue, with particular reference to

⁵⁴ In the case of Puritan society, Kibbey asserts: "The use of religion to promulgate social values and rationalize acts of prejudice is relatively obvious in the trial of Anne Hutchinson and the Pequot War, but the same attitude was no less present, and no less important, in the Puritan rhetoric of conversion." Kibbey, *The Interpretation of material shapes in Puritanism*, 6. Alternatively, in the case of tribal practice, Paula Gunn Allen emphasises the incorporation of all aspects of life in an interconnected life-cycle, in order to maintain harmony in spiritual, physical and environmental spheres. Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986). George E. Tinker considers the confusion between cultural practice and religious rites when he argues that missionary practice was tantamount to cultural genocide, and this can be argued of all missionary practice in the New World, Catholic and Protestant. That this 'confusion' occurred is perhaps not surprising, and I would suggest that in each case, Catholic and Protestant doctrine, as well as tribal societies, held firm notions about religious, social and civil consistency. Tinker's analysis of Eliot rests on the politics of colonisation, and dismisses Eliot and other missionaries as agents of cultural and religious conquest. While the effects of colonisation should not be minimised, by categorising Eliot so monolithically, there is little room to consider the complicated cultural position of Christian Indians whose existence tends to be minimised in historical accounts of the period. The portrayal of Christian Indians in both the *Indian Dialogues* and *Dying Speeches*, is especially important in revising this account of history. George E. Tinker, *Missionary Conquest*.

⁵⁵ David Murray, *Forked Tongues*, 127. Murray quotes Bowden and Ronda eds., *Indian Dialogues*, 240.

dialogue III, civil, social and religious structures of tribal traditions are appropriated in order to contest Catholicism and, far more subtly, the English Monarch.

To consider the cultural entanglement of the tribal sachems as their role is compared with the religious rites and practices of Catholicism and monarchy, and then to consider the transatlantic dialogue therein, it is useful to return to the idea of consumption. As I have already noted, consumption of food and medicine are used to mirror the consumption of religion and link physical health and spiritual well-being. However, in dialogues II and III particularly, the concept of consumption takes on material and financial connotations.

Cutshamoquin, whose confession appears in *The Further Progresse of the Gospel*, is one of the first Praying Indians to establish a link between religion and material consumption, when he describes trading pearls for a richer, purer soul. Similarly, in *Indian Dialogues*, Waban couches his own conversion, and his attempts to convert Peneovot, in a discourse of consumption. Before revealing his new status as a Praying Indian and his rejection of tribal practices, which he characterises as “old *Indian* customs, laws, fashions, lusts, pauwauings, and whatever else is contrary to the right knowledge of the true God, and of Jesus Christ our redeemer,”⁵⁶ he describes his new spiritual beliefs as a jewel. When Peneovot asks Waban on what issues they disagree, Waban acknowledges that they are alike in several ways and then cryptically suggests:

Wise men will cover and hide their jewels, and not expose them to everybody's sight, for they know some will lightly esteem them, because they know not their worth. But if they fall in company with such as know the worth of their jewel, they will be content to let them see it.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 95/6.

Penevot's 'inflamed' desire for knowledge and 'wisdom' of this matter which is so "precious"⁵⁸ in Waban's eyes, has two obvious implications. First of all, it links religious conversion with consumption and commodity, but the language is also reminiscent of Genesis, specifically, Eve and Satan in the Garden of Eden. Through this Eliot endorses an already established link between Protestantism and capitalism. However, with Penevot cast as Eve, the one who desires knowledge, and Waban, the Christian Indian and Puritan missionary, as Satan (since he 'tempts' Penevot with the desire for knowledge) Eliot maintains the allusion to the New World as Eden. The use of Eden as a metaphor for the New World is popular in colonial writing, but Eliot unintentionally (one has to assume) inverts the established order by situating the missionary coloniser as the tempter and the Indian as the tempted.⁵⁹ Waban soon moves away from this analogy but continues to proffer a discourse of commodification when he explains that he need no longer fear God's "wrathful vengeance" because he has "found a ransom, with which God is well pleased."⁶⁰

This mercantile exchange, which has taken place largely between individuals and the individual with God up until this point, assumes a wider scope in dialogue III when spiritual exchange becomes more clearly linked with social and civil structures. As a ruler and powerful sachem Philip Keitasscot suggests that his position as leader and his financial security would be threatened if he and his tribe converted to Christianity:

The first objection that I have is this, because you praying Indians do reject your sachems, and refuse to pay them tribute, in so much that if any of my people turn to pray to God, I do reckon that I have lost him. He will no longer own me for his sachem, nor pay me any tribute. And hence it will

⁵⁷ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 95.

⁵⁸ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 95.

⁵⁹ Ironically, this account may be more accurate historically but was certainly not Eliot's intention: a classic example of the text acting against itself and its own logic.

⁶⁰ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 99.

come to pass, that if I should pray to God, and all my people with me, I must become as a common man among them, and so lose all my power and authority over them. This is such a temptation as no other I, nor any of the great sachems, can tell how to get over.⁶¹

The idea that conversion to Christianity might be a kind of temptation is again a curious use of the term, but that aside, the practical considerations of civil and social consequences are far more vividly realised. As is the case with Puritan hierarchy, leaders expected respect, and William, a Praying Indian and one of dialogue III's missionary voices, assures Philip that his position of authority and his income need not be threatened by religious conversion: "Jesus Christ hath commanded to give unto Caesar the things that belong to Caesar, and to God the things that belong to God. And thus we have been taught. All the time that Cutshamoquin lived, our town did always honor, obey and pay tribute unto him."⁶² William chooses a pagan leader of significant stature and importance, Caesar, to parallel Philip's experience, and then localises the comparison by continuing his defence of civil and social hierarchy through the example of Cutshamoquin. Still, it is the broader scope which more fully substantiates William's cause and implicates Philip in a wider, transatlantic hierarchy. Through prayer and successful conversion, William contends that although Philip may lose current family ties and friendship, he will gain far more as recompense:

Again, suppose you lose a few subjects that hate praying to God, but yet you shall gain a more intimate love of the Governor, and Magistrates, and good people of Plymouth, who were ever good friends to your father Onsamequin, and to you hitherto. But if you pray to God, you shall find deference. They will more honor, respect, and love you, than ever they did. They will embrace you as a brother in Jesus Christ. Yea, farther, the

⁶¹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 121.

Governor and Magistrates of Massachusetts will own you, and be fatherly and friendly to you. The commissioners of the United Colonies will own you. Yea more, the King of England, and the great peers who are heads of the Corporation there, who yearly send over means to encourage and promote our praying to God, they will take notice of you.⁶³

As this new monarchical hierarchy is described, Philip's position as ruler is substantially curtailed, although (according to William's logic) the financial compensation along with the implied security of a larger political and judicial body may well be enough to persuade Philip to convert. Philip's response aside, it is significant that on this occasion, Eliot's description of England's monarchy and civil structure is presented without complaint (in stark contrast to his vociferous attack in *The Christian Commonwealth*).

At this stage it is important to consider for whom Eliot intended this largely supportive account of kingship and imperial or monarchical hierarchy. Any analysis of this question of audience must take into consideration his use of Caesar, the King of England, Cutshamoquin and Onsamequin, as they are variously depicted as historical, biblical, transatlantic, local and familial examples. Certainly, if the *Dialogues* were intended as instruction manuals for the conversion of local tribes, they would recognise the local examples given and may well have been influential in encouraging conversions. Alternatively, as Scanlan claims, it is equally likely that the *Dialogues* were really intended for a colonial audience from whom Eliot sought support for the missionary project.⁶⁴ Certainly, Eliot's dedicatory epistle, which is attached to the published *Dialogues*, is addressed: "To the "Right worshipful, the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New England."⁶⁵ However, I would contend that Eliot's third audience was his Puritan sympathisers in England. Although I have found no evidence that *Indian*

⁶² Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 122.

⁶³ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 126.

⁶⁴ Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing in the New World*, 174.

Dialogues were published in England, it is certain that they were sent to one of Eliot's most faithful correspondents, Richard Baxter.⁶⁶ Any attempt to account for what Eliot's intentions were when he sent Baxter this unusual instruction manual must be conjectural, but, given that most of the manuscript documents he sent to England were explicitly for publication, it is likely that *Indian Dialogues* were similarly intended for an English audience. In this way *Indian Dialogues* might be read a promotional tract.⁶⁷ That they were not published in England after all does not necessarily diminish the possibility that Eliot had an English audience in mind when creating the voices and dialogues of his Indian speakers.

