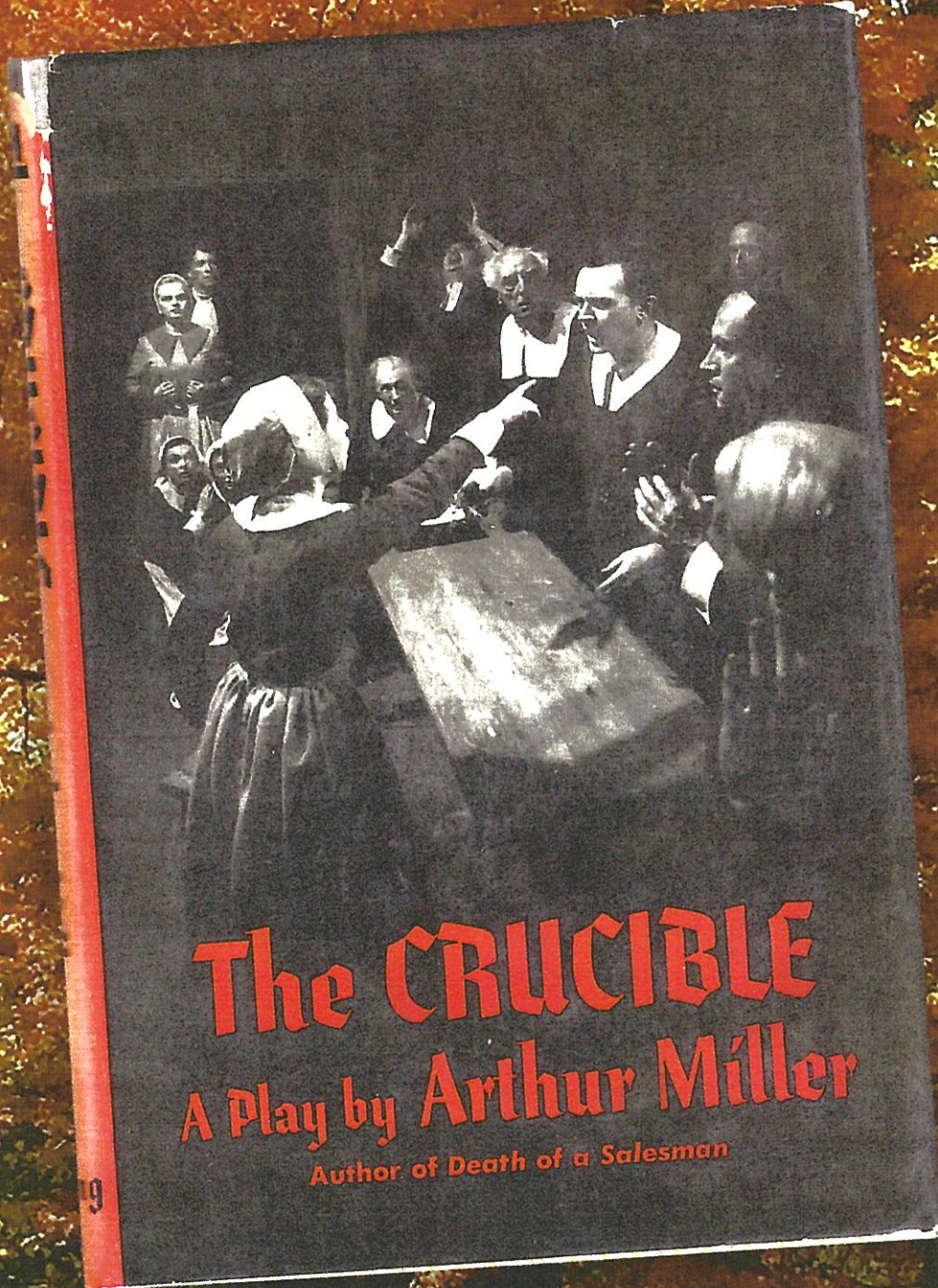


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FIRSTS

THE BOOK COLLECTOR'S MAGAZINE



The
JOHN
ELIOT
Bible

The
Crucible

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FIRSTS

THE BOOK COLLECTOR'S MAGAZINE

God quihramuonganit
Kah wonk millantam yayatchela
quihramuonganit.
3 Mehtug ur kifikc. Sepuut
pish oggueneunkquili
Kuffah ne pautunk meetuonk-
nith moh uttowutchu.

Kah matta tum concepog
uppa io pish
Nith noh wnttanakaufuonk
shehe wunnegen pish.
4 Marta peantamwacinin.
marta netatuppu-
Webe wofadreaumunit
oggueneunkquili.

Uttiyea wunnontogkus
onk seanontogkus
Wan ut wofkche ohkit
aakaucaulih.

5 Yowutch marta peantogig:
matta neepawog
God wsttumwanganit
Koehe wunnecwog.

6 Qne onch nukketzestimon
suppon nowdclumit:
7 Kuttwouk nowwatreawabuwam,
ne nutrugkup Mani:
Kuffeh Jezu annaumon ken
Jehovah ne nowop:
Kah wonk ken keonaumoniyeamth-
kuffeh yeu kefukok.

8 Wehquetumea kinnunumouh
ohke ohtauunat:
Kah ut noade ut apitcheg-
kookompuchafut.
9 Nishpe modihogquchug nag-
kuffohquetahwhoog.
Kah onatub ohkee wifq:
pish kuffehqahkonog.

10 Yowutch kensau waantamok-
Wof k-haastamwog,
Nechturanok kenau ohkit-
wsttumwennog.
12 Wauflumok wonk Jehovah-
nashpe wabefauk,
Wouk kensau wekontamok.

The Acts and Books of JOHN ELIOT

Who Was Called Apostle to the Indians

10

The first Bible printed in the New World was not in Latin, or German, or English, or Spanish, or Greek. The first Bible printed in the New World was in "Indian"—in the Massachusetts regional dialect of Algonquian. This is "The Eliot Indian Bible," the World's Most Important Unreadable Book.

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The Acts and Books of JOHN ELIOT

Who Was Called Apostle to the Indians

by LEE BIONDI

THE FIRST BIBLE PRINTED IN THE NEW WORLD was not in Latin, or German, or English, or Spanish, or Greek. The first Bible printed in the New World was in "Indian"—in the Massachusetts regional dialect of Algonquian. This is "The Eliot Indian Bible" or, to be precise, *Mamusse Wunneetupanatamwe Up-Biblum God Naneeswe Nukkone Testament Kah Wonk Wusku Testament*. This is the World's Most Important Unreadable Book.

Boston Beginnings. 1631

"COME OVER AND HELP US"

The record shows that one year after the founding of Boston, just 11 years after the Pilgrims founded Plymouth Plantation, Mr. John Eliot arrived in Massachusetts Bay with the clothes on his back and 20-some-odd barrels of books. I don't know how many books can be crammed into a barrel, but it sounds like a lot of books. On this basis alone he is a man after my own heart. He was chosen by his fellow travelers to be chaplain on the ship *Lyon*, which brought them over. He was almost immediately preaching and teaching at the First Church of Roxbury, where he remained for almost 60 years, 40 of which were as their sole pastor. John Eliot was a natural-born preacher, born to share the Good News. In September 1632 John Eliot married Hanna Mumford. The couple had a daughter and five sons in their first 15 years of marriage, a marriage that lasted 55 years, until Hanna's death. The 1850 biography by Henry Dearborn proudly proclaims that "[John Eliot] sought a refuge from [religious] persecution in the New Western World, in the twenty-seventh year of his age. Equally distinguished for learning, piety, and philanthropy, that excellent man acquired the esteem and respect of his contemporaries and left a name dear to his adopted country and illustrious throughout the world, as the first herald of Christianity to the savages of North America. His parochial duties were performed with zeal and fidelity, which evinced the purest principles of religion and the kindest feelings of

benevolence. As a missionary, he relinquished the endearments of civilized society, encountered the dangers of the wilderness, and participated in the privations of the precarious, wild, and comfortless life of barbarians. With such holy ardour and untiring perseverance did he prosecute his great and commendable labors, as to have acquired the exalted title: The Apostle to the Indians."

The Pilgrims never had an agenda to convert Indians to Christianity, but conversion was a priority for some Puritans settling in and around Boston starting in 1630. The project was an expressed objective of the colony's founding. The official seal of the fledgling Massachusetts Bay Colony showed a Native American with an arrow in one hand, a bow in the other, and a banderole around his head saying "Come Over and Help Us." These words had deep meaning to John Eliot.

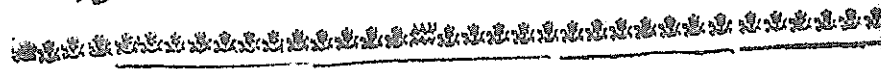


But not every Puritan immigrant had the level of evangelical enthusiasm of a John Eliot, nor did they find in every Indian a "Brother in Christ." This expressed objective of the Puritans—but *not* of the Pilgrims—may have made the Wampanoag sachem (chief) Massasoit, who had been quite friendly with the Pilgrims, a little chillier toward the Puritans: he was always suspicious of the "we must convert the natives" agenda.

Eliot had been pastoring in Roxbury for only a few years when a stretch of particularly bad news hammered the very young "New England."

The Pequot War. 1636-1638

Life was difficult enough in the first two decades of settlement in New England even when everything was going as well as could be expected, but the mid-1630s were especially horrible for settlers and Indians. One of the most powerful hurricanes ever to hit New England ruined homes and ships all along the coastline in 1635 and damaged many Indian fields. There was an ongoing epidemic problem which continuously plagued the natives. In the mid-1630s there was the Antinomian Controversy, the "Faith" versus "Works"



Ketos'omae uketohomaongah

DAVID

P S A L M I.



Ichem connumaa missin
a'voh aont matchag
Matchiz wuttinnaonganit.
matchit woketompag,
Mat neapavouan ummayeu
matchefcaenuog
Mat appein wutapuonk:
hahaquénnoq.

3 One wuttapeneauuonk.
God quihtamuonganit
Kah work missantam yayatchef.
quihtamuonganit.
3 blehtug urkiške sepunt
pish ogquarénkquish
Kuffeh ne pautunk meesuonk
nishi woh uttawutchu.

