

5 And His name do ye bless.
 Because Jehovah He is good,
 His bounteous mercy
 Is everlasting; and His truth 15
 Is to eternity.

Psalm 120

A SONG OF DEGREES¹

1 Unto the Lord, in my distress
 I cried, and He heard me,
 2 From lying lips and guileful tongue,
 O Lord, my soul set free.
 3 What shall thy false tongue give to thee, 5
 Or what on thee confer?
 4 Sharp arrows of the mighty ones,
 With coals of juniper.
 5 Woe's me, that I in Mesech² do 10
 A sojourner remain;
 That I do dwell in tents, which do
 To Kedar³ appertain.
 6 Long time my soul hath dwelt with him
 That peace doth much abhor,
 7 I am for peace, but when I speak, 15
 They ready are for war.

1640

1. Or "song of steps"; probably an indication that this Psalm and the next thirteen in the collection were originally performed in processions to the

temple in Jerusalem.

2. Or Meshech, a distant, rugged land.

3. An eastern nation of nomadic people.

ROGER WILLIAMS

ca. 1603–1683

In his journal for January 1636, John Winthrop notes that when the governor of Massachusetts and his assistants met to reconsider the charge of divisiveness against Roger Williams, they agreed that they could not wait until spring to banish him from the commonwealth. They had to move immediately and ship him back to England. His opinions were dangerous and spreading. When they went to Salem to seize him and "carry him aboard the ship," however, they found he "had been gone 3 days before, but whither they could not learn." Williams had, of course, fled Massachusetts for Rhode Island. He found shelter there with the Narragansett Indians and, from that time until his death almost fifty years later, Williams and Providence Plantation were synonymous with the spirit of religious liberty. Rhode Island became a sanctuary for those who found the strictures of the Massachusetts Bay insufferable: Separatists, Baptists, Seekers, Antinomians, Jews, and Quakers all found a home there. In 1663 Rhode Island received a royal charter from Charles II in which freedom of conscience was guaranteed. It was something of which not even Englishmen were assured, and it became so indelibly "American" an idea that provision was made for it in our 1791 Bill of Rights.

Williams had infuriated and threatened the leaders of Massachusetts by taking four rather extreme positions, any one of which seriously undermined the theocracy that

was at the heart of the Bay Colony government. He denied, first, that Massachusetts had a proper title to its land, arguing that King Charles I could not bestow a title to something that belonged to the natives. Second, he argued that no unregenerate person could be required either to pray in churches or to swear on oath in a court of law; third, that Massachusetts Bay Colony ministers, who had persuaded the king of England when they left their native country that they wished to remain a part of the national church, should not only separate from the Church of England but repent that they had ever served it; last, that civil authority was limited to civil matters and that magistrates had no jurisdiction over the soul. Williams, as the historian Perry Miller has put it, wanted to "build a wall of separation between state and church not to prevent the state from becoming an instrument of 'priestcraft,' but in order to keep the holy and pure religion of Jesus Christ from contamination by the slightest taint of earthly support." It was a disturbing position to Separatist and non-Separatist alike, and Williams has the distinction of having made himself unwelcome in both Plymouth and Boston.

Williams and his wife, Mary, arrived in Boston aboard the ship *Lyon* in 1631. He had graduated from Cambridge University in 1627 and sometime before 1629 took holy orders and served as a chaplain to Sir William Masham at Otis in the county of Essex. It was there that Williams's interest in church reform developed. Years later he said that it was Archbishop Laud (who required an oath of loyalty to the Church of England from all clerics) who "pursued" him "out of this land." When, shortly after his arrival in America, he refused a call to the prestigious First Church of Boston because he "durst not officiate to an unseparated people," Massachusetts authorities must have had their first inkling of just how assured Williams was in matters of belief. It was in October 1635 that he was first accused of holding "new and dangerous opinions against the authority of magistrates."

The Massachusetts authorities did not cite Williams's attitude toward the American Indians in their charges against him, but in this regard as well, his position was antithetical to their own. From the beginning, he wrote, his "soul's desire was to do the natives good, and to that end to have their language." Although he was not interested in assimilating their culture, Williams nevertheless saw that the American Indians were no better or worse than the "rogues" who dealt with them, and that in fact they possessed a marked degree of civility. Williams must have known that when he prepared his *Key into the Language of America* (1634) his book would prove useful to those who wished to convert Native Americans to Christianity, but Williams was not primarily interested in the conversion of others. *Anyone* not regenerate (that is, "born again"), Williams argued, was outside the people of God, and to refer to the American Indians as "heathen" was "improperly sinful" and "unchristianly." Williams himself remained a Seeker and detached from the community of any church for most of his life. His great disappointment was that despite his efforts to befriend the Narragansetts, they joined their brothers in King Philip's War and burned the settlements at both Warwick and Providence. By the time Williams died, sometime between January and March of 1683, the question of the future role of the Narragansetts became moot. The great tribe would never recover from the losses incurred during that war.