Scanlan contends: "By mentioning Catholics and Indians in the same breath, Eliot is playing on the Puritan fears.... of being overrun by Catholic missionaries."⁶⁸ This is certainly a viable interpretation of dialogue III's diatribe against Catholicism, which, as Scanlan correctly asserts, "link(s) the political structures of Indian culture with those of Catholicism."⁶⁹ However, where Scanlan reads the assimilation of Catholic and tribal practices as a warning to colonial audiences, I would suggest that this is also for the benefit of his English audience, for very similar reasons. If England wanted to imagine itself as the premier colonial power in the New World, the French mission especially, but also the Spanish mission in South America, needed to be viewed with just as much distrust as they viewed tribal communities. To this end, Eliot conflates Catholic priests and Indian rulers by naming both groups as sachems. Of the Catholic hierarchy, William states:

⁶⁵ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, n.p.

⁶⁶ Eliot writes to Richard Baxter in 1671: "I have drawne up a few instructive dialogues w^{ch} are also p^{tly} historical. One of w^{ch} my good friend will also pr(e)sent you wth." "Letter to Richard Baxter," 27th Jun 1671. *Some Unpublished Correspondence*, ed., F.J. Powicke, 462.

⁶⁷ It should be noted that Indian confessions were sent to England for inclusion in Tracts, which were designed as promotional pamphlets, to encourage further financial support for the colony; *The Christian Commonwealth* was sent to England to be published in order to take part in the fifth monarchist debate of the 1650s; his "Learned Conjectures" included in *Jews in America* were intended to encourage millennial optimism, and Old and New Testament Bibles were sent to England to excite English imagination and admiration and, ultimately, promote the missionary cause.

⁶⁸ Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing in the New World*, 172.

⁶⁹ Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing in the New World*, 172.

I have heard that in the other part of the world there be a certain people who are called Papists, whose ministers and teachers live in all manner of wickedness and lewdness, and permit and teach the people so to do... Some sachems are as bad as ministers, and of the same mind with their ministers..... Other sachems that are wiser and better minded, yet they cannot help it, because their ministers are so rich, and by that means have so many people depending on them, that their sachems dare not meddle with them. And their ministers take a cunning course to keep themselves and their successors rich...⁷⁰

The local hierarchy of sachems (presumably priests) and ministers (bishops) is further developed to take into account the corruptions of those whom William calls the “Devil’s ministers,” including, cardinals, Lord Archbishops, and their “one chief,” the Pope. All kinds of lustful, conceited and depraved behaviour is apparently committed by those nominated to be at the very pinnacle of the Catholic hierarchy, which is in stark contrast to notions of honesty and “equality”⁷¹ that Puritan Congregationalists cloak themselves in. This particular facet of Puritan ideology, whether or not it is an accurate reflection of Puritan society, inspires dread in Philip since it will strip him of his status as the nominated (not the elected) leader.⁷² However, after William’s attack on the hierarchy of Catholicism Philip suggests: “If any pauwau in my dominions should be half this vile, I would scourge him.”⁷³ Through Philip, tribal structures, which are shown to be comparable with Catholic structures of hierarchy, are described as being misguided rather than corrupt. Therefore, while tribal hierarchy is able to survive this comparison with Catholicism by virtue of its self-policing, this part of the dialogue is a warning against corruption and immorality for colonial audiences as well as English audiences.

⁷⁰ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 136/7.

⁷¹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 127.

⁷² Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 172.

Pertinent to an English audience of course is the implicit criticism of English monarchical civil structures. Charles I and II were no favourites of the Puritan colonisers, and the Catholic sympathies of both monarchs are surely implicit targets in this unambiguous and passionate attack on Catholicism and its abuse of hierarchical powers. In this transatlantic context, tribal societies and the civil and social structures which underpin them fair well when they are opposed to English monarchical and / or Catholic models of society.

Alternatively, Eliot's feelings about monarchy (and England's monarch in particular) and the civil and ecclesiastical structures which supported it, were brutally asserted in *The Christian Commonwealth*. In *Indian Dialogues* similar sentiments are buried in his faint praise of England's support of the colony at that time. As part of Eliot's double-play and ambiguity, Kinsman's concern with conversion to the English way of life, which appears in dialogue I, manifests itself in an observation of some English colonisers. These colonisers differ from the Puritan example which Eliot would wish to project since they behave deceitfully and consume earthly riches in a similar way to the Catholic hierarchy, prompting Kinsman to comment: "Alas, you are not like the English; and therefore I doubt upon this point. It is not as you say, that praying to God teacheth you the right way to be rich."⁷⁴ Piumbukhou responds:

There be two sorts of riches; earthly riches, of which only you speak, and heavenly riches, which God's word calleth true riches. These earthly riches, are but temporary, and shall soon perish. But the true riches are heavenly, and eternal. They last forever. And we have spent these twenty years in seeking chiefly after heavenly riches...⁷⁵

⁷³ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 139.

⁷⁴ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 66.

⁷⁵ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 66.

As is the case throughout the *Dialogues*, consumption is a key feature whether by analogy or contrast to the process of religious conversion. The earthly riches which the English are accused of acquiring include land, cattle, clothes, and “great houses,” and it is difficult to determine from this list which of Eliot’s audiences would define these items as riches. It is unlikely that traditional tribal culture would recognise this kind of ownership, specifically the ownership of clothes, houses and land. Therefore, the intended audience, and the implied criticism of this accumulated wealth, must be directed towards an English and / or colonial audience.⁷⁶ Within this verbal exchange, the Indian voices fade as the voice of the Puritan missionary becomes more apparent. However, the Indian mask which Eliot adorns serves him well since he is able to critique English society and social hierarchy, without too much fear of reprisal. Eliot is able to attack “Romanism,” “Papism” and the Catholic hierarchy in the *Dialogues*, but, bearing in mind his retraction of *The Christian Commonwealth*, he is unable to be so direct in his criticisms of England and its monarchical political structure and social hierarchy. At this point, the dialogue can mean something different to three separate audiences: Praying Indians might see it as a critique of colonial society; colonial readers may understand this as Eliot’s support of a simpler, less commodified society and perhaps a critique of their past experience in England; and an English audience may well identify Eliot’s critique of a colony in the grasp of materialism. Therefore, Eliot expects his text to act against itself and perform differently within the colonial and the transatlantic space.

With this transatlantic turn in mind, it is tempting to consider the significance of the twenty years which Piumbukhou claims he has spent dispensing with earthly riches and gaining heavenly riches. Approximately twenty years before the publication of the tracts, Charles I was executed. Eliot’s feelings towards Charles I, the civil and ecclesiastical framework which

⁷⁶ Thomas Scanlan claims: “Rather than constructing the *Dialogues* for English readers, who desired to reimagine themselves and their nation through the representations of native people, Eliot attempts to demonstrate to his fellow colonists that the work of converting the native people can produce “merchandize” for domestic consumption.” (Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing in the New World*, 165) Certainly, I agree that this is a fair

supported him, and his vast material wealth, are well documented, not least in *The Christian Commonwealth*. Many of the criticisms which he places in the mouths of Piumbukhou and Kinsman to criticise the colony's desire for wealth and fortune, may well double as a critique of past and present English monarchs. If this analogy is intentional, Eliot's *Dialogues* are pointedly critical of England's current civil and religious hierarchy and highly subversive. Eliot has made these criticisms before, but as is always the case, he has a keen awareness of his audience's expectations and is unlikely to use the same tone in the 1670s in the *Indian Dialogues* as he used in the 1650s. Therefore, just as *The Christian Commonwealth* supported a radical break with monarchical hierarchy and offered an alternative civil and ecclesiastical order similar to the example set by the praying towns, so the *Indian Dialogues* offer similar sentiments, albeit more obliquely presented. Finally, if indeed Eliot's *Dialogues* have any missionary or instructive purpose, it can only be fully realised if this transatlantic dynamic is incorporated, whereby England is advised to imitate the apparent simplicity of Eliot's Indian speakers.

Self-reflexive Dialogue and Self-promotion

Eliot's missionary effort includes English, colonial and Indian audiences and draws attention to his own self-promoting agenda and the self-reflexive nature of the *Dialogues*. Virginia Cox suggests:

The dialogue is unique among the familiar genres of argument and exposition, in that, at the same time as presenting a body of information or opinion, it also *represents* the process by which that information or opinion is transmitted to a particular audience, at a particular time.⁷⁷

account of the colonial response but there is scope to claim that both English and colonial audiences need to be considered in any attempt to understand the use and purpose of the *Dialogues*.