Kah matta um conespog
uppi
Nish woh wattanakaufuonk
shche wunnegcn pish.
4 Matta peantamwaenin.
matta netatuppi
Webe wofladreumuniz
ogqueneunkquish.

Uttiyeu wounnontogkū
onk seanontogkū
Whan ut wofkeche ohkit
asakaufekish.
3. Yowutch matta peantogig.
matta neapauwog
God woftrum wonganit
Kwoche wunneetwog.

Wonk matchefcaenuog
matta neapauwog
Michem mukkinneorganit
wunnomwāenuru.
5 Newutch God cowahteonn may.
Wunnomwāenunoh.
Ummag m-t peantamwaenin.
pish awakompanau.

P. S. A. L. II.

TObwutch nag. renowohetecheg.
Musquantamwehettit?
Tobwutch tahwoche tesguas-nag
unnantammohettit.

2 Ohkea ketafotamwog
ayeuuhkone God,
Kuffeh wonk ayeuuhkone
nag kenconleuog.

3. Uppemunnechteanwaf.
kah paskuhkomutruk,
Wuttagtagkupfwoongaaah
kah amauhteadruh.

4 Noh apit kufukur shenou;
God ummomontauoh :

5. Musquanrog mowcheke kuttō,
wuthepheuh nahoh.

6 Qge onch mukketstetimon
nuppon acowdci,umit :

7 Kuttōonk nowahreauwabuwan,
ne nutrugkup Manir.

Kuffeh Jesus annauma ken
Jebovah ne awwop :
Kah wonk ken kenāumoniyeamsh.
kuffeh ycu kufukoh.

8. Wehquetumeen kirtinnumouah
ohke ohraunat :

Kah ut noade. ut apitcheg.
kookompuchafuut.

9 Nafhe modishogquching nag.
kuffohquetahwhoog.

Kah. onatuh ohkee wifq.
pish kuffehquohkonog.

10 Yowutch kenzau. waantamok.
Wot k-hraffotamwog.

Nehtuhtauok kenau ohkit.
woftrumwaenuog.

11. Wauflumuk wonk Jehovah.
nafhe wabefauok,
Wonk kenzau wekontamok.
nafhe. nunnukshonk.

12 Chīpwutconspuk Christ, ishkont:
ogguhfe musquantog
Kenushikoo, paubatanumoncheg.
neit conanumog.

P. S. A. L. III.

KOohkwoche tob nutrin Manir:
Neg. wadammehircheg.
Kah wonk kuffeh monzog neg.
ayeuuhkaufitcheg.

Ek 2

2 W.

debate about the path of salvation, pitting the "Covenant of Grace" against the "Covenant of Works." And there was the disaster of the Pequot War. It is named a war, but it really should be called the Pequot Slaughter.

It was always going to be difficult for the settlers and the natives to get along peacefully. The 1620 Pilgrims and the Wampanoag sachem Massasoit made

efforts at starting a good relationship, but the situation was fraught with danger for both sides, whether deliberate or through honest misunderstandings. The English-speaking Indian Squanto acted as a go-between for Massasoit and the Pilgrims at first. He had been kidnapped by English explorers in 1605, sold into slavery in Spain, escaped to England, sailed to Newfoundland and eventually, in 1619, found his

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way back to his original hometown of Patuxet on Cape Cod, later to be known as Plymouth. He arrived to find that all of his fellow tribespeople were dead from the epidemic. Squanto was called upon to be a bridge between Massasoit and the Pilgrims. His relationships with the Pilgrim leadership and Massasoit were complicated; his position was important and sensitive. He did not always live up to the importance of his role, but *enough* of a peace lasted between settlers and natives until the mid-1630s.

As Salem and Boston grew and settlers expanded southward and westward the tensions mounted between them and natives. Small raids, looting, then murder and reprisal murder—these grew every year.

The Pequot War was broadly between 1636 and 1638, but was concentrated on a single event: the Mystic Massacre. In general, the conflict pitted the Pequots and their sachem Sassacus, joined by some of the Western Niantics, against the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth and Saybrook, aided by allies within the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, traditional enemies of the Pequots. Escalations of violence over the fur trade and a rise in murders among natives, the Dutch, and the English led to an English decision to attack the Pequot tribe's central home, Fort Mystic, in modern Connecticut.

In May 1637, about 90 English militiamen set out from Hartford for an organized military attack on the Pequots, bolstered by about 70 Mohegan warriors. Twenty additional white militiamen joined from Saybrook. The group headed for the Fort Mystic settlement and attacked with full force. The attackers set fire to the settlement's wooden walls and killed anyone who tried to flee. As one combatant wrote later, the escapees were "entertained" with swords and gunfire. Modern historians estimate there were up to 700 residents at Mystic at the time of the battle. Seven were captured alive and no doubt a few escaped into the woods, but the rest were slaughtered by fire, blades and bullets. Even the Mohegans were taken aback by the Englishmen's tactics and kill ratios, though they were happy to collect scalps from the many dead. The settlers suffered two dead and two dozen wounded.

The Pequot sachem Sassacus and some of his warriors and families were not at Fort Mystic, and this group headed west along the Connecticut coastline with their women and children. The Saybrook militia and 40 Mohegan scouts caught up with the group for the Fairfield Swamp Fight, with the English victorious. This group of women and children was allowed to surrender as captives. Sassacus escaped and headed for New York territory for asylum with the Mohawks, who promptly murdered him and sent his head and hands to the English at Hartford.

The Mystic Massacre and the Fairfield Swamp Fight were the first instances of real European-style warfare in New England. Such warfare was not seen again until 1675, when much worse lay in wait.

The Cambridge Press and the "Bay Psalm Book." 1638-1640

"1639. 1st month. A printing house was begun in Cambridge by one Daye, at the charge of Mr. Glover, who died on the seas hitherward. The first piece printed was the freeman's oath; the next was an almanack made for New England by Mr. William Pierce; the next was the Psalms newly turned into metre."

—GOVERNOR JOHN WINTHROP, in his journal.

The first printing press in America was that of Stephen Daye (sometimes Day), who arrived in late 1638 on the sailing ship *John of London*. No authentic copy exists of the original printed *Oath of a Freeman* (1638). We have as witness to it the original authorial holograph draft in the Boston Public Library (and the famous Hoffman forgery).

The first book printed in English America was the "Bay Psalm Book," the combined work of Thomas Weld (sometimes Welde), Richard Mather and John Eliot, likely with the input of others (e.g., John Cotton and Thomas Shepard). Of an estimated 1,700 copies of the 1640 first edition, only 12 are known to have survived. Metrical psalters, verse translations of all or part of the Book of Psalms meant to be sung, were a standard accessory to the Protestant Bible of the era. Users of the ubiquitous quarto editions of the English Bible usually had a Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins metrical psalter bound in after Revelation. It is estimated that there were eventually well over a hundred editions of Sternhold & Hopkins. Founding Reformers such as Luther, Coverdale and Calvin had composed metrical versions of the Psalms. The immigrating Puritans, Anglicans, Nonconformists and Separatists would have had a version of Sternhold & Hopkins, and likely a Henry Ainsworth version as well (first available in 1612, and arriving over here with the Pilgrims in 1620). Ravenscroft's expanded Sternhold & Hopkins appeared in 1621. But the Church of England essence of the Sternhold & Hopkins and the Separatist essence of the Ainsworth likely made the Puritans of Boston want something of their own. The Congregationalist hymnist Isaac Watts was not around yet.

From the 1640 Preface: "Neither let any think, that for the meetre sake wee have taken liberty or poetically licence to depart from the true and proper sence of Davids words in the hebrew verses, noe, but it hath beene one part of our religious care and faithfull indeavour, to keepe close to the originall text. As for other obiections taken from the difficulty of Ainsworths tunes, and the corruptions in our common psalme books, [meaning Sternhold & Hopkins and the Church of England's *Book of Common Prayer*] we hope they are answered in this new edition of psalmes; which wee here present to God and his Churches... soe wee may sing in Sion the Lords songs

of prayse according to his owne will; until hee take us from hence, and wipe away all our teares, & bid us enter into our masters ioye to sing eternall Halleluiahs."

As Cotton Mather put it in 1702, "Tho' they blessed God for the Religious Endeavors of them who translated the Psalms into the Meetre usually annex'd at the End of the Bible, yet they beheld in the Translation so many Detractions from, Additions to, and Variations of, not only the Text, but the very Sense of the Psalmist, that it was an Offence unto them." Mather may have overestimated the Puritans' ability to sense the essence and meaning of the original Hebrew poetry, but properly assessed their motivation.

This first book ever made in America is a perfect symbol of America's aspirations. It embodies the settlers' desire for religious freedom and celebrates that acquisition with the songs of David to be sung aloud without fear of arrest or persecution.

Mission Beginnings

Granted in 1629, the Charter of the Massachusetts Bay Colony instructed the Governor and his administration to make laws "whereby our said People, Inhabitants there, may be soe religiously, peaceable, and civilly governed, as their good Life and orderlie Conversacon maie wynn and incite the Natives of the Country, to the Knowledge and Obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of Mankinde, and the Christian Fayth, which is our Royal Intencon, and the Adventurers free Profession, is the principall Ende of this Plantacion."

By the beginning of the 1640s the demonstrable lack of such missionary zeal in Boston and environs was becoming undeniable back home. In 1642 Thomas Lechford published *Plaine Dealing*, in which he berated the Puritans for ignoring their missionary obligations to the Indians, complaining that no church had sent anyone to learn the Indian language or to instruct them in Christianity in either Indian or English. In 1645 Robert Baillie chided the Puritans for neglecting native conversion more than the French and Spanish and pointed out that the only exception he could see was Roger Williams, who by then had been exiled from Boston.