*From A Key into the Language of America*¹

*To My Dear and Well-Beloved Friends and Countrymen,
in Old and New England*

I present you with a key; I have not heard of the like, yet framed, since it pleased God to bring that mighty continent of America to light. Others of my

1. The text is from a reprint of the first edition (1643), published by the Rhode Island and Providence Tercentenary Committee (1936).

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For the sec

From Adan

2. Place of origin.
3. Aboriginal.

countrymen have often, and excellently, and lately written of the country (and none that I know beyond the goodness and worth of it).

This key, respects the native language of it, and happily may unlock some rarities concerning the natives themselves, not yet discovered.

I drew the materials in a rude lump at sea, as a private help to my own memory, that I might not, by my present absence, lightly lose what I had so dearly bought in some few years hardship, and charges among the barbarians. Yet being reminded by some, what pity it were to bury those materials in my grave at land or sea; and withal, remembering how oft I have been importuned by worthy friends of all sorts, to afford them some helps this way. I resolved (by the assistance of The Most High) to cast those materials into this key, pleasant and profitable for all, but especially for my friends residing in those parts.

A little key may open a box, where lies a bunch of keys.

With this I have entered into the secrets of those countries, wherever English dwell about two hundred miles, between the French and Dutch plantations; for want of this, I know what gross mistakes myself and others have run into.

There is a mixture of this language north and south, from the place of my abode, about six hundred miles; yet within the two hundred miles (aforementioned) their dialects do exceedingly differ; yet not so, but (within that compass) a man may, by this help, converse with thousands of natives all over the country: and by such converse it may please the Father of Mercies to spread civility, (and in His own most holy season) Christianity. For one candle will light ten thousand, and it may please God to bless a little leaven to season the mighty lump of those peoples and territories.

It is expected, that having had so much converse with these natives, I should write some little of them.

Concerning them (a little to gratify expectation) I shall touch upon four heads:

First, by what names they are distinguished.

Secondly, their original² and descent.

Thirdly, their religion, manners, customs, etc.

Fourthly, that great point of their conversion.

To the first, their names are of two sorts:

First, those of the English giving: as natives, savages, Indians, wildmen (so the Dutch call them *wilden*), Abergeny³ men, pagans, barbarians, heathen.

Secondly, their names which they give themselves.

I cannot observe that they ever had (before the coming of the English, French or Dutch amongst them) any names to difference themselves from strangers, for they knew none; but two sorts of names they had, and have amongst themselves:

First, general, belonging to all natives, as Nínnuock, Ninnimissinnûwock, Eniskeetompauwog, which signifies Men, Folk, or People.

Secondly, particular names, peculiar to several nations, of them amongst themselves, as Nanhigganêuck, Massachusêuck, Cawasumsêuck, Cowwesêuck, Quintikóock, Qunnipiêuck, Pequittóog, etc.

They have often asked me, why we call them Indians, natives, etc. And understanding the reason, they will call themselves Indians, in opposition to English, etc.

For the second head proposed, their original and descent:

From Adam and Noah⁴ that they spring, it is granted on all hands.

2. Place of origin.

3. Aboriginal.

4. After the great flood described in the Bible only Noah and his family remain.

But for their later descent, and whence they came into those parts, it seems as hard to find, as to find the wellhead of some fresh stream, which running many miles out of the country to the salt ocean, hath met with many mixing streams by the way. They say themselves, that they have sprung and grown up in that very place, like the very trees of the wilderness.

They say that their great god Kautántowwít created those parts, as I observed in the chapter of their religion. They have no clothes, books, nor letters, and conceive their fathers never had; and therefore they are easily persuaded that the God that made Englishmen is a greater God, because He hath so richly endowed the English above themselves. But when they hear that about sixteen hundred years ago, England and the inhabitants thereof were like unto themselves, and since have received from God, clothes, books, etc. they are greatly affected with a secret hope concerning themselves.

Wise and judicious men, with whom I have discoursed, maintain their original to be northward from Tartaria:⁵ and at my now taking ship, at the Dutch plantation, it pleased the Dutch Governor, (in some discourse with me about the natives), to draw their line from Iceland, because the name Sackmakan (the name for an Indian prince, about the Dutch) is the name for a prince in Iceland.

Other opinions I could number up: under favor I shall present (not mine opinion, but) my observations to the judgment of the wise.

First, others (and myself) have conceived some of their words to hold affinity with the Hebrew.

Secondly, they constantly anoint their heads as the Jews did.

Thirdly, they give dowries for their wives, as the Jews did.

Fourthly (and which I have not so observed amongst other nations as amongst the Jews, and these:) they constantly separate their women (during the time of their monthly sickness) in a little house alone by themselves four or five days, and hold it an irreligious thing for either father or husband or any male to come near them.