⁷⁷ Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue* 4/5.

In short, Cox emphasises the peculiarly self-reflexive nature of the dialogue, its awareness of its own structures as it parallels the relationship between the speaker and listeners in the text, and the relationship between the text and the reader. In the case of Eliot's *Dialogues*, this relationship might be expanded to include the author and his various audiences. Despite the fact that Eliot uses Indian masks to communicate Christian doctrine, his own 'voice,' that is, the voice of the author, rarely impinges on the speakers' fictional autonomy. Therefore, on the few occasions where this does occur, the effects are quite striking and serve to draw attention to the fictional, constructed and dramatic nature of the text, while also serving to promote Eliot's own ingenuity and missionary success.

On several occasions in dialogue II, Eliot's authorial presence seems most apparent. For example, while Waban tries to help Penevot understand man's place as a sinner and in turn God's "majesty and power" he encourages Penevot to read chapters from the books of Isaiah and Job. Waban reads these sections but not within the confines of the text. Instead, Eliot intrudes and an authorial voice reports what has taken place 'off-stage:' "When these chapters were read, Waban proceeded and said, Moreover, such is the omniscience and omnipresence of God that we cannot hide from his sight any sin, or thought, nor yet can we hide our selves, or escape out of his hand."⁷⁸ Another example of reported speech occurs when Waban is celebrating the Sabbath with several other Praying Indians and delivers a short sermon to his audience: "When he had finished, an objection was made by one...."⁷⁹ On both counts this may demonstrate an error on Eliot's part, as his intrusion is inconsistent with his ambition to allow the dialogues to take place autonomously; that is, it clouds the ideal situation, which Eliot wishes to construct where Praying Indians convert non-praying Indians. Further, it also demonstrates the awkward relationship in this text between fact and fiction. This slip suggests that the overall content of Waban's verbal exchanges and actions within the *Dialogues* are fairly accurate accounts of events which Eliot actually witnessed. By

⁷⁸ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 99.

integrating his own presence into the dialogue, Eliot suggests that he was a witness to the real-life enactment of Waban's missionary work. As Eliot takes control of the dialogue, he also assumes at least some praise for the missionary success he has had, as his shadow seems to follow Waban in this particular dialogue. By drawing attention to the composite nature of the dialogue, which includes both fact and fiction, he ensures that his own success is neatly and obliquely revealed through Waban's missionary performance. Further, by reiterating Waban's oral performances and presenting them in textual form to other audiences, Eliot draws attention to his omniscient status as the narrator who controls the fictional (textual) existence of the characters. In this interconnection between fact and fiction a meta-dialogue emerges, which demonstrates the self-reflexive nature of the text and encourages the reader to observe the methods of the *Dialogues*' own communicative practice. Therefore, while it is reported that Waban communicates 'offstage' with Penevot and others, Eliot's intrusion into the text creates another layer of dialogue between author and reader.

To further emphasise Eliot's unusual dialogue with the reader, in dialogue III he mentions his own work and the work of his son in a more obvious and unabashed attempt at self-promotion. On this occasion the words are put into Philip's mouth:

Often I have heard of this great matter of praying unto God, and hitherto I have refused. Mr Eliot, Junior, while he was alive, attempted it, but I did not hearken unto his persuasion. Old Mr Eliot did come unto me. He was in this town, and did persuade me. But we were in then in our sports, wherein I have much delighted...⁸⁰

Eliot promotes his son's and his own attempts to convert the powerful Indian sachem and confuses fact with fiction when he overstates the success of this missionary visit. Eliot

⁷⁹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 118.

continues the fiction and his own self-promotion to some extent when he asserts in the remainder of dialogue III that Philip does indeed undergo spiritual conversion. Philip's final request is that William and Anthony stay and teach him and his people how to perform the Sabbath and worship God: "Before we part, I have one motion and request to propose unto you. Tomorrow is your sabbath, and I have a desire that you two would teach us that day and let us see the manner how you worship God."⁸¹ It is interesting to note that the fictional Philip requests that he might be allowed to witness the performance in order to be able to understand and imitate it. Eliot seems to be aware of the contradiction that this presents: on the one hand Philip finds it necessary to see religious rites performed in order to understand them and on the other hand this attitude is presented in a written text, a written instruction manual. To overcome this contradiction, he incorporates theatrical elements into the text in order to encourage an appreciation of the visual spectacle.

To encourage the reader to consider the performative aspects of the text, Eliot's authorial role is emphasised by what can be most accurately described as 'stage directions,' which encourage the visual and 'dramatic' aspect of the dialogue: "[Waban prayeth]"⁸² and "Waban [Prayeth for a blessing, and then they eat. After meat doth the same again.]"⁸³ Instead of performing prayer and performing the consumption of food, as I have described in relation to dialogue I, in this case the actions are reported as actually happening. The effect of this in the *Dialogues* is draw attention to the process of constructing the spectacle in text. Instead of simply reading the verbal exchanges and following the speeches of conversion, and at times speeches of disagreement, the reader is forced to imagine how these speeches are constructed, created and directed. In this sense, performance and spectacle are prioritised and the visual aspect of the *act* of prayer and thanksgiving is foregrounded, while the actual speech which constitutes it is minimised.

⁸⁰ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 121.

⁸¹ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 144.

⁸² Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 107.

Finally, the very last exchange in dialogue IV is a communication which is made between the omniscient narrator / author and the reader. In this final act, Eliot communicates directly with his reader: "Here we leave them at prayer."⁸⁴ In the end, the reader understands that the 'drama' he has been witnessing is over. The last statement implies a certain level of cultural voyeurism, as the anonymous "we" take leave of the spectacle of conversion the self-reflexive nature of the *Dialogues* is clearly demonstrated. In the final instance, Eliot reaches out to his reader and draws him into the performance by insisting that they are indeed witness to the visual spectacle and should now be ready to take their leave. For potential readers in England this is another occasion where they can feel part of the Errand without leaving home; alternatively, New English readers might read the *Dialogues* as an idealist and ambitious attempt to represent the colony; and, finally, Eliot would hope that Indian readers would see themselves reflected in the text and perhaps be encouraged by its example. However, given the events of 1675, it is unlikely that Praying and non-praying Indians used the *Dialogues* as an instruction manual for very long, if indeed the text was ever used in this way.

To consider the role of the reader further, it is important to note that the incorporation of the reader into the action at the end of the text also suggests a move from spectator to that of "referee." In her discussion of open and closed dialogues (dialogues which truly present dialogic argument, compared to those which insist on their own didactic logic) Virginia Cox glosses David Simpson's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, and argues:

Simpson identifies two 'extreme alternatives' within the dialogue genre, although he acknowledges that, in practice, dialogues rarely correspond straight-forwardly to one of these paradigms. One extreme is the purely 'ornamental' dialogue, typically used for didactic purposes, in which 'form

⁸³ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 113.

and content do not in any organic sense interpenetrate'; where the content of the work may be 'varied' by the use of the dialogue form, but is 'not in any important sense modified or unsettled by it.' In Simpson's other extreme form of dialogue, by contrast, 'meaning itself becomes dramatic.' 'Poetic' elements like character and setting, rather than mere 'ornaments,' become 'constitutive elements in any meanings which might be seen to emerge.' Most significantly, these truly dramatic dialogues give the reader a far more demanding role than is the case with their didactic counterparts. Reading a dialogue by, say, Plato or Hume, we are not relegated to the role of admiring spectators. We are participants in the dialogue: 'referees,' 'actively engaged in the production of meaning' and implicated, with the author, in the peculiar 'instability' of the form.⁸⁵

Too often, Eliot's *Indian Dialogues* are dismissed as the kind of 'ornamental' or didactic dialogues, which Cox and Simpson describe. Certainly Eliot allows no room for religious disagreement, and any dissent, as I have argued, is quickly framed in binary terms: in this binary framework, tribal and Catholic spirituality, as well as tribal and monarchical civil organisation, quickly become the pejorative terms. The reader is certainly a spectator, but Eliot very cleverly incorporates the reader into the spectacle at the very end. Through this self-reflexive practice the reader becomes implicated in the performance and can no longer maintain the distance and exclusion required for such a didactic approach.