Before John Eliot began preaching to the Indians, as early as 1643, Thomas Mayhew Jr. had begun to



John Eliot Preaching to the Indians

evangelize the Wampanoags on his island called Martha's Vineyard. That was the year that Thomas Weld and Hugh Peter began a concerted effort to raise money in England for just this purpose, and a group of local sachems had relayed to the General Court in Massachusetts their willingness to be "instructed in the knowledge and worship of God." During 1644 and 1645 the colonial administration passed some missionary directives along these lines. But there was no infrastructure to support such efforts, no clear flow-chart of personnel or obligations. In the autumn of 1646 John Eliot was called by friends, congregants and God to take the reins.

Eliot had begun to learn Algonquian from a Montauk

named Cockenoe who had been seized in the Pequot War. In October 1646 Eliot preached at Nonantum, accompanied by Thomas Shepard and Daniel Gookin, and with Cockenoe there for language support. Eliot spoke in Algonquian for hours. This was deemed a success and the administration of the colony approved continuing along these lines and finding places for receptive Indians to live together to be taught about Jesus (and meanwhile become more accustomed to living among the English). Before 1646 was out Eliot had gone to Nonantum several more times and counted one of their leaders, Waban, as a convert and an ally. The Nonantum natives were then willing to try to assimilate to English norms and mores, and the administration passed a special-status order for Indians who were cooperating with Eliot. In 1650 these natives of Nonantum moved south along the Charles River, and with other like-minded Indians formed, within the framework of Eliot's governing rules, the first Indian "Praying Town," Natick. This and new Praying Towns grew and prospered until the mid-1670s under Eliot's guidance and his social organizational structure focusing on living and working together, civil government under laws, and a church covenant. Natick started with fewer than 200 residents. By their pre-King Philip's War peak the Praying Indians numbered well over a thousand souls in 14 Praying Towns. At the same time the Mayhew family on Martha's Vineyard was growing their Indian congregation to over 300. The trajectory of Indian conversion to Christianity was heading in the right direction, and the nature of the Praying Towns'

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orderliness relieved some of the anxieties of those whites who viewed the Indians with more suspicion and less Christian love than Eliot, Shepard, Gookin and the Mayhews.

In order to continue this level and pace of evangelical progress, Edward Winslow lobbied successfully for Parliament to establish and fund the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England. This Society was the first such Protestant organization to operate in the New World. The Jesuits already had a long record in Canadian regions and Mexico and southwards, but as one might expect, their efforts were more about catechisms and doctrine than about immersion in the Scriptures themselves. The Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England funded educational programs for Indian children in both Algonquian and English and supported the new Indian College at Harvard. The "Eliot Indian Tracts" were small books used to report on the progress of the evangelical efforts and to solicit more funding.

Eliot had first proposed translating portions of the Bible by the late 1640s, when his work was showing signs of viability. He had several Indians in his circle now that were literate in both languages. He began working from the King James Version in 1649. There was no written form of the Algonquian language until Eliot had devised one using a standard English alphabet with only a single new character for a unique Indian sound. It is mind-boggling to think about the magnitude of this task: translating, writing down in Algonquian for the first time ever, and then typesetting over a thousand pages of this strange new form of language for the entire Protestant Bible, Genesis to Revelation.

The First Eliot Indian Bible

Eliot continued his lifelong preaching schedule of every Sunday at his Roxbury church, now supplemented by preaching to Indians far and wide between Sundays. This was grueling work, often meaning sleeping outdoors in some brutal New England cold spells. On top of this overtly Calvinist workload, Eliot was also now translating the Bible into Algonquian.

The translating of the entire Bible from English into Algonquian is the most significant turning point in the history of Biblical translation since the Greek Old Testament of the Third Century BCE. From that Alexandrian effort until John Eliot, the history of Biblical translation follows two paths: the first is from widespread *lingua-franca*-type languages that are fading into the next *lingua franca* or, secondly, from a fading popular Latin into ascendant popular vernaculars. Examples of the first path are Hebrew to Greek to Latin (Old Testament) and Greek to Latin (New Testament). Examples of the second path begin as early as Syriac, Aramaic and Coptic, continue with Sogdian, Old Georgian, Armenian, etc. and culminate across Reformation Europe with the work of Martin

Luther in German and William Tyndale in English. Then Spanish, French and other European vernaculars followed.

With an entirely different goal, John Eliot translated the entire Protestant Bible from Genesis through Revelation into a regional indigenous language that until that moment did not even exist in a written form. Eliot tackled this huge project for the expressed mission of sharing the Christian faith with a few hundred, then a few thousand, Massachusetts Indians. This was a ton of work, so that a few thousand souls could now find Christ in their own tongue.

The New Testament in its entirety was printed by 1661 and some copies were distributed. The entire Bible was published as a single volume in 1663. (See details in the Eliot bibliography below.)

King Philip's War. 1675-1678

I imagine that readers of *FIRSTS* are at least glancingly familiar with the Colonial and Early Republic literary genre of Indian captivity narratives. The cornerstone of this American genre is the ordeal of Mary Rowlandson and her children during King Philip's War. She and her children were captured by a raiding party of Wampanoags, Narragansetts and Nipmucs in February 1676 and held for ransom for about 11 weeks. Her six-year-old daughter died in the early days of captivity. Mrs. Rowlandson's own narrative became a colonial bestseller, a London sensation, and the archetype of the White-Christian-Woman-Captured-by-the-Heathen-Indians plot line. The work was published in 1682 in Cambridge, Massachusetts (typeset by the Indian called James Printer) as *The sovereignty and goodness of God, together, with the faithfulness of his promises displayed; being a narrative of the captivity and restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson.*

What is less known to modern readers—and was less of a genre overall in American history, as it faded after the Eighteenth century—is the genre of the Indian conversion narrative. The earliest of these are within the Eliot Indian Tracts and the summit of the genre is likely *Indian Converts*, compiled by Experience Mayhew in 1727. The tragedy of King Philip's War brought the nascent social and personal tensions of the conversion narratives—and the subset of Indians involved—into the harsh light of colonial reality. The Indian mind in its pre-colonial state had no concepts of Original Sin, Salvation by Grace, the Messiah, or the Total Depravity of Man. The internalized tensions of personal beliefs and natural cultural sympathies, already conflicted in the process of a conversion path, were now called into premature real-world actions by the pressing choices that had to be made during King Philip's War. In a war between the "Heathen Indians" and the "Christian Settlers" there was little room for the small-but-growing social class, or personal mindset, of the "Praying Indian." We see the tugging of different emotions and cultural belief

systems in some of the narratives that Eliot transcribed and published:

"When I was grown up, I loved lust, and delighted in it. I knew it not to be a sin, but an excellent delight" / "My heart run away into the Country, after our Old Ways, and I did almost cast off praying to God and I did indeed go into the Country" / "I confesse, that in my Mother's belly I was defiled in Sin. My Father and Mother prayed to many gods and I heard them when they did so; and I did so, too, because my parents did so: and in my childhood (afore I could act Sin) I did delight in it...and prayed to many gods, as Beasts, Birds, Earth, Sea, Trees. After I was born I did all such things" / "When I first prayed to God, I did not pray for my own soul but only I did as my friends did, because I loved them" / "When some of my neighbors began to pray, I went away into the Country, but I could find no place where I was beloved" / "I thought, if any should kill my brothers, I would kill him: if any Warrs were, I would go with my brothers; I would go with them to kill men. Now he prays, shall I not go with my brother? And my brothers love me, and they now both pray to God, why should not I?"

The brutal King Philip's War was an irreversible turning point in the history of America and the relations of the settlers and the natives. The Wampanoag sachem Metacom, who called himself King Philip, was the son of the Wampanoag sachem Massasoit, who had tried to help and keep peace with the Plymouth Pilgrims. Massasoit's bellicose son saw a different future with the White Man and took a different course.

What felt like a good start to John Eliot in the years when he first began preaching to the Indians in their own language, and had grown and prospered over almost 30 years of very hard work, was about to be destroyed.

A series of confrontations through the early 1670s escalated tensions between the colonists and the Wampanoags. In 1671, the colonists demanded the Wampanoags surrender their guns to the Massachusetts Bay authorities. Three Wampanoags were convicted in a colonial court of murdering another Wampanoag named John Sassamon, who was one of John Eliot's Praying Indians. Sassamon was an early graduate of Harvard and had taken a role as a translator and conduit of information between King Philip and Governor Josiah Winslow. King Philip considered Sassamon's murder to be an internal Wampanoag case, not subject to the courts of the English. Over Philip's objections the court hanged the three convicted murderers.

Wampanoag raiding parties increased their ransacking of villages and individual homesteads. The powerful Narragansetts were neutral at first, but began to join the raiding parties. In response the collective colonies built a standing army of over a thousand militiamen with a contingent force of over a

hundred Wampanoag "friendlies," many of them from the Praying Indian population of the Praying Towns. In late 1675 Winslow instructed this army to start clearing Indian territories he deemed too close to the settlers. The overall white population was about 65,000 by this time and they had over a hundred small towns, mostly along the coasts from Connecticut to Maine. The towns generally had basic garrisons and stockades; remote homesteads were more vulnerable.

Winslow thought the best protective strategy would be a full-scale attack on the Narragansetts as an opening move in a real war. This became the Great Swamp Fight.

The Narragansetts had a large fort on a frozen swamp in Rhode Island for the winter of 1675-1676. The colonists attacked on 19 December 1675 with over a thousand English troops and some native allies. The fort, covering about five acres, was utterly destroyed. About 600 Narragansetts were killed, but many escaped into the woods of the surrounding swamp. Seventy colonists were killed and almost 200 wounded. In early spring of 1676 the Narragansetts struck back and burned Providence, Rhode Island. In April the Narragansetts were defeated by combined colonial forces and their sachem was executed.

The brutal scorched-earth war ended with a decisive but severely painful victory for the English. Metacom (King Philip) wanted to recruit Mohawk support, but the attempt backfired and the Mohawk dealt the Wampanoag warriors a crippling defeat in early 1676. By summer of 1676, King Philip and his diminished forces were based in the Assowamset Swamp, south of Providence. Combined colonial forces of captains Benjamin Church and Josiah Standish caught up with King Philip at Mount Hope, where an allied Praying Indian named John Alderman (Antoquan) killed Philip. The great sachem of the defeated Wampanoags was posthumously drawn and quartered, a traditional English punishment. His decapitated head was left on display at Plymouth for years afterward. The war effectively ended in its southern theater with the killing of King Philip. Conflict dragged on farther north until 1678.