They have often asked me if it be so with women of other nations, and whether they are so separated: and for their practice they plead nature and tradition. Yet again I have found a greater affinity of their language with the Greek tongue.

2. As the Greeks and other nations, and ourselves call the seven stars (or Charles' Wain, the Bear,)⁶ so do they Mosk or Paukunnawaw, the Bear.

3. They have many strange relations of one Wétucks, a man that wrought great miracles amongst them, and walking upon the waters, etc., with some kind of broken resemblance to the Son of God.

Lastly, it is famous that the Sowwest (Sowaniu) is the great subject of their discourse. From thence their traditions. There they say (at the southwest) is the court of their great god Kautántowwít: at the southwest are their forefathers' souls: to the southwest they go themselves when they die; from the southwest came their corn, and beans out of their great god Kautántowwít's field: and indeed the further northward and westward from us their corn will not grow, but to the southward better and better. I dare not conjecture in these uncertainties. I believe they are lost, and yet hope (in the Lord's holy

season) some of them to be the Son of God. Their names etc. I shall hereafter mention in my book,⁷ I have brief observations, and have endeavored to make some short observations.

Therefore fourthly, I have longed for, and by

For myself I have observed, and of later times, many varieties of interest, both land and sea, particularly in the chapter of their religion.

Many solemn discourses, at one end of the country, in the language I have could hear.

I know there is a great number of lost wandering countries.

I know strong desires uttered there.

I know not without saving, and therefore

But since it hath been late in print) Wequash their relations, as confident as others.

Two days before my worthy friend Wequash lay at the mouth of the river, I desired to see him.

Wequash lay.

Amongst other things he freely bequeathed his soul: he told me of a house, where I acquainted him in particular; how and of his present repentance. Said he and said he "me r French, and Dutch in broken English expressions using of inward hardne: life, but this was

5. Mongolia.

6. I.e., the constellation known as Ursa Major

(Great Bear), the Big Dipper, or Charlemagne's wagon ("wain").

7. I.e., the thirty-two
8. Asserted, proffered (with connotations of deceit).
9. Conversations.

season) some of the wildest of them shall be found to share in the blood of the Son of God. To the third head, concerning their religion, customs, manners etc. I shall here say nothing, because in those 32 chapters of the whole book,⁷ I have briefly touched those of all sorts, from their birth to their burials, and have endeavored (as the nature of the work would give way) to bring some short observations and applications home to Europe from America.

Therefore fourthly, to that great point of their conversion, so much to be longed for, and by all New-English so much pretended,⁸ and I hope in truth.

For myself I have uprightly labored to suit my endeavors to my pretenses: and of later times (out of desire to attain their language) I have run through varieties of intercourses⁹ with them day and night, summer and winter, by land and sea, particular passages tending to this, I have related divers, in the chapter of their religion.

Many solemn discourses I have had with all sorts of nations of them, from one end of the country to another (so far as opportunity, and the little language I have could reach).

I know there is no small preparation in the hearts of multitudes of them. I know their many solemn confessions to myself, and one to another of their lost wandering conditions.

I know strong convictions upon the consciences of many of them, and their desires uttered that way.

I know not with how little knowledge and grace of Christ the Lord may save, and therefore, neither will despair, nor report much.

But since it hath pleased some of my worthy countrymen to mention (of late in print) Wequash, the Péquot captain, I shall be bold so far to second their relations, as to relate mine own hopes of him (though I dare not be so confident as others).

Two days before his death, as I passed up to Qunnihicut¹ River, it pleased my worthy friend Mr. Fenwick, (whom I visited at his house in Saybrook Fort at the mouth of that river,) to tell me that my old friend Wequash lay very sick. I desired to see him, and himself was pleased to be my guide two miles where Wequash lay.

Amongst other discourse concerning his sickness and death (in which he freely bequeathed his son to Mr. Fenwick) I closed² with him concerning his soul: he told me that some two or three years before he had lodged at my house, where I acquainted him with the condition of all mankind, & his own in particular; how God created man and all things; how man fell from God, and of his present enmity against God, and the wrath of God against him until repentance. Said he, "your words were never out of my heart to this present;" and said he "me much pray to Jesus Christ." I told him so did many English, French, and Dutch, who had never turned to God, nor loved Him. He replied in broken English: "Me so big naughty heart, me heart all one stone!" Savory expressions using to breathe from compunct and broken hearts, and a sense of inward hardness and unbrokenness. I had many discourses with him in his life, but this was the sum of our last parting until our General Meeting.³

7. I.e., the thirty-two chapters of William's *Key*.
8. Asserted, proffered (with none of the modern connotations of deceit).
9. Conversations.

1. Connecticut.
2. Came to the end of his talk.
3. I.e., Judgment Day.

Now, because this is the great inquiry of all men: what Indians have been converted? what have the English done in those parts? what hopes of the Indians receiving the knowledge of Christ?