As the reader becomes engaged in the *Dialogues* both as a reader and as a player to some degree, it becomes impossible to resist becoming implicated in the process of formulating opinions on the options presented. Through this performative dynamic the text becomes less

⁸⁴ Eliot, *Indian Dialogues*, 162.

stable, and the dialogic nature of the work becomes more convincingly revealed; as such, different readers are expected to react in different ways. The nominal reader, the Praying Indian, should accept the missionary mantle and become Piumbkhou, Waban, William, Anthony or John. Ideally, Indians who have already been converted need not consider theological issues, but would use the text to defend an existing belief system to potential converts. English and colonial audiences are similarly not asked to question the mission and its religious doctrine, but are expected to consider their involvement within it. This becomes fully apparent through Eliot's use of the performative dynamic at the end of *Dialogues* when the reader realises that instead of simply being a spectator he is actually part of the final scene. This self-reflexive aspect of the dialogue form allows Eliot to enable his English and colonial readers to determine the success, or otherwise, of Eliot's dramatic performance and by extension the mission itself. If successful, Eliot's final performance is to involve the reader to such a degree that he feels a certain level of responsibility towards the colony and, further, feels obliged to contribute his/her time and / or money to the missionary cause, thus, completing the promotional and transatlantic function of the *Dialogues*.

Dying Speeches

Oh that my words were now written!
 Oh that they were inscribed in a book!
 That with an iron pen and lead
 They were graven in the rock for ever!
 But I know that my redeemer liveth,
 And that he shall stand up at the last upon the earth:
 And after my skin hath been thus destroyed,
 Yet from my flesh shall I see God...
 Job 19: 23-26

Similar to Eliot's *Indian Dialogues*, in *The Dying Speeches of Several Indians* speech is transferred into text, enacting, to some extent, what Job describes as the process of making speech permanent. Job's words are spoken by Waban in his dying speech and thus the desire

⁸⁵ Virginia Cox, *The Renaissance Dialogue*, 2/3. Cox glosses David Simpson's arguments concerning Hume's *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*, see: David Simpson, "Hume's Intimate Voices and the Method of

to speak, which in this case means the desire to perform a final Christian rite, as well as the desire to record that performance textually, are equally important.

In the first instance, Waban and the other Christian Indians whose speeches are recorded, have specific aural audiences. Waban and Old Jacob name their "brethren," Waban his "children," Black James refers to his son, and Old Jacob and Antony name Daniel, their minister. Each Christian Indian addresses his audience of gathered listeners and turns the speech into a prayer as he directs his words and repentance to his "Saviour and Redeemer."⁸⁶ As I have argued in relation to the *Dialogues*, prayer becomes a spectacle and a performance of religious rites and can be characterised as a speech act. While the prayers, or speech acts, of the *Dialogues* are fully constructed literary speech acts, in the case of the *Dying Speeches*, each speech is purported to be a translation and transcription "in the Language as they were spoken."⁸⁷ As is the case with all examples of Christian Indian direct speech I have considered in Eliot's work, when speech is reproduced in text, the framing, context and audience of that speech are paramount to the construction of its meaning. Pratt's defence of literary speech act theory is useful at this stage when she argues: "...in any case where communication between a speaker and intended addressee is dependent on a mediator, the speaker's utterance exists in a kind of limbo until the mediation is completed."⁸⁸ Pratt uses the example of a letter to confirm her point, but in the case of the printed, deathbed speeches a similar logic applies. Eliot, Gookin, Daniel and the very process of textual framing,⁸⁹ mediate the speeches for readers (or absent spectators) whose understanding and interpretation of what become literary speech acts will be influenced by this mediation process. This is similar to the process of translating and transcribing the confessions and conversion narratives of Christian

Dialogue," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 21, 1 (1979): 68-71.

⁸⁶ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 3.

⁸⁷ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 1.

⁸⁸ Mary Louise Pratt, *Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse* (Bloomington and London: Indiana University Press, 1977) 121.

⁸⁹ Eliot introduces the speeches by explaining their appearance in print: "It is an humbling to me that there be no more, it was not in my heart to gather them, but Major Gookins hearing some of them ... he first moved *Daniel*

Indians, which I discussed in Chapter One and Three. In the context of the *Dying Speeches*, the same analysis may be made concerning the performance of culture and cultural identity through: speech acts, literary speech acts and audience.

Unlike the *Dialogues*, where the accuracy and truth of the conversations are viewed as secondary consideration, the *Dying Speeches of Several Indians* maintains a strategy of truth-telling through Eliot's insistence on their historical accuracy. Just as Job's words are finally and permanently inscribed, so the deathbed speeches are also textualised and to that end they become literary speech acts, subject to the same kind of analysis as the *Indian Dialogues*.⁹⁰ Therefore, it is not my intention to unravel the truth or falsity of the speeches themselves, since as Shoshana Felman states, glossing Austin: "...in place of the truth /falsity criterion, essential to constative language, Austin substitutes in the case of performative language the criterion of felicity as opposed to infelicity, that is, the success or failure of the act or operation in question."⁹¹ The success or failure of the deathbed speeches, and their textual reproduction in the *Dying Speeches*, that is, the initial speech act and the literary production of the speech act, rests in identifying what purpose they may have held for each 'speaker' (each Christian Indian and Eliot), and the reception they received from each audience (witnesses present at the speeches and the reading public). In order to develop this analysis, it is useful to consider the speeches as both spiritual monologues and cultural performances.

Foremost, the speeches are unbroken and uninterrupted accounts of the individual Christian Indian's faith, sin and repentance to a gathered audience. Each speaker variously addresses brethren, sons, men, women, children and Daniel, who is identified in the text as both a minister and the recorder of some of the speeches. As was the case with the confessions

should gather them, and that I should translate them, in the Language as they were spoken, and that I should translate them into English; And here is presented what was done that way." Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 1.

⁹⁰ Mary Louise Pratt argues that types of literary and non-literary utterances are unified through "similarities in the linguistic context and the communicative purposes of the participants." Pratt, *Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse*, 88.

included in *Tears of Repentance* and *A Further Account of the Progress of the Gospel*, in the *Dying Speeches* the presence of the audience confirms a conscious desire of the speaker to communicate specifically to that audience. In the confessional narratives, the Indian converts aimed to convince white Christian ministers that they should be admitted to church membership. However, in the *Dying Speeches*, the Indian converts repent their sins and attempt to instruct their Indian audience to do likewise. Antony's speech serves as a good example to demonstrate how repentance and instruction play a part in the performative effects of the spiritual monologue.

Antony, who had been a teacher, confesses that he was a "backsliding Hypocrite" who sinned, repented, was forgiven by both Eliot and Gookin, and yet sinned again. Unusually, he is specific about his vice, and confesses that: "Love of strong drink is a lust I could not overcome."⁹² He even goes so far as to advise Daniel: "beware, that you, love not strong drinks as I did, and was thereby undone."⁹³ Finally, in common with the other deathbed speeches, he encourages his children to "forsake not praying to God, goe not to strange places where they pray not to God, but strongly pray to God as long as you live."⁹⁴

When Antony repents, he seeks God's forgiveness, therefore the speech act, his final confession, has very specific desired effects: "I desire to dy well...Oh Lord save me and deliver me by Jesus Christ, in whom I believe: send thy Angels when I dy, to bring my poor soul to thee, and save thy poor sinfull soul in thy heavenly Kingdom."⁹⁵ The forgiveness and salvation which Antony seeks, therefore, will be the result of a successful 'speech act,' a successful act of repentance, and in this case the relationship between the speaker and addressee could not be more intense. In this sense, the relationship between the speaker and

⁹¹ Shoshana Felman, *The Literary Speech Act: Don Juan with J.L. Austin, or Seduction in Two Languages*. 1980. Trans. Catherine Porter (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1983) 16.

⁹² Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 7.

⁹³ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 7.

⁹⁴ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 7.

the addressee has much in common with Antony's own confessional narrative in *A further Account of the Gospel*. In each speech he seeks salvation from a listening and ostensibly present audience, God and / or Church members, by enacting a successful performance of repentance. However, the spoken accounts in *Dying Speeches* differ from the confessional narratives because the speakers assume a certain level of authority as they address their listening audiences (in Antony's case, his children and Daniel) by instructing them to follow their example of repentance. Specifically, in his speech to Daniel, Antony instructs him to resist the temptation of "strong drink" and avoid 'defiling' his teaching by drunkenness.⁹⁶

In many ways, the instructive tone of all the speeches as they advise the practice of prayer, observing the Sabbath, and in some instances behaving with respect and obedience towards 'rulers,' is very like a sermon. Therefore, the speech can be characterised as a powerful monologue and speech act, whose effects are to persuade and influence a gathered audience to amend, change, or continue their performance of religious and civil rites. John Owussumugsen asks his audience to "Love and obey the Rulers, and submint (sic) unto their judgment, hear diligently your minister: be obedient to Major Gookins and to Mr Eliot and Daniel."⁹⁷ As I have outlined in my discussion of seventeenth-century Puritan sermons in Chapter Two, civil and ecclesiastical structures are firmly welded together. Antony's and John's speeches are certainly characterised by the sermon's instructive tone. In Antony's speech particularly, by asking others to avoid his mistakes and his continual backsliding, his spiritual monologue encourages links to the American jeremiad, a favourite sermon style of seventeenth-century New England ministers. As noted in Chapter Two, the jeremiad was a particular type of sermon, which, according to Bercovitch, has its roots in Europe, but, in the early colonial years, was modified by the New England Puritans and became a distinct genre in the New England sermon. The jeremiad typically elaborated and explained specific

⁹⁵ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 7/8.