King Philip's War was the single most defining and single most devastating event in Seventeenth-century America.

In the Boston area, John Eliot's Praying Indians and their Praying Towns were erased. The relations between the general English populace and the Praying Indians would never be able to fully recover. There had already been suspicions between the natives and the English, even as the conversions to Christianity were publicized and Eliot had been learning Algonquian to write these Indians their own usable Bible. During the war many Praying Indians and others were rounded up and sent to isolation on Deer Island, where many died of starvation. Many were sent to the West Indies (mostly Barbados or Jamaica) or

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Bermuda, sold into a life of slavery. Some of the defeated Indians were sold in Spain and Portugal, or in the Azores for further transit. In the wake of the war the levels of animosity and suspicion among many of the whites had been raised to terror and hatred.

The incomprehensively hard work of John Eliot and his Indians over the decades was ruined. Torn asunder. Dead and buried.

Eliot's first Bible had been published in 1663. Hardly any copies survived this horrible war. His Indians were mostly dead or scattered. His life's work was gone. He was now 72 years old.

And he started over. The man of faith got back to work.

The Second Eliot Indian Bible

In the bloody and hate-filled wake of King Philip's War the entire lifetime work of John Eliot among the Algonquian Indians of Massachusetts lay in ruins.

The first edition of the Eliot Indian Bible was exhausted, with many copies lost or destroyed in King Philip's War. As early as 1677 Eliot had begun to revise his translation in anticipation of needing a second edition. He petitioned the Commissioners to reprint the Bible using his revision. In Boston on 25 August 1679 "appeared the Reverend Mr. John Eliot and made a motion referring to the re-printing of the Bible." The text of the second edition shows a number of suggested changes by John Cotton (he of the "Bay Psalm Book"). John Eliot's letters to the English scientist Robert Boyle during this period acknowledge his indebtedness to Cotton in the revised text ("He has helped me much in the second edition"). In the Roxbury Church Records Eliot states, "When the Indians were hurried away to an Iland at half an hour's warning, pore soules in terror yei [they] left their goods, books, bibles, only some few carryed yr [their] bibles, the rest were spoyled & lost. So yt [that] wn [when] the wares wr [were] finished & yei [they] returned...made me meditate upon a 2d imprssion of our Bible...I intreated mr John Cotton to help in ye work." It is likely that 2,000 copies were printed, certainly at least 1,500. In August 1686, John Eliot wrote to Robert Boyle, "Our Indian work yet liveth."

The Reverend John Eliot, dedicated missionary and preacher of Jesus Christ who long taught and shared the Word from the pulpit and deep in the wilderness, died in 1690 at the age of 86, having buried his beloved wife and four of their six children.

John Eliot had Faith and did Works. He was a man after God's Own Heart.



PERSONAL POSTSCRIPT. Laughing Woman and the Unreadable Book

In the summer of 2004, I held an exhibition to the public of rare printed and manuscript Bibles at the Birch Run Expo Center off I-75 near Frankenmuth, Michigan, between Flint and Saginaw. I got a call from an internet Bible dealer who had just received an inquiry from a representative of the Foxwoods Resort Casino in Connecticut asking if he had or could get an Eliot Indian Bible. Sometimes in these shows I did have a borrowed Eliot Indian Bible for display and discussion. At Birch Run I did not, but knew I could borrow one for this occasion. A generous East Coast dealer was willing to lend me a copy, and I took it to share with the Tribal Council of the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation. I flew into Warwick, Rhode Island and was taken by limo to the reservation, where I was escorted to a suite at the luxurious Grand Pequot Tower Hotel. The next morning a group convened at the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center, where I first showed the gathered Native Americans, which included the sachem Michael Thomas, a wonderful copy of the first edition of the Eliot Indian Bible. The copy I had with me was the deservedly famous Crowninshield-Livermore-Parkman Dexter Howe-Siebert copy with the correct Algonquian title-pages. After showing the book at the library, I was taken to a private home on the reservation where I met the Spiritual Leader of the Tribal Nation, Shirley Patrick, known as Laughing Woman. Laughing Woman had gathered a prayer circle in her living room and sachem Mike and I joined them. I gave the Bible to Laughing Woman and she opened to the beginning of the Gospel of John, tears of profound historical joy and sorrow already in her eyes. She began to weep more deeply as—for the first time in centuries—someone, anyone, read aloud from the World's Most Important Unreadable Book.

A Bibliography of JOHN ELIOT

With Commentary and Financials

THIS IS A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY of the publications of John Eliot in English and Algonquian, with some personal commentary and some sales records where available.

The bibliographical information of works in the Indian language comes primarily from the standard *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* by James Constantine Pilling, printed in Washington by the Government Printing Office in 1891. The Algonquian language group includes regional and tribal variant names, and the translations of John Eliot can be sometimes referenced as being in Massachusetts, Massachusetts, Wampanoag, Natick or just "Indian." The Darlow and Moule bibliography of Bibles records Eliot's work under the Massachusetts language. This article will follow Darlow and Moule: see Darlow & Moule 6737, "Massachusetts belongs to the Algonquian family of languages, and was formerly spoken by a large tribe, now extinct, dwelling in Massachusetts. The name 'Virginian' given to the language by many writers from the seventeenth century downwards is incorrect. 'Natick' is the name of a place where a settlement of 'praying Indians' was established. The 'Centennial Survey of Foreign Missions' wrongly states that Eliot's Indian Bible is in 'Mohegan' or 'Mohican' though it records the Psalter of 1709 under the 'Massachusetts Dialect.' The language is called 'Massachusetts' by the best authorities."

The Eliot Indian Tracts have been gathered together in a single run here, with their full titles transcribed, because their full titles are indicative of the contents of the works and of interesting style and usage during that period of publishing history. I have transcribed the spellings used on the title-pages and have not sprinkled in an infinite number of "[sic]" notices.

Bibliographies

[CHURCH] *A Catalogue of Books Relating to the Discovery and Early History of North and South America: Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church.* By Elihu Dwight Church and George Watson Cole. New York, 1907. Five volumes. Edition: 2005 Martino reprint.

CLARK, Michael P. [ed.]. *The Eliot Tracts.* With Letters from John Eliot to Thomas Thorowgood and Richard Baxter. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003.

[DARLOW and MOULE, or DM] DARLOW, T. H. and H. F. Moule. *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* Two Volumes. London: The Bible House, 1911. Using the Martino reprint.

EAMES, Wilberforce. *A List of Editions of the Bay Psalm Book or New England Version of the Psalms.* Compiled by Wilberforce Eames. A New Edition with A Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition of the Bay Psalm Book Printed by Stephen Daye at Cambridge in New England in 1640.

Using reprint edition: New York: Burt Franklin, 1973.

[ELIOT, Ellsworth, Jr.] [Christie's Auction Catalogue] *American and European Manuscripts and Printed Books.* Sale MARIE-6308, 19 December 1986. New York: Christie's, 1986.

[EVANS] EVANS, Charles. *American Bibliography. A Chronological Dictionary of all Books, Pamphlets, and Periodical Publications Printed in the United States from the Genesis of Printing in 1639 down to and including the year 1800.* New York: Peter Smith, 1941. Twelve volumes. The extension volumes cover a period later than Eliot.

[FIELD] FIELD, Thomas W. *An Essay Towards an Indian Bibliography.* New York, 1873. Now print-on-demand.

PILLING, James Constantine. *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages.* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1891. A breathtaking work of scholarship and dedication.

[SABIN] *Bibliotheca Americana. A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time.* New York, 1886-1936. 29 volumes. Completed by Wilberforce Eames and others. Available online now as a Gale database or through New York Public Library.

[SIEBERT] *The Frank T. Siebert Library of the North American Indian and the American Frontier.* New York: Sotheby's, 1999. Catalogue of their Sale 7315 of 21 May 1999. In Two Volumes. Most of the John Eliot period material is in Part 1.

[SOTHEBY'S] KIFFER, Selby. *The Bay Psalm Book.* Auction in New York, 26 November 2013, Sale N09039. A beautiful 72-page catalogue for a single lot sale. Excellent research and illustration. A must-have.

[STREETER] *The Celebrated Collection of Americana formed by the late Thomas Winthrop Streeter.* New York: Parke Bernet, 1966-1970. In seven volumes and an Index volume.

[WING] WING, Donald. *Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700.* Edition: New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

WINSHIP, George Parker. *The Cambridge Press 1638-1692: A Reexamination of the Evidence concerning*

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THE BAY PSALM BOOK and the ELIOT INDIAN BIBLE as well as other contemporary books and people. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1945.

Cited ESTC entries use ESTC style: English Short Title Catalogue, British Library (estc.bl.uk). Researchers use the online resource now, but I feel obliged to send my respect to:

[POLLARD & REDGRAVE] POLLARD, Alfred W. and G. R. Redgrave, with the help of the Bibliographical Society. *Short Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640.* London: Bibliographical Society, 1926.

The First Book Printed in Colonial America

1640. The BAY PSALM BOOK

THE | VVHOLE | BOOKE OF PSALMES | Faithfully | TRANSLATED into ENGLISH | Metre. | Whereunto is prefixed a discourse de- | claring not only the lawfullness, but also | the necessity of the heavenly Ordinance | of singing Scripture Psalmes in | the Churches of | God. | Coll. III. | Let the word of God dwell plenteously in | you, in all wisdom, teaching and exhort- | ing one another in Psalmes, Himnes, and | spirituall Songs, singing to the Lord with | grace in your hearts. | James V. | If any be afflicted, let him pray, and if | any be merry let him sing psalmes. | Imprinted | 1640 [Cambridge, MA: Printed by Stephen Day, sometimes Daye]

[296] p. 148 leaves. 4to. *, **4, A-V4, W4, X-LL4.

Translated by Richard Mather, John Eliot, and Thomas Weld, and likely others. The surviving manuscript of the Preface is in the hand of John Cotton.