And because to this question, some put an edge from the boast of the Jesuits in Canada and Maryland, and especially from the wonderful conversions made by the Spaniards and Portugals in the West-Indies, besides what I have here written, as also, beside what I have observed in the chapter of their religion, I shall further present you with a brief additional discourse concerning this great point, being comfortably persuaded that that Father of Spirits, who was graciously pleased to persuade Japhet (the Gentiles) to dwell in the tents of Shem⁴ (the Jews), will, in His holy season (I hope approaching), persuade these Gentiles of America to partake of the mercies of Europe, and then shall be fulfilled what is written by the prophet Malachi,⁵ from the rising of the sun (in Europe) to the going down of the same (in America), My name shall be great among the Gentiles. So I desire to shope and pray,

Your unworthy countryman,
ROGER WILLIAMS

Directions for the Use of the Language

1. A dictionary or grammar way I had consideration of, but purposely avoided, as not so accommodate to the benefit of all, as I hope this form is.
2. A dialogue also I had thoughts of, but avoided for brevity's sake, and yet (with no small pains) I have so framed every chapter and the matter of it, as I may call it an implicit dialogue.
3. It is framed chiefly after the *Narragansett* dialect, because most spoken in the country, and yet (with attending to the variation of peoples and dialects) it will be of great use in all parts of the country.
4. Whatever your occasion be, either of travel, discourse, trading etc. turn to the table which will direct you to the proper chapter.
5. Because the life of all language is in the pronunciation, I have been at the pains and charges to cause the accents, tones or sounds to be affixed, (which some understand, according to the Greek language, acutes, graves, circumflexes) for example, in the second leaf⁶ in the word *Ewò He*: the sound or tone must not be put on *E*, but *wò* where the grave accent is.
In the same leaf, in the word *Ascowequáassin*, the sound must not be on any of the syllables, but on *quáss*, where the acute or sharp sound is.
In the same leaf in the word *Anspaumpmaûntam*, the sound must not be on any other syllable but *maûn*, where the circumflex or long sounding accent is.
6. The English for every Indian word or phrase stands in a straight line directly against the Indian: yet sometimes there are two words for the same thing (for their language is exceeding copious, and they have five or six words

4. The eldest son of Noah. Japhet was the third son of Noah and, in some traditions, the progenitor of the Indo-European race (see Genesis 9.18).

5. "For from the rising of the sun even unto the

going down of the same my name shall be great among the Gentiles" (Malachi 1.11).

6. Page.

sometimes for one thing) and then the English stands against them both: for example in the second leaf:

Cowáunckamish & Cuckqué- | I pray your favor.
namish

*From An Help to the Native Language of that Part of America
Called New England*

FROM CHAPTER I. OF SALUTATION

1. The courteous pagan shall condemn
Uncourteous Englishmen,
Who live like foxes, bears and wolves,
Or lion in his den.
2. Let none sing blessings to their souls, 5
For that they courteous are:
The wild barbarians with no more
Than nature, go so far.
3. If nature's sons both wild and tame, 10
Humane and courteous be:
How ill becomes it Sons of God
To want humanity?

FROM CHAPTER II. OF EATING AND ENTERTAINMENT

1. Coarse bread and water's most⁷ their fare,
O England's diet fine;
Thy cup runs ore⁸ with plenteous store
Of wholesome beer and wine.
2. Sometimes God gives them Fish or Flesh, 5
Yet they're content without;
And what comes in, they part to⁹ friends
And strangers round about.
3. God's providence is rich to his, 10
Let none distrustful be;
In wilderness, in great distress,
These ravens have fed me.

FROM CHAPTER VI. OF THE FAMILY AND BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

1. How busy are the sons of men?
How full their heads and hands?
What noise and tumults in our own,
And eke¹ in Pagan lands?
2. Yet I have found less noise, more peace 5
In wild America,
Where women quickly build the house,
And quickly move away.
- [3] English and Indians busy are,

7. Mostly.
8. Over.

9. Divide among.
1. Also (archaic).

In parts of their abode: 10
 Yet both stand idle, till God's call
 Set them to work for God. Mat. 20.7.²

FROM CHAPTER XI. OF TRAVEL

1. God makes a path, provides a guide,
 And feeds in wilderness!
 His glorious name while breath remains,
 O that I may confess.
2. Lost many a time, I have had no guide, 5
 No house, but hollow tree!
 In stormy winter night no fire,
 No food, no company:
3. In him I have found a house, a bed,
 A table, company: 10
 No cup so bitter, but's made sweet,
 When God shall sweet'ning be.