⁹⁶ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 7.

⁹⁷ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 9

passages of biblical text, the minister would warn against spiritual backsliding, and, importantly, would insist on the ultimate deferral of individual perfection, as well as the deferral of the perfect church-state. Therefore, it was the journey towards spiritual perfection, not necessarily the accomplishment of such a state, which became the most important aspect of the jeremiad.⁹⁸

Ultimately, Antony's imagined speech act to his gathered audience takes the form of both a confession and sermon, and his spiritual monologue restates Puritan doctrine. In written form, the text can be read as having similar effects. Eliot's framing text (the short introductions to each speech) offers a brief biography of each Christian Indian. In Waban's case particularly, Eliot provides an account of his civil and ecclesiastical success:

Waban was the first that received the Gospel, our first meeting was at his house; the next time we meet, he had gathered a great Company of his friends to hear the Word, in the which he hath been Stedfast: When he framed our selves in Order in way of Government, he was chosen Ruler of fifty, he hath approved himselfe to be a good Christian in Church Order, and in Civil Order, he hath approved himself to be a Zealous, faithfull and stedfast Ruler to his death.⁹⁹

Unsurprisingly, therefore, both the spoken accounts and the written accounts, the dying speeches and the *Dying Speeches*, trace and retrace the lives of the Christian Indians in order to restate Puritan doctrine.

However, Kristina Bross in her analysis of the speeches of dying Indians throughout Eliot's work, including those contained in *The Dying Speeches*, claims that there is an implicit

⁹⁸ See my discussion of the Jeremiad in Chapter Two.

cultural dialogue between clergy and laity, and Christian and Indian.¹⁰⁰ Certainly, in the textual production of the speeches, one of the most striking structural features is that Eliot, a white missionary (clergy), introduces and characterises the Indian speaker (lay Christian) before their words are read. Bross is correct to argue that this relationship between the speaker and the author is significant but, rather than argue that a dialogue emerges as a result, another way to consider the *Speeches* is to examine the cultural performances of the literary speech acts. Indeed, despite its pretensions towards accuracy through the verbatim accounts of the final words of some of Eliot's best known converts, including Waban, Piunbukhou, Antony and John Speene, by the very nature of mediating and introducing the speech acts, *Dying Speeches* constructs a network of specific cultural performances. Charles J. Fillmore contends:

A text induces its interpreter to construct an image, or maybe a set of alternative images. The image the interpreter creates early in the text guides his interpretation of successive portions of the text and these in turn induce him to enrich or modify that image. While the image-construction and image-revision is going on, the interpreter is also trying to figure out what the creator of the text is doing – what the nature of the communication situation is. And that, too, may have been an influence on the image-creating process.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 2

¹⁰⁰ "In the dying speeches of the so-called Praying Indians, mediated as they are by white missionaries, we may glimpse a dynamic clergy-laity, English-Indian dialogue." Kristina Bross, "Dying Saints, Vanishing Savages: 'Dying Indian Speeches': in Colonial New England Literature," *Early American Literature* 36, 3 (2001): 325-352, 328. Bross's analysis of the deathbed scene of the Christian Indian, considers the cultural position of Christian Indians both before and after King Philip's War. Her analysis of key speeches in Eliot's work and in comparison to Williams' *Key to the Language*, reveals the uses and appropriations of Indian speeches in a colonial and transatlantic context.

¹⁰¹ Charles J. Fillmore, "The Future of Semantics," *Berkeley Studies in Syntax and Semantics* IV (1974): 4. Quoted by Pratt, *Towards a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse*, 153/4.

With reference to the *Dying Speeches*, when speech acts become 'literary' speech acts the words no longer belong to the one who utters them but, rather, they belong to the one who writes them down. Therefore, the construction of the image is shared between the speakers and their listeners on one hand, and the author, the text and the intended readership on the other. In addition to images Indian speakers create of their own lives, the 'literary' speech act, that is the production of Christian Indian speech in text by another person, revises the construction of those images.

Bross suggests that the sustaining image of the text is that of John Eliot, a jaded missionary.¹⁰²

To confirm this, Eliot states in his introduction:

Here be but a few of the Dying Speeches and counsels of such *Indians* as dyed in the Lord.

It is an humbling to me that there be no more, it was not in my heart to gather them....¹⁰³

Bross asserts that despite the apparent optimism of the Indians themselves, who still seek salvation and encourage their younger audience to follow that example, by 1685 Eliot's own words communicate his fading strength and sense of loss: "his last literary construct is not the dying Indian saint, but the trope of the vanishing Indian."¹⁰⁴ Therefore, the literary speech act, unlike the speech act itself, stresses the importance of recognising the "English construction and manipulation of the image"¹⁰⁵ of the dying Indian through Eliot's pessimistic lens. In this

¹⁰² While representations of Praying Indians, dying or otherwise, served as subjects for promotional pamphleteering in pre-war years, in the years immediately following King Philip's war, the English and New English appetite for the mission had waned substantially. Kristina Bross notes: "At this moment (post-1675), however, the description of the dying saint and of the Praying Indian more generally is much more challenging, even subversive, to Bay colonists engaged in a devastating war. Apparently only Eliot's age protected him from the verbal attacks directed at Gookin for his support of the Praying Indian cause." Bross, "Dying Saints, Vanishing Savages," 339.

¹⁰³ Eliot, *Dying Speeches*, 1.

¹⁰⁴ Kristina Bross, "Dying Saints, Vanishing Savages," 345.

¹⁰⁵ Kristina Bross, "Dying Saints, Vanishing Savages," 328.

sense, the *Dying Speeches* may well have been understood by Eliot's contemporaries in both England and New England as the dying speeches of a vanishing race, but, in retrospect, the *Dying Speeches* may also be understood to be Eliot's own 'dying speech' as his mission and his own life come to an end.

Ultimately, speeches, speech acts and literary speech acts, enable us, to some degree, to construct images of the speakers, writers, listeners and readers involved in the elaboration of the text. Throughout Eliot's career, the defining and unifying feature of his publications is his interest in speech and text and how the properties of these two mediums can be harnessed most effectively. As I have consistently argued with reference to all of Eliot's texts except the *Dying Speeches*, Eliot always has a transatlantic audience in view and yet in his final publication his gaze turns inwards to himself, concerns about his own mortality and the mortality of his Indian followers.

Despite the fact that Eliot's own voice seems smaller and more localised in this final text, his reputation in the centuries which followed is built on the ambition which marked his formative years. In many ways his image and reputation are further constructed as he becomes part of historical and religious reassessment by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commentators.

Conclusion

“Abel, tho’ dead, yet speaks, in one Tongue more”¹

As I have demonstrated and argued in the previous chapters, the defining feature of Eliot’s work lies in his desire to fulfil and manipulate the needs and expectations of specifically targeted audiences. In this way, Eliot enables the enactment of specific cultural identities of, and for, those audiences within the boundaries of the text. In particular, New English and Praying Indian identities emerge performatively, since both cultural categories begin to be established during this period; their emergence evolves, in part, in the texts which Eliot (and some of his contemporaries) publishes in both England and New England. Indeed, I would go so far as to suggest that the cultural category of the Praying Indian would not have emerged as a distinct group to the extent that they did, had Eliot not enabled the performance of this cultural group in his published work.

From his earliest Tract, *New England’s First Fruits*, to his last publication, *Dying Speeches of Several Indians*, Eliot focused on the mediation of speech and speeches from converted Indians to wider English-speaking audiences. Within the limits of these texts, a Protestant Puritan perspective to a large extent controls and dominates the translation of the words, ideas and perhaps even the intentions of the original speakers. However, as I have argued in the preceding chapters, it is in the very nature of written records to perform against the intentions of the writer / author. In this way, Indian identities in particular can, at times, be described as performing outside the limits of Puritan authority and outside the limits of Eliot’s texts.