Evans 4. STC 2738. ESTC System no. 006467446. ESTC Citation no. W15144. ESTC locates copies at: Bodleian; American Antiquarian Society; Boston Public; New York Public; Houghton; Huntington; John Carter Brown; Rosenbach Museum and Library; Library of Congress; and the Beinecke. Other copies are the David Rubenstein-Old South Church copy and their retained duplicate, numbers 1 and 2 in the Sotheby's 2013 census, which does not repeat ESTC's inclusion of Boston Public. ESTC did not record the Old South Church.

I covered the auction at Sotheby's of 26 November 2013 in a column in this magazine in the spring of 2014. The book was estimated \$15,000,000-\$30,000,000. It brought \$12,500,000 hammer. The sale was a highly publicized single lot event with a wonderful catalogue (written by Selby Kiffer) that

every book dealer and collector should have. There was an absentee bid of \$12 million where the auction opened and then a phone went to \$12.5 million and it was knocked down in about 30 seconds. This was the first copy of the book on the market since 1947 and only the second since 1894.

1647. The Second Edition of the BAY PSALM BOOK

The | Whole Book | of | Psalmes | Faithfully translated into | English Metre: | Whereunto is prefixed a discourse declaring not | onely the lawfulness, but also the necessity | of the heavenly Ordinance of sing- | ing Scripture Psalmes in the | Churches of God. | [the same quotes from Colossians and James] | Imprinted 1647.

Printed by Stephen Daye, or maybe Matthew Day. This is in twelvemo: A-M12. Eames located only two extant copies: British Library and John Carter Brown Library. Brinley sold his copy in 1879 for \$435 (a lot of money in 1879).

In the opinion of this writer and bibliographer—who goes against the grain here—these are the *only* two editions of what should be called the “Bay Psalm Book.” What the trade calls the third edition onward are printings of a book with a new title (*The Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, faithfully translated in English Metre. For the use, edification, and comfort of the Saints, in publick & private*), and new contents (including The Song of Moses, The Song of Deborah, The Song of Songs, The Songs of Isaiah, Lamentations, The Prayer of Jonah, etc.). The first printing of *this* book was “Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in New-England 1651.” I think it is a stretch to consider the run of multiple editions of *this* book through 1762 in printings from Cambridge, Boston, Edinburgh, and London—from an array of printers—as subsequent editions of the “Bay Psalm Book.” Having gotten that off my chest, ESTC allows “Bay Psalm Book” as a possible uniform title of these later books, so I won’t fuss about it any longer here.

1651. The Third Edition of the BAY PSALM BOOK

The Psalms Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament, faithfully translated in English Metre. For the use, edification, and comfort of the Saints, in publick & private ... Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in New-England. 1651.

[24] 314 [44] p. 16mo. This was edited by Henry Dunster and has some additional hymns by Richard Lyon. Evans 33, where he calls it “third edition of the ‘Bay Psalm Book’”. Wing. B2447. ESTC System no. 006468063. ESTC Citation no. W4405, locating

only the copy at New York Public Library.

This is the text and format that carries forward into subsequent editions as the "Bay Psalm Book" and/or the "New England Psalm Book," with no further involvement of John Eliot.

The Eliot Indian Tracts: 1643-1671

Bibliographical and Value Information

1643. Eliot Indian Tract No. 1

[ELIOT, John]. [ANONYMOUS, though likely by Thomas Weld, Hugh Peter, and/or Henry Dunster, based on published research by Raymond P. Stearns (1937, 1954), Richard Cogley (1999) and Michael P. Clark (2003)] *New England's First Fruits*. London, 1643.

NEVV | ENGLANDS | FIRST FRUITS | IN RESPECT, | First of the {Conversion of some, Conversion of divers, Preparation of sundry} of the Indians. | 2. Of the progresse of *Learning*, in the *Colledge* at | CAMBRIDGE in *Massacusetts* Bay. | WITH | Divers other special Matters concerning their *Countray*. | Published by the instant request of sundry Friends, who desire | to be satisfied in these points by many New-England Men | who are here present, and were eye or eare- | witnesses of the same. | *Who hath despised the Day of small things*. Zach. 4.10. | *If thou were pure and upright, surely now he will awake for thee: — And though thy beginnings be small, thy latter end shall greatly increase*. Iob. 8 6,7 - | [small decorative cut] | LONDON, | Printed by R.O. and G.D. for Henry Overton, and are to be | sold at his Shop in *Popes-head-Alley*. 1643.

[2] 26 [2] p. 4to. A-D4. R.O. and G.D. are Richard Oulton and Gregory Dexter.

Clark (2003), 1. Wing E519. Sabin 52758. Church 458. ESTC System no. 006078228. ESTC Citation no. R1260.

The first Eliot Indian Tract is a defense of the missionary efforts in New England as well as a report on the brutality of the Pequot War, using that example as reason that peaceful relations are necessary for any missionary efforts to bear fruit. The tract also reports on the beginnings of Harvard.

Sotheby's New York, 29 November 2000: the Park copy brought \$19,000 hammer, \$22,600 all in. London, 25 June 1987: \$3,564 hammer to Reese. Christie's New York, 19 December 1986: the Hoe copy brought \$6,000 hammer, \$6,600 all in. (It brought \$235 at Hoe, 1912.) Not in Siebert, 1999.

1647. Eliot Indian Tract No. 2

[ELIOT, John]. [SHEPARD, Thomas? — Thomas Werge (1987) and Richard Cogley (1999) attribute

this to Shepard; ESTC still mentions John Eliot and John Wilson as possibilities] *The Day-Breaking, if not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England*. London: 1647.

THE | DAY-BREAKING, | IF NOT | The Sun-Rising | OF THE | GOSPELL | With the | INDIANS in New-England. | [rule] | Zach. 4. 10. | *Who hath despised the day of small things?* | Matth. 13. 13. | *The Kingdome of heaven is like to a graine of mustard seed.* | Ibid. Verse 33. | *The Kingdome of heaven is like unto Leven.* | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by Rich. Cotes, for Fulke Clifton, and are to bee | sold at his shop under Saint Margarets Church on | New-fish-street Hill, 1647.

[2] 25 [1] p. 4to.

Clark (2003), 2. Wing S3110. Sabin 80207. Church 482. Field 408. ESTC System no. 006087509. ESTC Citation no. R21203.

The book described the first Indian sermons of Autumn 1646, including some of the Q&A. Also touches on some of the early laws of the Praying Indians and Praying Towns.

Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1999: the Siebert copy brought \$14,950 all in. I catalogued one at \$12,000 in 2010. The Ellsworth Eliot, Jr. copy was bought in in 1986 estimated \$5,000-\$7,000.

1648. Eliot Indian Tract No. 3

[ELIOT, John] SHEPARD, Thomas. *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel*. London, 1648.

THE | Clear Sun-shine of the Gospel | BREAKING FORTH | UPON THE | INDIANS | IN | NEVV-ENGLAND. | OR, | An Historiell Narration of Gods | Wonderful Workings upon sundry of the | INDIANS, both chief Governors and Common-people, | in bringing them to a willing and desired submission to | the Ordinances of the Gospel; and framing their | hearts to an earnest inquirie after the knowledge | of God the Father, and of Jesus Christ | the Saviour of the World. | [rule] | By Mr. THOMAS SHEPARD Minister of the Gospel of | Jesus Christ at Cambridge in New-England. | [rule] | Isaiah 2. 2,3. *And it shall come to passe in the last days, that the mountain of the | Lords house shall bee established in the top of the mountains, and shall bee exalted | above the hills; and all Nations shall flow unto it. | And many people shal go and say, Come ye and let us go up to the mountains of the Lord, | to the house of the God of Jacob, and he will teach us of his ways, and we will walk | in the paths for out of Zion shall go forth the Law, and the word of the Lord from | Jerusalem.* | [rule] | London, Printed by R. Cotes for John Bellamy at the three golden | Lions in Cornhill near the Royall Exchange, 1648.

[14] 38 p. 4to.

The Acts and Books of JOHN ELIOT

Clark (2003), 3. Wing S3109. Sabin 80205. Church 489. Field, p. 117, not separately listed. ESTC System no. 006112954. ESTC Citation no. R206115.

This tract reiterates that the claimed impetus of emigration from England was to preach the Gospel to the Indians, rather than to seek personal religious freedom for the émigrés. In a brief passage with millenarian implications Shepard claims that the Indians are more likely descendants of Tartars than Jews and therefore must await conversion of the Jews, though the possibility of individual exceptions will justify missionary efforts.

Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1999: the Siebert copy brought \$11,000 hammer, \$12,650 all in. I catalogued a copy at \$6,500 in 2010. Ellsworth Eliot, Jr. had the Henry Cruse Murphy copy which brought \$2,200 all in in 1986.

1649. Eliot Indian Tract No. 4

[ELIOT, John] WINSLOW, Edward (ed.). *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*. London, 1649.

THE | Glorious Progress | OF THE | GOSPEL, | AMONGST THE | Indians in New England. | MANIFESTED | By three Letters, under the hand of that fa- | mous Instrument of the Lord Mr. JOHN ELIOT, | And another from Mr. Thomas Mayhew jun: both Preachers of | the Word, as well to the English as Indians in New England. | WHEREIN | The riches of Gods Grace in the effectuall calling of | many of them is cleared up: As also a manifestation of the hungry | desires of many People in sundry parts of that Country, after the | more full Revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, to the | exceeding Consolation of every Christian Reader. | TOGETHER, | With an Appendix to the foregoing Letters, hol- | ding forth Conjectures, Observations, and Applications. | By I.D. Minister of the Gospell. | [rule] | Published by EDWARD WINSLOW | [rule] | Mal. 1.11. | From the rising of the Sun, even unto the going down of the | same, my Name shall be great among the Gentiles, and in every place in- | cense shall be offered unto my Name, and a pure Offering; for my Name | shall be great among the Heathen, saith the Lord of Hosts. | LONDON, Printed for Hannah Allen in Popes-head-Alley, 1649.

[8] 28 p. 4to. [A]-D4 E2.

Clark (2003), 4. Wing W3036. Church 497. Field 490. Sabin 22152. ESTC System no. 006078008. ESTC Citation no. R12394.