FROM CHAPTER XVIII. OF THE SEA

- [1] They see God's wonders that are call'ed
 Through dreadful seas to pass,
 In tearing winds and roaring seas,
 And calms as smooth as glass.
- [2] I have in Europe's ships, oft been 5
 In King of terror's hand;
 When all have cried, "Now, now we sink,"
 Yet God brought safe to land.
- [3] Alone 'mongst Indians in canoes,
 Sometime o'er-turn'd, I have been 10
 Half inch from death, in ocean deep,
 God's wonders I have seen.

FROM CHAPTER XXI. OF RELIGION, THE SOUL, ETC.

Manit-manittó, wock. | God, Gods.

Obs. He that questions whether God made the world, the Indians will teach him. I must acknowledge I have received in my converse³ with them many confirmations of those two great points, Hebrews II. 6. viz:

1. That God is.
2. That He is a rewarder of all them that diligently seek Him.

They will generally confess that God made all, but them in special, although they deny not that Englishman's God made Englishmen, and the heavens and earth there! yet their Gods made them and the heaven, and earth where they dwell.

Nummusquauna-múckqun manit. | God is angry with me?

Obs. I have heard a poor Indian lamenting the loss of a child at break of day, call up his wife and children, and all about him to lamentation, and with

2. "And about the eleventh hour he [Christ] went out, and found others standing idle, and said unto them, 'Why stand ye here all the day idle?' They said unto him, 'Because no man hath hired us.' He

said unto them, 'Go ye also into the vineyard; and whatsoever is right, that shall ye receive'" (Matthew 20.6-7).

3. Conversation.

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abundance of tears cry out! "O God thou hast taken away my child! thou art angry with me: O turn Thine anger from me, and spare the rest of my children."

If they receive any good in hunting, fishing, harvest etc. they acknowledge God in it.

Yea, if it be but an ordinary accident, a fall, etc. they will say God was angry and did it, *musquàntum manit* God is angry. But herein is their misery:

First, they branch their God-head into many gods.

Secondly, attribute it to creatures.

First, many gods: they have given me the names of thirty seven which I have, all which in their solemn worships they invoke, as:

Kautántowwìt the great Southwest God, to whose house all souls go, and from whom came their corn, beans, as they say.

<i>Wompànand.</i>	The Eastern God.
<i>Chekesuwànd.</i>	The Western God.
<i>Wunnaméanit.</i>	The Northern God.
<i>Sowwanànd.</i>	The Southern God.
<i>Wetuómanit.</i>	The House God.

Even as the papists have their he and she saint protectors as St. George, St. Patrick, St. Denis, Virgin Mary, etc.

<i>Squáuanit.</i>	The Woman's God.
<i>Muckquachuckquànd.</i>	The Children's God.

Obs. I was once with a native dying of a wound, given him by some murderous English who robbed him and ran him through with a rapier, from whom in the heat of his wound, he at present escaped from them, but dying of his wound, they suffered death at New Plymouth, in New England, this native dying called much upon *Muckquachuckquànd*, which of other natives I understood (as they believed) had appeared to the dying young man, many years before, and bid him whenever he was in distress call upon him.

Secondly, as they have many of these fained deities; so worship they the creatures in whom they conceive doth rest some deity:

<i>Keesuckquànd.</i>	The Sun God.
<i>Nanepaúshat.</i>	The Moon God.
<i>Paumpágussit.</i>	The Sea.
<i>Yotáanit.</i>	The Fire God.

Supposing that deities be in these, etc.

* * *

They have a modest religious persuasion not to disturb any man, either themselves English, Dutch, or any in their conscience, and worship, and therefore say:

<i>Aquiewopwaúwash.</i>	<i>Peace, hold your peace.</i>
<i>Aquiewopwaúwock.</i>	
<i>Peeyàuntam.</i>	<i>He is at prayer.</i>
<i>Peeyaúntamwock</i>	<i>They are praying.</i>
<i>Cowwéwonck.</i>	The soul.

Derived from *cowwene* to sleep, because say they, it works and operates when the body sleeps. *Míchachunck*, the soul, in a higher notion which is of

affinity, with a word signifying a looking glass, or clear resemblance, so that it hath its name from a clear sight or discerning, which indeed seems very well to suit with the nature of it.

Wuhóck.

Nohòck: cohòck

Awaunkeesitteoúwincohòck:

*Tunna-awwa commítchichunck-
kitonckquèan?*

An. Sowánakitaúwaw.

Obs. They believe that the souls of men and women go to the southwest, their great and good men and women to Kautántowwít, his house, where they have hopes (as the Turks have of carnal joys). Murderers, thieves and liars, their souls (say they) wander restless abroad.

Now because this book (by God's good providence) may come into the hand of many fearing God, who may also have many an opportunity of occasional discourse with some of these, their wild brethren and sisters, and may speak a word for their and our glorious Maker, which may also prove some preparatory mercy to their souls: I shall propose some proper expressions concerning the creation of the world, and man's estate, and in-particular theirs also; which from myself many hundreds of times, great numbers of them have heard with great delight, and great convictions; which, who knows (in God's holy season), may rise to the exalting of the Lord Jesus Christ in their conversion, and salvation?