¹ John Danforth, “A Poem,” *Kneeling to God, At Parting with Friends* (Boston, 1697) 68.

During his career, Eliot had a key role in defining the terms on which Praying Indians would be understood and received in the New and the Old World: as I have discussed in Chapters One and Four, he organised and witnessed the confessional narratives and deathbed speeches of Native converts in Massachusetts Bay, and he also translated the speeches which were sent to England for publication, thus he controlled the performances of Praying Indians as they appeared in his texts. In this thesis I have also examined facets of the cultural network which Eliot creates to link tribal and Protestant traditions, as well as the New to the Old World. In doing so, Eliot constructs a triangular and reciprocally dependent relationship as his texts establish the identities for Praying Indians, New Englanders and Old England.

As I commented in my Introduction, Eliot is not often included in the Early American literary canon and yet my analysis of the performative aspects of Eliot's aesthetic demonstrates that his work remains a fruitful site of enquiry for those interested in colonial literary studies. What makes Eliot's work so interesting (and this holds for much early American literature) is the very fact that it demands that we question our interpretative tools and categories, in order to understand more fully the texts before us and the different culture groups which emerge from them. Other possibilities in evaluating Eliot's literary contribution to our understanding of the American colonies might include a comparative study with Roger Williams' *Key to the Language of America*, or Thomas Shepard's *Confessions*, for example. Both of these approaches are equally valid literary investigations, but for the purposes of the present study I prefer to continue to consider Eliot in a performative context. In the concluding remarks of this thesis, therefore, I am interested in considering the ways in which Eliot himself has become subject to the readings and imaginations of others.

Joseph Roach has considered the ways in which voices from the past are incorporated in texts (or cultural performances) and transported into the present.² Roach focuses on the power of performances to overcome cultural ‘othering’ and the process by which colonial voices are said to speak “in tongues not their own.” In this thesis I have addressed the complex networks of cultural othering and otherness of Indians and Praying Indians, as Indian speeches and speakers are mediated through a Puritan lens. However, in conclusion, I want to consider the ways in which Eliot has been transformed for readers over the past few centuries. Perhaps he too might be ‘speaking in a tongue not entirely his own,’ through a process of historicisation in biographies, Sunday School books, and poetry which were dedicated to his memory. In this sense I am reversing the perspective from which I have been working up until now and, rather than focusing on Eliot’s intentions, audiences, political and religious purposes, I will consider the ways in which he has been represented and appropriated to meet the changing circumstances of writers and commentators over the past four centuries.

Recently, Joshua David Bellin has examined the historical and fictional representations of John Eliot in the nineteenth century, focusing on writers such as Emerson and Hawthorne.³ Bellin considers Eliot principally in the context of nineteenth-century biography and fiction, and his analysis focuses on the fictional representations of Eliot in Hawthorne’s *The Blithedale Romance* (1852) and Catharine Maria Sedgewick’s *Hope Leslie* (1827). Overall, Bellin’s analysis examines the basis of the nineteenth-century creation of (and fascination with) the “Vanishing Indian,” which he summarises by stating: “Bancroft, like Everett and Emerson, creates an Eliot with the power to project onto the present his consummate moment of sacred failure. Their consciences cleansed by Eliot’s trials, they rest in the certainty that if

² “Although theories of colonial and postcolonial discourse have done a great deal to liberate the field from the confines of its academic insularity, the relation of a text to its colonial or postcolonial context is most frequently presented as a process in which the insular text is constituted by its opposition to a racial or cultural Other.... Genealogies of performance, however, resist such erasures by taking into account the give and take of transmissions, posted in the past, arriving in the present, delivered by living messengers, speaking in tongues not entirely their own.” Joseph Roach, “Culture and Performance in the Circum-Atlantic World,” *Performativity and Performance*, eds., Andrew Parker and Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (London: Routledge, 1995) 61.

history exists for Indians at all, it exists only to repeat itself.”⁴ However, as the republication of Eliot’s *Indian Grammar* only a few years ago demonstrates, Algonquian descendants continue to re-learn the Massachusetts dialect of Algonquian, proving beyond doubt that nineteenth-century perspectives on the disappearance of Indian culture were wide of the mark. Bellin’s article comments extensively on the fictional representations of Eliot during this period, and while this is a fascinating topic, it extends the limits of my discussion a little too far. Instead, I will focus on texts which aim to recall the ‘true’ rather than the fictional nature of John Eliot, from the late seventeenth century through to contemporary representations.

The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries produced some interesting accounts of Eliot’s life and work, including historical accounts by Daniel Gookin, Matthew Mayhew, a biographical account by Cotton Mather, and a poetic representation by John Danforth. In each of these documents or records Eliot’s “pure and sincere”⁵ motivations are recorded in the recollection of selected moments of his life. Gookin stresses his generosity when he provides apples and biscuits for Indian children who successfully learn their catechism,⁶ and further elaborates on his role in the release of men, women and children from captivity and slavery following King Philip’s War in 1675. Following what he describes as the “harsh dealings” experienced by Christian Indians at the hands of the English, Gookin confirms Eliot’s continued benevolent involvement with Christian Indians when he recalls a particular event involving Sampson and Joseph, two praying Indians:

³ Joshua David Bellin, “Apostle of Removal: John Eliot in the Nineteenth Century,” *New England Quarterly*, 69 (1) 1996: 3-32.

⁴ Bellin, “Apostle of Removal,” 17. Bellin refers to: George Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent*, 22nd ed., 10 volumes. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1839-74); Edward Everett in, *The American Indian and the United States: A Documentary History*, ed. Wilcomb E. Washburn, 4 volumes (New York: Random House, 1973); selections from Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Complete Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 12 volumes. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1903-4).

⁵ Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Volume 1, 1792 (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1806) 170.

⁶ Gookin, *Historical Collections* 169.

....Sampson, was slain in fight, but some scouts of our praying Indians, about Watchuset; and the other, Joseph, taken prisoner in Plymouth Colony, and sold for a slave to some merchants at Boston, and sent to Jamaica, but upon the importunity of Mr Elliot (sic), which the master of the vessel related to him, was brought back again, but not released. His two children taken prisoners with him were redeemed by Mr Elliot, and afterward his wife, their mother, taken captive, which woman was a sober Christian Woman, and is employed to teach school among the Indians at Concord and her children with her....⁷

While Gookin's historical account stresses detailed events of Eliot's life in Massachusetts Bay, Matthew Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard situates Eliot, in part, in the context of his own ancestors:

May, if not a double yet a single Portion of the Spirit of an *ELIOT* of *New England*, the *Mayhews* of *Martha's Vineyard*, a *Bourn of Sandwich*, in the late colony of *New-Plymouth* fall on some Persons, who may, indeed with an Holy Zeal for God, and the Conversion of Souls, according to their Example...⁸

Gookin, Eliot's contemporary, junior and friend stresses the practicalities of Eliot's mission in his recollection of the specific details of events in his life. Further, as the above example shows, effective political manoeuvring on Eliot's part became a matter of life or death for converted Indians in the wake of the 1675 war. Gookin's narratives are perhaps still raw from

⁷ Daniel Gookin, *Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the Years 1675, 1676, 1677. Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society*. Volume II. (Boston, 1836) *Religion in America* Reel 21:1, 448/9.

⁸ Matthew Mayhew, *A Brief Narrative of the Success which the Gospel hath had, among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard (and Places Adjacent) in New-England*. (Boston, 1694) 39.

the devastation of a war he experienced first hand and the 'truth-telling' strategy which Gooking relies on is predicated on eye-witness accounts or 'autopic' evidence. Alternatively, Mayhew's narrative casts Eliot in a more generic role as he compares him with the Thomas Mayhews (Senior and Junior), for example, in order to represent Eliot within a larger context. That is, Mayhew stresses the overarching religious imperatives of the mission and the benevolence of all those who made sacrifices to further the spread of the Gospel throughout New England. This difference in representation, from the political specificities of Eliot's experience to a more general overview of Eliot's role in the aims and objectives of the mission, is significant since it highlights the fact that Eliot's role continues to be subject to the changing motives and manipulations of the historian and the biographer.