This contains letters of John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew Jr. about the successes of missionary efforts in Massachusetts Bay and on Martha's Vineyard. The tract picks up where Shepard previously left off with the unique millennialist debates about the missionary

project and Congregational polity regarding the conversion of the Jews. An appendix by John Dury (the "I.D." on the title-page) pursues a perceived similarity in certain tendencies of both the Indians and the Jews.

Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1999: the Siebert copy brought \$12,000 hammer, \$13,800 all in. Christie's New York, 19 December 1986: the Hoe copy brought \$1,650 at the Ellsworth Eliot, Jr sale; it brought \$230 at the Hoe sale in 1912 at Anderson. I catalogued one at \$6,250 in 2010.

1651. Eliot Indian Tract No. 5

[ELIOT, John] WHITFIELD, Henry, ed. *The Light Appearing...* London, 1651.

The Light appearing more and more to- | wards the perfect Day. | OR, | A farther Discovery of the present state | of the INDIANS | in New-England, | Concerning the Progresse of the Gospel | amongst them. | Manifested by Letters from such as preacht | to them there. | [rule] | Published by Henry Whitfeld, late Pastor to the | Church of Christ at Gifford in New-England, who | came late thence. | [rule] | Zeph. 2.11. The Lord will famish all the gods of the earth, and men | shall worship him, every one from his place, even all the Iles of the | Heathen. | [rule] | London, Printed by T.R. & E.M. for John Bartlet, and are to be | sold at the Gilt Cup, neer St. Austins gate in Pauls | Church-yard. 1651.

Multiple entries in ESTC, with 54 or 56 pages.

Clark (2003), 5. Church 514. Field 1652. Sabin 103688. Wing W1999.

This was the first Eliot tract that was published by The Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England. In letters, John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew speculate on the possible Jewish origins of the Indians. Eliot explains that he wants to set up the governments of the Praying Towns to match scriptural rules. Notably, Eliot expresses his feeling that the Native Americans may have an easier time living up to Christ's rule than Englishmen, whose existing habits and social structures may be obstacles to them in seeking Christ.

The Siebert copy brought \$13,800 all in, 1999. The Ellsworth Eliot Jr. copy realized \$1,650 all in at Christie's, 1986; Eliot bought his copy for \$30 from George Smith after it was bought in at his sale at \$23 (1897).

1652. Eliot Indian Tract No. 6

[ELIOT, John] [WHITFIELD, Henry (ed.)]. *Strength Out of Weaknesse...* London, 1652.

STRENGTH | OUT OF | WEAKNESSE; | Or a Glorious | MANIFESTATION | Of the further Progresse of | the Gospel among the Indians | in

Nevv-England. | Held forth in Sundry Letters | from divers Ministers and others to the | Corporation established by Parliament for | promoting the Gospel among the Hea- | then in *New-England*; and to particular | Members thereof since the last Trea- | tise to that effect, Pulished by | Mr *Henry Whitfield* late Pastor | of *Gilford* in *New-England*. | [rule] | CANT. 8. 8. | *Wee have a little Sister, and she hath no breasts: what | shall we doe for our Sister, in the day that she shall be | spoken for?* | [rule] | LONDON; | Printed by *M. Simmons* for *John Blague* and | *Samuel Howes*, and are to be sold at their | Shop in *Popes-Head-Alley*. 1652.

Multiple entries in ESTC, all with 56 pages.

Clark (2003), 6. Wing W2002 (cf. 2003). Sabin 92800 (cf. 92799 and 92798 for some state complications). Church 519. Field 1518.

This tract comprises letters and reports by John Eliot and a few others, relaying accounts of praying services and sermons at Natick. Eliot's governmental strategies of the Praying Towns is further considered.

Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1999: the Siebert copy brought \$3,750 hammer, \$4,312 all in. Christie's New York, 19 December 1986: the Brinley copy brought \$2,000 hammer. I catalogued a lovely copy at \$14,000 in 2010.

1653. Eliot Indian Tract No. 7

[ELIOT, John and Thomas Mayhew] *Tears of Repentance*... London, 1653.

Tears of Repentance: | Or, A further | Narrative of the Progress of the *Gospel* | Amongst the | INDIANS | IN | NEW-ENGLAND: | Setting forth, not only their present state | and condition, but sundry Confessions of sin | by diverse of the said *Indians*, wrought upon | by the saving Power of the Gospel; Together | with the manifestation of their *Faith* and *Hope* | in *Jesus Christ*, and the Work of Grace upon | their Hearts. | Related by Mr. *Eliot* and Mr. *Mayhew*, two Faithful Laborers | in that Work of the Lord. | *Published by the Corporation for propagating the Gospel there, for the | Satisfaction and Comfort of such as wish well thereunto*. | [rule] | Isay, 42. 3. *A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoaking | Flax, shall he not quench*. | [rule] | London: Printed by *Peter Cole* in *Leaden-Hall*, and are to be Sold at | his Shop, at the Sign of the Printing-Press in Cornhil, | near the Royal Exchange. 1653.

[36] 47 [1] p. 4to. Multiple system and citation numbers in ESTC.

Clark (2003), 7. Wing E520 (cf. 521, 522). Church 527 (also noting variants). Field 494. Sabin 22166.

Dedicated to "His Excellency The Lord General Cromwel." With two prefaces by John Eliot to Cromwell and to the general public and Thomas

Mayhew's comments on his Indian mission work on Martha's Vineyard. As stated in the title, the work contains conversion narratives and confessions of 1652 in Natick. The translations from the Algonquian are by Eliot (with Cockenoe, his Algonquian assistant). Richard Mather contributes a preface. Notable for millennialist theories and descriptions of the Indian epidemics.

Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1999: the Siebert copy (tightly cropped) brought \$13,000 hammer, \$14,950 all in. \$1,100 all in at Christie's, 1986.

1655. Eliot Indian Tract No. 8

[ELIOT, John] *A late and further Manifestation* ... London, 1655.

A Late and Further | MANIFESTATION | OF THE | Progress of the GOSPEL | AMONGST THE | INDIANS | IN | Nevv-England. | Declaring their constant Love and Zeal to | the Truth: With a readinesse to give | Accompt of their Faith and Hope; as of | their desires in Church Commu- | nion to be Partakers of | the Ordinances of | CHRIST. | *Being a Narrative of the Examinations of the Indians, about | their Knowledge in Religion, by the Elders of the Churches*. | Related by Mr. JOHN ELIOT. | [rule] | Published by the CORPORATION, established by | *Act of Parliament*, for Propagating the Gospel there. | [rule] | Acts 13. 47. *I have set thee to be a light to the Gentiles, that | thou shouldest be for Salvation unto the Ends of the Earth*. | [rule] | LONDON: Printed by *M.S. [Mary Simmons]* 1655.

[8] 23 [1] p. 4to. A-D4.

Clark (2003), 8. Wing E517. Church 536. Sabin 22162. Field 493. ESTC System no. 006106315. ESTC Citation no. R9453.

Records of Indian converts in Roxbury and Natick and appeals to England for help.

Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1999: the Hoe-Ellsworth Eliot, Jr.-Siebert copy bought \$17,000 hammer, \$19,550 all in. Sold at the Ellsworth Eliot, Jr. sale in 1986 for \$2,750 all in.

1659. Eliot Indian Tract No. 9

[ELIOT, John] *A Further Accompt* ... London, 1659.

A further Accompt | of the Progresse of the | GOSPEL | amongst the INDIANS | IN | NEW-ENGLAND, | AND | Of the means used effectually to advance the same. | SET FORTH | In certaine Letters sent from thence declaring a | purpose of Printing the Scriptures in the | *Indian Tongue* into which they are already | Translated. | With which Letters are likewise sent an Epi- | tome of some Exhortations delivered by the *In- | dians* at a fast, as Testimonies of their obedi- | ence to the Gospell. |

The Acts and Books of JOHN ELIOT

As also some helps directing the *Indians* how to | improve naturall reason unto the knowledge | of the true God. | [rule] | LONDON, Printed by M. Simmons for the Corpo- | ration of *New-England*, 1659.

[11] 35 [2] p. 4to.

Clark (2003), 9. Wing E510. Sabin 22149. Field 578. Church 556. ESTC System no. 006099748. ESTC Citation no. R3341.

This starts to share some letters specifically about the upcoming printing of the Indian Bible. "Some Helps for the Indians" is in English and Massachusetts.

Sotheby's London, 23 June 1988: GBP 2,800 (\$4,956) hammer to Ximenes. Christie's New York, 19 December 1986: the Lindesiana-Hoe copy brought \$9,000 hammer, \$9,900 all in at the Ellsworth Eliot Jr. sale. Not in Siebert. The Hoe copy brought \$385 in 1912.

1660. Eliot Indian Tract No. 10

[ELIOT, John] *A further Account...* London, 1660.

A further Account of the progress | OF THE | GOSPEL | Amongst the *Indians* | In New England: | BEING | A Relation of the Confessions made | by several *Indians* (in the pre- | sence of the Elders and Mem- | bers of several Churches) in or- | der to their admission into | Church-fellowship | [rule] | Sent over to the Corporation for Propagating the Gospel of | *Jesus Christ* amongst the *Indians* of *New-England* at Lon- | don; by Mr. *John Elliot* one of the Laborers in the Word | amongst them. | [rule] | LONDON, | Printed by *John Macock*. 1660.

[8] 76 [2] p. 4to. A-L4.

Clark (2003), 10. Wing E511. ESTC System no. 006121514. ESTC Citation no. R214794.

This tract covers the setting up of a church in the Praying Town of Natick, plus some conversion narratives of Indians in Roxbury.

1671. Eliot Indian Tract No. 11

[ELIOT, John] *A Brief Narrative ...* London, 1671.

A BRIEF | NARRATIVE | OF THE | Progress of the Gospel amongst | the *Indians* in *New-England*, in | the Year 1670. | Given in | By the Reverend Mr. John ELLIOT, | Minister of the Gospel there, | In a LETTER by him directed to | the Right Worshipfull the COM- | MISSIONERS under his Majesties | Great-Seal for Propagation of the | Gospel amongst the poor blind Na- | tives in those United Colonies. | [double rule] | LONDON, | Printed for *John Allen*, formerly living in *Little Britain* at | the Rising-Sun, and now in *Wentworth Street* near Bell- | Lane, 1671.