Nétop Kunnatótemous.

Natótéma:

Tocketunnântum?

Awaun Keesiteoúwin Kéesuck?

Aúke Wechêkom?

Míttauke.

Some will answer *Tattá*, I cannot tell, some will answer *Manittôwock*, the gods.

Tà suóg Manittôwock

Maunaúog Mishaiúnawock.

Nétop machàge.

Paúsuck naúnt manít.

Cuppíssittone.

Cowauwaúnemun.

A phrase which much pleaseth them, being proper for their wandering in the woods, and similitudes greatly please them.

*Kukkakótemous, wáchit-
quáshouwe.*

Kuttaunchemókous.

*Paúsuck naúnt manít kéesittin kee-
suck, etc.*

*Napannetashèmittan naugecautum-
monab nshque.*

*Naúgom naúnt wukkesittínes
wáme teágun.*

Wuche mateág.

*Quttatashuchuckqún-nacaus-
keesitínes wáme.*

The body

My body, your body

Whether goes your soul when you
die?

It goes to the southwest.

Friend, I will ask you a question.

Speak on.

What think you?

Who made the heavens?

The earth, the sea?

The world.

How many gods be there?

Many, great many.

Friend, not so.

There is only one God.

You are mistaken.

You are out of the way.

I will tell you, presently.

I will tell you news.

One only God made the heavens
etc.

Five thousand years ago and
upwards.

He alone made all things.

Out of nothing.

In six days He made all things.

Nquittaqún

Wuckéesiti:

Néesqunne

Wuckéesiti:

Shúckqunr

wechêko

Yóqunne wí

Nanepai

Neenash-m

antígana

Kà wáme a:

Napanneta.

tin pussi

Keesuckqu

Ka wáme n

míuke.

Quttatashú

penashín

Wuttàke wí

suck Eni

Wuche mis:

Ka wesuom

túppaute

Wuttàke wí

Wuckaudn

gon wuc.

Kà wuchè p

nes paus

Kà pawtow

Nawónt Ad

peteágon

Enadatashi

Nagaú wuc

anacaús

Enadatashi

taúmwoc

Obs. At t

observe) th

seventh.

Besides,

how they h

woman of

another ma

4. "And to you when the Lord [] with his might

Nquittaqúnne.
Wuckéesitin wequâi.
Néesqunne.
Wuckéesitin Keésuck.
Shúckqunnewuckéesitin Aũke kà
wechêkom.
Yóqunne wuckkéesitin Nippauus kà
Nanepaũshat.
Neenash-mamockíuwash wêquan-
antíganash.
Kà wáme anócksuck.
Napannetashúckqunne Wuckéesit
tin pussuckseésuck wáme.
Keesuckquíuke
Ka wáme namaũsuck. Wechekom-
míuke.
Quttatashúckqunne wuckkéesittin
penashímwock wamè.
Wuttàke wuchè wuckeesittin pau-
suck Enin, or, Eneskéetomp.
Wuche mishquòck.
Ka wesuonckgonnakaũnes Adam,
túppautea mishquòck.
Wuttàke wuchè, Cãwit míshquock,

Wuckaudnúmmenes manit peetaũ-
gon wuche Adam.
Kà wuchè peteaũgon. Wukkeesitín-
nes pausuck squàw.
Kà pawtouwínnes Adãmuck
Nawônt Adam wuttínnawaun nup-
peteaũgon ewò.
Enadatashúckqunne, aquêi,
Nagaũ wuchè quttatashúckqune
anacaũsuock Englishmánuck.
Enadatashuckqunnóckat tauba-
taũmwock.

Obs. At this relation they are much satisfied, with a reason why (as they observe) the English and Dutch, etc., labor six days, and rest and worship the seventh.

Besides, they will say, we never heard of this before: and then will relate how they have it from their fathers, that Kautántowwít made one man and woman of a stone, which disliking, he broke them in pieces, and made another man and woman of a tree, which were the fountains of all mankind.

* * *

[1.] Two sorts of men shall naked stand
 Before the burning ire
 Of him that shortly shall appear,

2 Thes. 1.8⁴

4. "And to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking

vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ" (2 Thessalonians 1.7-8).

- In dreadful flaming fire.
- [2.] First, millions know not God, nor for
His knowledge care to seek:
Millions have knowledge store, but in
Obedience are not meek.
- [3.] If woe to Indians, where shall Turk,
Where shall appear the Jew?
O, where shall stand the Christian false?
O blessed then the true.