As was evident throughout Eliot's career, and as discussed throughout this thesis, the performance of a particular role at a particular time was crucial to the successful development and emergence of certain cultural categories. Despite the fact of Eliot's death, many writers followed Gookin's example to record Eliot's life and work. In this way, Eliot's role in the development of the colony continued to be emphasised in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century historical accounts. Eliot figured in the pages of books which were seeking to establish and justify more firmly the motivations of the providential errand into the wilderness. Eliot and his contemporaries were cast in specific roles in order that a history for the colony might be written (or created), a history which did not have to rely upon Old World roots or comparisons.

In his attempt to create a history for eighteenth-century New Englanders, Cotton Mather published *Magnalia Christi Americana*. In this historical account of the seventeenth century, Mather produces a narrative record of the people and events of the New England colony in the years between 1620 and 1698. Mather's substantial contribution on Eliot's role in the colony

is documented in Book III of this elaborate project. Under the title of the “New England Divines,” Mather distinguishes Eliot from other New England ministers, commenting:

*The World would now count me very absurd, if after this I should say, that I had found the Sepulchre of Moses, in America: But I have certainly here found Moses himself; we have had among us, one appearing in the Spirit of a Moses, and it is not the Grave, but the Life of such a Moses, that we value our selves upon being the Owners of.*⁹

Mather places Eliot in the context of other ministers and missionaries “of whom the World was not worthy,”¹⁰ and in the tradition of biblical antecedents. After Moses, Eliot is also compared with John the Baptist, highlighting the typological allegories which Mather (and Eliot in his own day) used to create convincing religious links between past Biblical events and present historical circumstances.¹¹ Perhaps as a prefiguration of Mather’s account, Gookin also incorporates this method of historical recollection (or creation) when he discusses the specificities of Okommakamesit, a praying town in Massachusetts Bay:

It hath several good orchards upon it, planted by the Indians: and is in itself a very good plantation. This town doth join so near to the English of Marlborough, that it was spoken of David in type, and our Lord Jesus Christ, the antitype, *Under his shadow ye rejoice...*¹²

Mather and Gookin are using a similar typological strategy although Gookin’s typological allegory exists on a much smaller scale to Mather’s. Both writers, however, are successful in

⁹ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) Book III, 172.

¹⁰ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) Book III, 172.

¹¹ For an excellent account of Mather’s typology in the *Magnalia* see: Mason I. Lowance, Jr. “Cotton Mather’s *Magnalia* and the Metaphors of Biblical History,” *Typology and Early American Literature*, ed. Sacvan Bercovitch (Massachusetts: University of Massachusetts Press, 1972).

their efforts to stress the providential nature of Eliot's life and work, which justifies his actions first and foremost, but also justifies the future of the New England colony to their intended local audiences. In a similar way to which the providential nature of the original errand is figured in John Cotton and John Winthrop's sermons, in the pages of Gookin's and Mather's historical accounts Eliot's role is defined by present circumstances and future needs. The result of this is to encourage the idea that the past and the future might be imagined as being linked together in religious linearity.

In his *Historical Collections*, which were sent to London in 1674, Gookin stresses the providential nature of Eliot's New Testament translation:

In the former part of this chapter, I briefly touched the godly care, zeal, and industry of Mr Eliot, in setting upon the translating of the scriptures into the Indian tongue. This work being a considerable time in hand, it pleased God in his divine providence so to order it, that the new testament, being first printed, was finished about the time of his Majesty's return to his crown in peace....¹³

Gookin then includes the dedicatory epistle to Charles II which prefaced the New Testaments that were sent to England (which I discussed in Chapter Three) in order to stress the providential nature of Eliot's work. As the preface to Eliot's translation is reinterpreted, his motivations are also refigured, and Gookin's political motivation, to some extent, shapes the intentions and the interpretation of Eliot's own life and work. Gookin's account of Eliot's translation aims to frame Eliot's life and work as part of a providential sequence of events which links the historical circumstances of the Old World with the fulfilment of God's plan in

¹² Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England. Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*. Vol 1. 1792. (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1806) 185.

¹³ Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 174.

the errand to the New World. In fact, it might be equally true to say that Gookin's framing device situates both Eliot and Gookin as political operators, who are acutely aware of the need to create the history of themselves, their work and the work of others, in order to secure their position in the colonial hierarchy. That is, Gookin casts Eliot in a role which justifies Charles II's Restoration in order that the mission and colony's financial needs, in the wake of King Philip's War, might be met with sympathy in England. To this end, Gookin does not reinterpret Eliot's own religious and political motivations but he selectively stresses particular aspects of Eliot's work to meet the needs of his own circumstances.

Cotton Mather, on the other hand, is not dealing with such delicate political circumstance, and the providential nature of the way he records Eliot's life is intended to have a very different impact. Mather recounts Eliot's missionary work and, like Gookin, he incorporates contemporaneous written accounts from the transcription of Nishokhou's confession and one of Richard Baxter's letters, he also comments on Eliot's own written work, and then remarks on Eliot's skills as a preacher and missionary. In addition to much useful and factual information, Mather includes a particular anecdote which is of little political and historical importance. Mather recalls that while crossing a lake, there was a storm and Eliot nearly drowned:

And another Excellency, which accompanied this Courage and Comfort in him was, *A wonderful Resignation to the Will of God in all events...* Once being in a Boat at Sea, a larger Vessel unhappily over run, and overset that little one which had no small Concerns, because *Eliot's* in the Bottom of it; he immediately sunk without any Expectation of over *going to Heaven any other way*; and when he imagined that he had but one Breath more to draw in the World, it was this, *The will of the Lord be done!* But it was *the Will of the Lord*, that he should survive the danger; for he was rescued by the

help that was then at hand, and he that had long been like *Moses* in very thing else, was now *drawn out of the Waters*.¹⁴

As I have stated, there is no political gain from the inclusion of this story. However, as Eliot is cast as a latter-day Moses who is rescued from the jaws of death by virtue of God's providence, Mather uses this specific image of Eliot in his written history of the colony to stress the providential and justified nature of the religious motivations of the colony. It is important to note that while Gookin was writing his *Historical Collections* Eliot was alive and well, and Gookin's efforts were focused on the continuance of the mission in the colony. Alternatively, Mather was interested in creating a record of the first century of the colony for future generations and in the *Magnalia* he uses examples like Eliot to create a history for readers in the eighteenth century, and beyond, in order to define the terms on which the people and events of the seventeenth century would be remembered.

John Danforth's poem about Eliot, which was penned as a tribute to Eliot after his death, is also an important document in shaping the ways in which Eliot would be remembered. Published alongside a shorter tributary poem dedicated to Eliot's late wife Anne, Danforth casts Eliot as a husband and father and then elaborates on his work as a minister and a missionary:

English and Indian Work, he did so well,
 Define we cannot, which did which excell.
 Pagans, *This Paul* converts; *Peter* doth use
 His Talents chiefly to confirm the *Jews*.¹⁵

¹⁴ Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702) Book III, 182.

¹⁵ Danforth, "A Poem" 66.

Anxious to prevent the memory of Eliot from “slipping away,”¹⁶ Danforth continues to use biblical allegory from the New Testament to define Eliot’s character. Eliot’s place in New England’s history, therefore, is constituted by a deliberate attempt to replicate the work of Peter, Paul and the other evangelists. Danforth then extends this allegorical framework by receding still further in the records of Christian, linear time by recalling the fall of the Tower of Babel. In order to figuratively designate Eliot as part of the resolution to that holy destruction, the story of Babel is paralleled with Eliot’s linguistic work:

Since *Babel’s* Trait’rous *Tower* was Thundersmit,
 By *Heav’ns* Inraged Ire, & fell, & split
 One Tongue into a *thousand Shivers*, none
 Can tell the wounds....
 But now, thro’ matchless Grace, to *Eliot’s* given
 The *Key* t’ expel what lockt men out of *Heaven*.¹⁷

While this may not be an attempt to define Eliot typologically, the biblical allegories in the poem are particularly powerful and situate Eliot in the role of an evangelist, the likes of whom had only been seen in the records of the New and Old Testaments. The scale and skill of Eliot’s achievements in the colony’s mission is elaborated still further when his “toil” is described as Herculean and his eloquence ‘Apollonial.’¹⁸

Perhaps the most interesting and significant feature of this poem, however, aside from celebratory euphoria over Eliot’s achievements, is the fact that Danforth creates a “speech” from Eliot, who “Tho’ Dead, yet speaks, that th’ *Indian* Work may Live.”¹⁹ In a similar way

¹⁶ The open line of Danforth’s poem is: “Shall Eliot slip away?” Danforth, “A Poem” 66.

¹⁷ Danforth, “A Poem” 67.