11 [1] p. 4to. A-C2.

Clark (2003), 11. Not in Church. Wing E504. Field 491. Sabin 22142 ("a volume of the greatest rarity"). ESTC System no. 006098118. ESTC Citation no. R3115.

This tract proposes that converted Indians, the Praying Indians, could become missionaries themselves to the unconverted, and could be ambassadors to the threatening Mohawks and other hostiles. This seems more practical than the original millennialist point of view, but may have been a reflection of Eliot's (and others') growing concerns about the ambitions of Metacom (King Philip).

In 1986 the Hoe copy brought \$7,150 all in off an estimate of \$5,000-\$7,000 at the Christie's sale of the Ellsworth Eliot, Jr. collection; the Hoe copy was \$385 in 1912 at Anderson.

In the way of *manuscript* values, here are some items from the 1999 Siebert sale:

A manuscript document in the hand of John Eliot, signed by George Alcock and Thomas Welde and dated 22 November 1640, being the Last Will and Testament of Alcock, was estimated \$2,000-\$3,000 and brought \$17,250 all in.

A manuscript document in the hand of Daniel Gookin, the Massachusetts magistrate set over the Praying Indians and second only to Eliot and the Mayhews as a friend of the Indians, petitioning the General Court at Boston for assistance to the Pequots, dated 21 May 1664 was estimated \$1,500 to \$2,000 and brought \$19,550.

A manuscript land deed of 1668 signed by Metacom as King Philip, "King Philips marke," was estimated \$8,000-\$12,000 and brought \$37,375 all in.

Here we end of the Eliot Indian Tract section and we begin Eliot's publications in the Massachusetts language—so, we head back to 1654.

1654

[ELIOT, John] [A primer or catechism in the Massachusetts Indian language. Cambridge, MA: printed by Samuel Green, 1654 (?)]. The earliest recorded printing in the Massachusetts language. No surviving copies located, but the book is referred to in extant correspondence.

JOHN ELIOT writing to Edward Winslow, 8 July 1649, less than three years into his mission work: "I do very much desire to translate some parts of the Scriptures into their language, and to print some Primer in their language wherein to initiate and teach them to read, which some of the men do much also desire; and printing such a thing will be troublesome and chargeable, and I having yet but little skill in their

language (having little leasure to attend to it by reason of my continual attendance on my Ministry in our own Church) I must have some Indians, and it may be other help continually about me to try and examine Translations, which I look at as a sacred and holy work, and to be regarded with much fear, care, and reverence." At about this time Eliot took in his charge a native named Job Nesutan as a language assistant. Eliot to an unknown correspondent, 28 April 1651: "It hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of many of them this winter to learn to read and write, wherein they doe very much profit with a very little help, especially some of them, for they are very ingenious. I now hope that the Lord will raise up some of themselves, and enable them unto that work, with my care to teach them well in the reason of the sounds of Letters and spelling." And later in 1651: "[W]e aspire to no higher learning yet, but to spell, read and write so that they may be able to write for themselves such Scriptures as I have already, or hereafter may (by the blessing of God) translate for them for I have no hope to see the Bible Translated, much lesse Printed in my days." This Primer/Catechism was reprinted in 1662, again with no surviving copy. The earliest surviving example of Eliot's Primer/Catechism is from 1669, a single copy at the University of Edinburgh. The book is in Massachusetts throughout, except an English title-page, the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, "Degrees of Christian Duties," and a list of the books of the Bible. The last printing of this work from Eliot's lifetime is the Samuel Green edition from about 1687. Pilling, p. 127.

1655

[ELIOT, John] [The Book of Genesis in Massachusetts. Cambridge, MA: printed by Samuel Green, 1655?]. Recorded in correspondence but no copy has survived. This is likely Eliot's second publication in the Indian language. In a letter to George Thorowgood, dated 15 June 1653, Eliot communicated: "...through the blessing of the Lord, I have this Winter translated the whole book of Psalms...The third thing is the printing of the Bible in their Language, Genesis is printed and we are upon Matthew." Pilling, p. 131.

[ELIOT, John] [The Gospel of Matthew in Massachusetts. Cambridge, MA: printed by Samuel Green, 1655?]. Recorded in correspondence, but no copy has survived. Eliot writes in a letter from December 1658: "They have none of the Scriptures printed in their own language, save Genesis, and Matthew, and a few Psalmes in Meeter." Eliot translated two versions of the Psalter, one for its proper place in the Old Testament and another in meter for separate use or for the back of a Bible, being Eliot's personal translation of the original "Bay Psalm Book" into Massachusetts. Pilling, p. 131.

1658

[ELIOT, John] [a few Psalms in meter in the Massachusetts language. Cambridge, MA: printed by Samuel Green, 1658.] Recorded in correspondence, but no copy has survived. Eliot relayed as early as October 1651 that "the Indian School-Master read out of his Book one of the Psalmes in meter... all the men and women singing the same together in one of our ordinary English tunes melodiously." Pilling, p. 131.

1659

[ELIOT, John] *The Christian commonwealth: or, the civil policy of the rising kingdom of Jesus Christ. Written before the interruption of the government, by Mr. John Eliot. Teacher of the Church of Christ at Roxbury in New-England. And now published (after his consent given) by a server of the season.* London: Printed for Livewell Chapman, at the Crown in Popes-Head-Alley [1659]

[22] 35 [1] p. 4to.

Wing E504. Four copies recorded in England and 10 in America.

ESTC System no. 006114661. ESTC Citation no. R207846.

I find no copies on the market since the 1940s. In 1949 there was a copy at Harmsworth at GBP 100. In 1949 at Parke Bernet at \$320. \$410 at Anderson Galleries in 1933.

1661

The Eliot Indian New Testament

English title-page: THE NEW | TESTAMENT | OF OUR | LORD AND SAVIOUR | JESUS CHRIST. | Translated into the | INDIAN LANGUAGE | AND | Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies | in New-England, | At the Charge, and with the Consent of the | CORPORATION IN ENGLAND | For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians | in New-England. | [rule] | CAMBRIDGE: | Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, | MDCLXI.

Massachusetts title-page: WUSKU | WUTTESTAMENTUM | NUL-LORDUMUN | JESUS CHRIST | Nuppoquohwuffuenedumun. | [rule] | [woodcut device] | [rule] | CAMBRIDGE: | Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson. | MDCLXI.

The Indian title translates: New testament our-Lord Jesus Christ our-deliverer.

130 unpaginated printed leaves and two blanks.

The Acts and Books of JOHN ELIOT

[blank] [English title leaf] [Dedication to Charles II, two leaves] [Indian title leaf] Quarto. A4, A (signature repeated with different content), B-L4, Aa-Xx4. Matthew begins on the second A2 leaf and Revelation ends on Xx3.

PILLING provides images and descriptions of the variant title-pages. He also provides state points within the printed text. Pilling opines that the text of signatures A-L (being Matthew to Luke) were printed by Samuel Green alone, with Marmaduke Johnson joining him for John forward at signature Aa (see Pilling, p. 133).

In a letter to the treasurer of the Corporation in England dated 28 December 1658 Eliot writes: “[The Commissioners] moved this doubt whether the Translation I had made was generally understood? To which I answered that upon my knowledge it was understood as farre as Conecticot: for there I did read some part of my Translation before many hundred English Witnesses, and the Indians manifested that they did understand what I read perfectly. ... Genesis and Matthew, I had sent to such as I thought had best skill in the language, and intreated their animadversions, but I heard not of any faults they found.”

Eliot sent a specimen sheet of Matthew to the Commission in early 1660 and they replied from London, 28 April 1660: “Considering your printing of the New Testament in the Indian Language, a sheet wherof you have transmitted to us, wee concur with your selves therein, and do approve of that provision you have made for printing the same conceiving and offering as our judgments that it is better to print fifteen hundred then but a thousand; hoping that by incouragement from Sion College, with whom wee have late conference, you may bee enabled to print fifteen hundred of the ould Testament likewise.”

Marmaduke Johnson joined the printing team in the summer of 1660 and James Printer during the printing process of the Bible. Printing of the New Testament was completed in the summer of 1661. There were some financing glitches out of England because the restoration of Charles II had interrupted the affairs of some corporations, but such were quickly settled and financing continued. On 10 September 1662 the Commission informed Robert Boyle, the chief officer of the Corporation in England, that 20 bound copies of the New Testament arrived “to bee disposed of as your honers shall see meet” and the first was for Charles II. By this time the Old Testament had been in the press for almost a year and was about halfway completed, being referred to as finished in a letter of September 1663.

During this period, while printing the full Bible, Marmaduke Johnson had an affair with Samuel Green’s daughter—which rather rocked the boat in their little print shop, sending Johnson to court, but there’s no place for that salacious story in a distinguished periodical such as *FIRSTS*. Eventually every-

one settled down and got back to work for, indeed, there was plenty of work to do!

This New Testament is rarely seen on its own. In June 1977 the John Evelyn copy went through Christie’s London at GBP 18,000 hammer or about \$31,000 hammer, about \$34,000 all in.

1663

The First Eliot Indian Bible

English title-page: THE | HOLY BIBLE: | CONTAINING THE | OLD TESTAMENT | AND THE NEW. | [rule] | Translated into the | INDIAN LANGUAGE, | AND | Ordered to be Printed by the *Commissioners of the United Colonies*, | in NEW-ENGLAND, | At the Charge, and with the Consent of the | CORPORATION IN ENGLAND | *For the propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians* | in New-England. | [rule] | CAMBRIDGE: | Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, | MDCLXIII.

Massachusetts title-page: MAMUSSE | WUNNEETUPANATAMWE | UP-BIBLUM GOD | NANEESWE | NUKKONE TESTAMENT | KAH WONK | WUSKU TESTAMENT. | [rule] | Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe Wuttinneumoh *CHRIST* | noh asoowesit | JOHN ELIOT. | [rule] | CAMBRIDGE: | Printeuoop nashpe Samuel Green kah Marmaduke Johnson, | 1663.