* * *

FROM CHAPTER XXX. OF THEIR PAINTINGS

- [1.] Truth is a native, naked beauty; but
Lying inventions are but Indian paints;
Dissembling hearts their beauty's but a lie.
Truth is the proper beauty of God's saints.
2. Foul are the Indians' hair and painted faces, 5
More foul such hair, such face in Israel.
England so calls herself, yet there's
Absalom's foul hair and face of Jezebel.⁵
- [3.] Paints will not bide Christ's washing flames of fire, 10
Feigned inventions will not bide such storms:
O that we may prevent him, that betimes,
Repentance tears may wash off all such forms.

1643

*From The Bloody Tenet of Persecution, for Cause of
Conscience, in a Conference between Truth and Peace*¹

To every Courteous Reader.

While I plead the cause of *truth* and *innocency* against the bloody *doctrine* of *persecution* for cause of *conscience*, I judge it not unfit to give *alarm* to myself, and all men to prepare to be *persecuted* or hunted for cause of *conscience*.

Whether thou standest charged with ten or but two talents,² if thou huntest any for cause of *conscience*, how canst thou say thou followest the *Lamb of God* who so abhorred that practice?

If Paul, if Jesus Christ, were present here at London, and the question were proposed what religion would they approve of: the Papists, Prelatists,³ Presbyterian, Independents, etc. would each say, "Of mine, of mine."

5. See 2 Samuel 14.26 and 2 Kings 9.30.

1. The text is from *The Writings of Roger Williams*, vol. 3 (1866-74). Williams wrote this tract while in London attempting to get a patent for Providence Plantation. It is one of a series of tracts in which Williams debated John Cotton on the question of

freedom of conscience. Neither the author's name nor the publisher appeared on the title page, and copies were burned by order of Parliament because of its democratic implications.

2. Individuals.

3. Episcopalians.

But put the second
vote attain the sword
to fight with in His
science true or false

Two mountains of
name of Christ in the

First, the blasphemous
most unchristian con-

Secondly, the blasphemous
tions under the man-

O how like is the
slaughters in a great

Six years preached
King Edward's da-

tions.⁴
Who can now be
professing of more
the very best of Pro-

now the fires kindled

I confess I have
against the doctrine

rent (I say not ar-

Christ themselves
breast my soul's h-

ures or profits of
dares to waken the

hope we shall ag-

First, however
ground) overlook

phemers and sec-

ment in the Go-

despiser of Mose-

that believeth no

Secondly, wha-

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of God, they are

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poorest peasant
servants of men

Thirdly, witho-

suasion, I Thess-

In vain have

English houses.

yet against their

(as if they lived

as the Church

4. Edward VI (r. 1553-58). Many Protestants were executed during the reign.

But put the second question, if one of the several sorts should by major vote attain the sword of steel: what weapons doth Christ Jesus authorize them to fight with in His cause? Do not all men hate the persecutor, and every conscience true or false complain of cruelty, tyranny? etc.

Two mountains of crying guilt lie heavy upon the backs of all that name the name of Christ in the eyes of Jews, Turks, and Pagans.

First, the blasphemies of their idolatrous inventions, superstitions, and most unchristian conversations.

Secondly, the bloody, irreligious and inhumane oppressions and destructions under the mask or veil of the name of Christ, etc.

O how like is the jealous Jehovah, the consuming fire to end these present slaughters in a greater slaughter of the holy witnesses? Revelation 11.

Six years preaching of so much truth of Christ (as that time afforded in King Edward's days) kindles the flames of Queen Mary's bloody persecutions.⁴

Who can now but expect that after so many scores of years preaching and professing of more truth, and amongst so many great contentions amongst the very best of Protestants, a fiery furnace should be heat, and who sees not now the fires kindling?

I confess I have little hopes till those flames are over, that this discourse against the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience should pass current (I say not amongst the wolves and lions, but even amongst the sheep of Christ themselves) yet *liberavi animam meam*,⁵ I have not hid within my breast my soul's belief; and although sleeping on the bed either of the pleasures or profits of sin thou thinkest thy conscience bound to smite at him that dares to waken thee? Yet in the midst of all these civil and spiritual wars⁶ I hope we shall agree in these particulars.

First, however, the proud (upon the advantage of an higher earth or ground) overlook the poor and cry out schismatics, heretics, etc. shall blasphemers and seducers escape unpunished, etc. Yet there is a sorer punishment in the Gospel for despising of Christ than Moses, even when the despiser of Moses was put to death without mercy, Hebrews 10.28–29. "He that believeth not shall be damned," Mark 16.16.

Secondly, whatever worship, ministry, ministration, the best and purest are practiced without faith and true persuasion that they are the true institutions of God, they are sin, sinful worships, ministries, etc. And however in civil things we may be servants unto men, yet in divine and spiritual things the poorest peasant must disdain the service of the highest prince: "Be ye not the servants of men," I Corinthians 14.

Thirdly, without search and trial no man attains this faith and right persuasion, I Thessalonians 5. "Try all things."