¹⁸ “Like *Hercules* Toils Eliot...”, and “*Apollo’s Eloquence*, before / Ne’er Rode in such a *Chariot*.” Danforth, “A Poem,” 67/68.

¹⁹ Danforth, “A Poem,” 69.

to Eliot's transcription or creation of Indian confession narratives, *Indian Dialogues* and *Dying Speeches*, Danforth replicates Eliot's desire to harness the immediacy and assumed reliability of the spoken word. In this sense, Eliot becomes subject to the same limitations and framing devices that he set around Indian speeches and narratives, and given that this speech or performance is from beyond the grave, in this case more than any other, Eliot is most certainly speaking in words not his own.

Biographers and historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have subsequently drawn on the work of Gookin, Mather and Mayhew, as well as the celebratory tone of Danforth's poem, and it is true to say that some are less critical of the circumstances and motivations which these three writers worked under than others. Bellin has drawn attention to Henry S. Dearborn's account of Eliot in *A Sketch of the Life of the Apostle Eliot, Prefatory to a Subscription for Erecting a Monument to His Memory*,²⁰ as well as Hawthorne's comments on his life and work in "Life of Eliot," where Hawthorne states that Eliot's reputation has "come down to us in traditionary honour from an early period of our annals; and in the present age of benevolent enterprise, cannot but be venerated in proportion as it is known."²¹ In response to this Bellin stresses the "interpreted" and "constructed" nature of the Eliot that we read about in historical documents and biographical accounts.

As I have mentioned above, several nineteenth-century novels and short stories, based on accounts of early New England life, included fictionalised versions of Eliot. However, for nineteenth-century audiences who preferred more 'factual' accounts of Eliot's missionary experience, their needs were accommodated, in part, by Convers Francis's biography, which continues to be a fairly reliable source for Eliot scholars. Francis provides a relatively balanced account of Eliot's life and includes his early foray into political controversy, which

²⁰ Henry S. Dearborn, *A Sketch of the Life of the Apostle Eliot, Prefatory to a Subscription for Erecting a Monument to His Memory* (Roxbury: Norfolk County Journal Press, 1850).

occurred shortly after his arrival. On this occasion, Eliot charged the Governor of Boston of “unfair play” because he did not consult the gathered churches when he made a treaty with the Pequot.²² Rather than stress Eliot’s role as a rebel of the colony, Francis quickly contains Eliot’s discontent and the trial of Anne Hutchinson allows Francis to describe Eliot’s resolute, strong-mindedness without having to reckon with Eliot’s opposition to colonial order:

It may be added, that during the trial Mrs Anne Hutchinson had spoken with great confidence of her supernatural impulses and revelations; the common resort of fanatics, especially in seasons of persecution. Mr Eliot had the good sense to enter his protest against these idle pretensions. “I say,” with his judicious remark, “there is an expectation of things promised; but to have a particular revelation of things shall fall out, there is no such thing in the Scripture.” The sentiment seems to have been regarded as somewhat bold; for the governor immediately interposed the caution, that we must not “limit the word of God.”²³

In a similar way to Danforth’s poem, Eliot’s words are harnessed in the text through the replication of direct speech. Francis may have drawn these words from existing documents, rather than create them as Danforth does, but, nonetheless, the speech or performance is framed in this way to emphasise the strength of Eliot’s conviction. Ultimately, the effect is to demonstrate the energy to which Eliot was prepared to risk censure from the authorities in order to voice and act on his own strongly held views. As I discussed in Chapter Two, Eliot’s ‘rebellious’ streak is highlighted to a significant degree with the publication and subsequent censure of Eliot’s *The Christian Commonwealth*. In Francis’s biography, however, Eliot’s

²¹ Nathaniel Hawthorne, “Life of Eliot”, *American Magazine* (August, 1836) 495; quoted by Bellin, “Apostle of Removal” 27.

²² Convers Francis, *Life of John Eliot, The Apostle to the Indians*. 1854. (New York: Garrat Press, Inc., 1969) 16/17.

²³ Francis, *Life of John Eliot*, 24.

reputation as a man of fearless conviction is not levelled at English and / or colonial authorities. Rather, Francis chooses to develop this side of Eliot's character through his dealings with unconverted Indians:

Mr Eliot was often in great personal danger. His life would frequently have been in peril among them, had they not dreaded the retaliation of their English neighbors, who were too strong to permit outrage with impunity. They would sometimes drive him out with violent and menacing language, and would tell him, that, if he came again, it should be at his peril. He had too much of the spirit of a martyr to be intimidated by these threats.²⁴

From the available records, these threats to Eliot's life seem somewhat exaggerated, but their purpose is to develop the image of Eliot as a fearless evangelist and a martyr to Christianity. This representation of Eliot is similar in tone to Mather's description of Eliot when he compares him to Moses and John the Baptist. Indeed, Francis continues to replicate Mather's sentiments when he describes Eliot's room in at purpose-built fort in Natick as "the prophet's chamber," and then imagines Eliot and his legacy, as a "shrub in the wilderness."²⁵ Thus, in his biography of Eliot, Francis confirms Eliot's role as an evangelist, a possible martyr, and a prophet, while continuing to rely on seventeenth-century notions of the providential errand into the wilderness.

Eliot's errand is no less in evidence in the children's books of the nineteenth century, which were published by the American Sunday School Union. These include: *The Good Indian*

²⁴ Francis, *Life of John Eliot*, 156/7.

²⁵ Francis, *Life of John Eliot*, 165 and 250.

Missionary and *John Eliot, the Apostle to the American Indians*.²⁶ In both books, the narrative provides children with the story of Eliot and his “good” missionary work. Needless to say, these narratives are far from critical and provide very little new information about Eliot himself. However, *The Good Indian Missionary* is particularly interesting due to the way in which it tells Eliot’s story. In this narrative, the complexities of colonial and transatlantic relationships are eradicated and, not surprisingly, a simplified, binary relationship between Eliot and Indians develops. The narrative begins with children questioning their father, Mr Selden, about Mr Eliot, and in the context of a stereotypical story-telling situation, the father-figure tells the story of Eliot and his ‘good’ work among the Indians. This structural choice is particularly interesting because it fictionalises Eliot to a certain degree, but it is also a self-reflexive device as it mirrors the way in which Sunday-school children listen to stories and presumably learn from them. This strategy of performative doubling is not intentionally drawn from Eliot’s work, but the similarities with Eliot’s performative strategies used in *Indian Dialogues* in particular demonstrate a continued desire to create and perpetuate images of individuals and groups for specific religious, historical and political purposes.

Surprisingly, these images, which were embedded by seventeenth-century writers and variously recreated by subsequent biographers, historians, poets and other writers, continued well into the twentieth century and feature in Ola Winslow’s biography of Eliot which was published in 1968. One of the most important features of Winslow’s biography, however, is her successful attempt to situate Eliot within a wider social framework: his role in Anne Hutchinson’s trial is given more emphasis, his place in the colonial hierarchy is more clearly defined, and he also is compared with Las Casas (who is assumed to be his Spanish counterpart) and Father Druillette (his French, Catholic counterpart). However, Eliot’s motives are unchallenged in this biography, and it is not until the 1970s with the work of

²⁶ *The Good Indian Missionary* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1857); Martha P. Bush, *John*

Ronda and Jennings, that missionaries, especially Eliot, were criticised for their part in the colonisation of Indian tribes in the New World.

Over the past few centuries, Eliot's life and work have been shaped through political, historical and critical lenses, and my analysis of the cultural performances, which results from a literary analysis of speech and speeches that are incorporated in written texts, is yet another way to read and understand Eliot and Christian Indians in the context of colonial New England. The ambivalences and ambiguities inherent in Eliot's role as a missionary-coloniser remain one of the most perplexing and interesting issues surrounding his life and work. While these tensions remain unresolved, Eliot's eclectic publications continue to deserve critical attention from literary scholars of colonial America. I will conclude, therefore, on a note that signals these ambiguities and ties them to the very issues of speech and performance on which I have focused throughout this thesis. Commenting on Norcot's challenge to the practice of infant baptism, Eliot demonstrates his opposition to Norcot but his remarks may also be applied to his own work:

The Book speaketh with the voice of the Lamb, and I think the Author is a godly though erring Brother; but he acteth the cause of the roaring Lyon, who by all crafty wayes seeketh to devour the poor Lambs of the Flock of Christ.²⁷

Eliot, the Apostle to the American Indians. (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1824).

²⁷ John Eliot, *A Brief Answer to a small Book written by John Norcot, against Infant-Baptism* (Boston, 1679) 1.

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