In vain have English Parliaments permitted English Bibles in the poorest English houses, and the simplest man or woman to search the Scriptures, if yet against their soul's persuasion from the Scripture, they should be forced (as if they lived in Spain or Rome itself without the sight of a Bible) to believe as the Church believes.

4. Edward VI (r. 1547–53) and Queen Mary (r. 1553–58), Many Protestants were burned at the stake during the reign of Queen Mary.

5. I have freed my soul (Latin).

6. Civil war had broken out in England in 1642.

Fourthly, having tried, we must hold fast, I Thessalonians 5, upon the loss of a crown, Revelation 13, we must not let go for all the flea bitings of the present afflictions, etc. having bought truth dear, we must not sell it cheap, not the least grain of it for the whole world, no not for the saving of souls, though our own most precious; least of all for the bitter sweetening of a little vanishing pleasure.

For a little puff of credit and reputation from the changeable breath of uncertain sons of men.

For the broken bags of riches on eagles' wings: For a dream of these, any or all of these which on our deathbed vanish and leave tormenting stings behind them: Oh, how much better is it from the love of truth, from the love of the Father of Lights, from whence it comes, from the love of the Son of God, who is the way and the truth, to say as He, John 18.37: "For this end was I born, and for this end came I into the world that I might bear witness to the truth."

1643-44

1644

A Letter to the Town of Providence¹

That ever I should speak or write a tittle,² that tends to such an infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake, and which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I shall at present only propose this case: There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth, or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal I affirm, that all the liberty of conscience, that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges—that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, nor compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add, that I never denied, that notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course, yea, and also command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept and practiced, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their services, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, towards the common charges or defense; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any should preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters nor officers, no laws nor orders, nor corrections nor punishments; I say, I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits. This if seriously and

1. The text is from *The Writings of Roger Williams*, vol. 6 (1866-74). Williams wrote this letter after his return to Providence from England in 1654 in hopes of settling a controversy that divided the

town over the question of religious autonomy and civil restraint.

2. I.e., write even as much as a dot, the smallest part.

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1655

Anne Bradst
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honestly minded, may, if it so please the Father of Lights, let in some light to such as willingly shut not their eyes.

I remain studious of your common peace and liberty.

1655

Roger Williams

1874

ANNE BRADSTREET

ca. 1612–1672

Anne Bradstreet's father, Thomas Dudley, was the manager of the country estate of the Puritan earl of Lincoln, and his daughter was very much the apple of his eye. He took great care to see that she received an education superior to that of most young women of the time. When she was only sixteen she married the young Simon Bradstreet, a recent graduate of Cambridge University, who was associated with her father in conducting the affairs of the earl of Lincoln's estate. He also shared her father's Puritan beliefs. A year after the marriage her husband was appointed to assist in the preparations of the Massachusetts Bay Company, and the following year the Bradstreets and the Dudleys sailed with Winthrop's fleet. Bradstreet tells us that when she first "came into this country" she "found a new world and new manners," at which her "heart rose" in resistance. "But after I was convinced it was the way of God, I submitted to it and joined the church at Boston."

We know very little of Bradstreet's daily life, except that it was a hard existence. The wilderness, Samuel Eliot Morison once observed, "made men stern and silent, children unruly, servants insolent." William Bradford's wife, Dorothy, staring at the barren dunes of Cape Cod, is said to have chosen the certainty of drowning over the unknown life ashore. Added to the hardship of daily living was the fact that Bradstreet was never very strong. She had rheumatic fever as a child and as a result suffered recurrent periods of severe fatigue; nevertheless, she risked death by childbirth eight times. Her husband was secretary to the company and later governor of the Bay Colony; he was always involved in the colony's diplomatic missions; and in 1661 he went to England to renegotiate the Bay Company charter with Charles II. Simon's tasks must have added to her responsibilities at home. And like any good Puritan she added to the care of daily life the examination of her conscience. She tells us in one of the "Meditations" written for her children that she was troubled many times about the truth of the Scriptures, that she never saw any convincing miracles, and that she always wondered if those of which she read "were feigned." What proved to her finally that God exists was not her reading but the evidence of her own eyes. She is the first in a long line of American poets who took their consolation not from theology but from the "wondrous works," as she wrote, "that I see, the vast frame of the heaven and the earth, the order of all things, night and day, summer and winter, spring and autumn, the daily providing for this great household upon the earth, the preserving and directing of all to its proper end."

When Bradstreet was a young girl she had written poems to please her father, and he made much of their reading them together. After her marriage she continued writing. Quite unknown to her, her brother-in-law, John Woodbridge, pastor of the Andover church, brought with him to London a manuscript collection of her poetry and had it printed there in 1650. *The Tenth Muse* was the first published volume of poems written by a resident of the New World and was widely read. Reverend Edward Taylor, also a poet and living in the frontier community of Westfield, Massachusetts,