LIKE THE NEW TESTAMENT OF 1661, there are variations in the binding up of title-pages with some copies of 600 printed leaves and some of 594 printed leaves, covered in Pilling, page 139 *passim*. The Indian title translates as: The-whole holy his-bible God both old testament and also new testament this turned by the-servant-of Christ who is-called John Eliot. And a third title reads: The new testament of our lord and saviour Jesus Christ translated into the Indian language, and Ordered to be Printed by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in New-England, At the Charge, and with the Consent of the corporation in England For the Propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England. (This dated 1661.) There is also a title for the metrical psalter in English and Massachusetts for “All the-singing songs-of David.”

Noting that there are differing combinations of title-pages in binding and various dedications and a “Rules of Christian Living” leaf, the collation of the Bible is: A4, []2, A(repeated)-Z4, Aa-Zz4, Aaa-Zzz4, Aaaa-Zzzz4, Aaaaa-Lllll4, Mmmmm2; A-L4, Aa-Xx4; A-N4. Pilling enumerates seven varieties of the Indian Bible. Pilling, p. 139.

Darlow & Moule 6737. Wing B2755. Ayer, *Indian Linguistics*, Massachusetts 1. Field 495. Evans 72. Sabin 22154, 22155. Church 580.

Since it is more likely that most of us will

encounter stray leaves or leaf-book examples of the First Eliot Indian Bible and the Second Eliot Indian Bible, and their signatures not always providing a solid indicator of their edition, the most obvious difference between the first and second editions is that the first has no English introductory sentences to the individual chapters and the second edition does: just a line or two, but proof of the edition.

Again, 20 copies were sent to London and the first of these was for Charles II.

From the "Epistle Dedicatory" on leaf A4 verso: "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 we present this [Bible] 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 men are more worth than the whole World. This is a Nobler Fruit (and indeed in the Counsels of All-disposing Providence, was an higher intended End), of Columbus his Adventure."

At auction:

2016: At the Charles Ryrie Sale of 5 December, lot 140, Dr. Ryrie's first edition of the Eliot Indian Bible in modern morocco by Riviere with quire 2C in facsimile, a de-accessioned duplicate from the Lilly Library (with their release stamp on the rear paste-down), was estimated \$175,000-\$250,000 and brought \$275,000 all in.

2013: 5 December 2013, Sotheby's New York, lot 173. A first edition estimated \$400,000-\$600,000 brought \$395,000 all in. The copy had the general title in English and the New Testament title in Massachusetts, plus the metrical psalter and the leaf of rules of Christian living in Massachusetts. This is likely one of the twenty copies sent to the Corporation in England, which match Pilling's "Third Variety" of his noted seven. (See Pilling's discussion of the Indian and English title-pages.) This copy matches the Ashurst-Allen-Brinley-Cutter-Ellsworth Eliot, Jr. copy, having the same contents and binding. (See Christie's 19 December 1986 where it brought \$220,000 all in.) Dr. Ryrie's copy in 2013 was the Chatsworth copy of William Cavendish, Third Earl of Devonshire (at auction 30 June 1958 when it brought GBP 7,200). It sold in 1881 for \$900 (George Brinley sale) and in 1864 for \$825 (John Allan sale).

In 2006, the Macclesfield copy brought GBP 198,400 all in (about \$346,000) at Sotheby's London, Macclesfield Sale, Part VII, Bibles.

1999: The Siebert copy brought \$167,500 all in. The Crowninshield-Livermore-Bassett-Howe copy which I took to Foxwoods Resort for the Mashantucket Pequot Tribal Nation. I have heard that the Nation

bought this copy from the East Coast dealer who graciously lent it to me for that showing but I do not know the selling price.

1997: 25 November, Sotheby's New York, the Mueller-Marienstift-Royal Gymnasium copy brings \$220,000 hammer.

1994: Sotheby's New York, 7 November 1994. Lot 40. This was estimated \$70,000-\$100,000 and brought \$192,500 all in. It is a worn copy but with a superb Indian provenance. Title-pages in Massachusetts. The New Testament title is laid down so it might have been originally a stand-alone New Testament in 1661. The text has almost 200 contemporary spelling corrections and other notes in an Indian hand. This is a strongly emotional copy if one is interested in the Indian story. I prefer these Indian copies to the clean fresh morocco-bound British copies that were never read. At \$195,000 in 1994, someone agreed with me.

1989: 21 February, the Boyle-Phillipps-Fenwick-Doheny brings \$330,000 all in; described as "finest copy known," with a superb British provenance and in lovely condition.

1664

[BAXTER, Richard] [ELIOT, John, trans.]
[Wehkomaonganoo (a special character of two "o"s pushed together in the sort of the Massachusetts type, designed by John Eliot and here underlined) asquam peantogig Kaha squam Quinnuppegig. Tokonogque mahehe woskeche Peantamwog. Ouk woh sampwutteahae Peantamwog. Wutanakausuonk wunneetou noh nohtompeantog. Ussowesu Mr. Richard Baxter. ...owesuonk God ut Christ Jesus ut, kah oonenecheonat Indiansog. Ezek. 33. 11. ...Cambridge: Printed by Samuel Green and Marmaduke Johnson, 1664.]

Known in record books only, no extant copy. 96 leaves. 12mo. This is Eliot's translation into Massachusetts of Richard Baxter's *Call to the Unconverted*, first published in London in 1657. There exist six or seven copies of the 1688 second edition of this work.

1665

[ELIOT, John] *Communion of churches: or, The divine management of Gospel-churches by the ordinance of councils, constituted in order according to the Scriptures. As also, the way of bringing all Christian parishes to be particular reforming congregational churches: humbly proposed, as way which hath so much light from the Scriptures of truth, as that it may lawfully be submitted unto by all; and may, by the blessing of the Lord, be a means of uniting those two holy and eminent parties, the Presbyterians and the Congregationals. As also to prepare*

The Acts and Books of JOHN ELIOT

for the hoped-for resurrection of the churches; and to propose a way to bring all Christian nations unto an unity of the faith and order of the Gospel. Written by John Eliot, teacher of Roxbury in N.E. Cambridge [MA]: Printed by Marmaduke Johnson, 1665.

[2] 38 p. 8vo.

Wing E508. Evans 101. Five copies located: Bodleian; Huntington; NYPL; Newberry; Beinecke. ESTC System no. 006091470. ESTC Citation no. R24949.

The Brinley copy sold for \$110 in 1879. I found nothing since.

1665

[ELIOT, John] [BAYLY, Lewis] *Manitowompae* | POMANTAMOONK: | Sampwahanau | Christianoh | Uttoh who an | POMANTOG | Wussikkiteahonat | GOD | [rule] | I Tim 4 8 | [quote] | [rule] | CAMBRIDGE: | 1665.

The title translates: Godly living directs a Christian how he may live to please God (Pilling, p. 170).

400 pages in 12mo. This is Eliot's translation of Lewis Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, first appearing in 1612, an immediate success, and by 1665 a standard famous work on Christian living. There are a handful of copies of Eliot's translation extant, e.g. Bodleian, American Antiquarian Society. Quaritch catalogued a copy in 1873 at GBP 90, which was purchased by Brinley; it brought \$205 at his 1879 auction, to Yale. The work had an Eliot lifetime second edition in 1685 (Pilling p. 171).

1666

[ELIOT, John] THE | INDIAN | Grammar | BEGUN: or, | *An Essay to bring the Indian Language* | INTO | RULES, | For the Help of such as desire to Learn the same, for | the furtherance of the Gospel among them. | [rule] | BY JOHN ELIOT | [rule] | [several Biblical quotations] | [rule] | CAMBRIDGE: | Printed by Marmaduke Johnson. 1666.

[4] 65 [3] p. 4to. [A]4, B-I4, I4 a blank. Dedicated to Robert Boyle.

Wing E514. Evans 106. Sabin 22158. ESTC System no. 006467972. ESTC Citation no. W12988. Pilling, p. 172 and facing plate.

At Sotheby's London, 13 March 2008, the Macclesfield copy, estimated GBP 70,000-GBP 100,000, brings GBP 240,000 hammer or GBP 288,500 all in (about \$570,000). In 1960, GBP 5,600 at Sotheby's London from the Signet Library, removed from Edinburgh.

1669

[ELIOT, John] *The Indian Primer or the way of training up our Indian youth in the good knowledge of God, in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and in an ability to read.* Cambridge [MA] Printed [by Marmaduke Johnson] 1669.

[128] p. 8vo.

Text in Massachusetts. (ESTC designates in Algonquian, which is not wrong, but I am following Darlow and Moule on this point.)

Wing E515. Evans 138. ESTC System no. 006468057. ESTC Citation no. W4261. ESTC locate two copies: Edinburgh and NYPL. I find no copies on the market since the 1880s.

1671

[ELIOT, John] *Indian Dialogues, for their instruction in that great service of Christ, in the calling home of their country-men to the knowledge of God, and of themselves, and of Jesus Christ.* Cambridge [MA] [Marmaduke Johnson] 1671

[4] 81 (but should be p. 75, as page numbers 61-66 are not used and there is no loss of text) [1] p. 8vo.

Wing E513. Evans 161. ESTC System no. 006467693 (and 006140019, but same NYPL copy?). ESTC Citation no. W24115 (and R40409, but same NYPL copy?). I find no market appearance in modern records.

1672

[ELIOT, John] *THE* | *Logick Primer.* | Some Logical Notions to initiate | the INDIANS in the know- | ledge of the Rule of Reason; | and to know how to make | use thereof. | Especially for the Instructions of | such as are Teachers | among them. | [rule] | Composed by J. E. for the | use of the *Praying Indians.* | [rule] | The use of this Iron Key is to | open the rich Treasury of | the holy Scriptures | [quote from Proverbs] | [rule] | [Cambridge] Printed by M. J. [Marmaduke Johnson] 1672.

80 pages. 16mo. A-E8. Text in Massachusetts with interlinear English.

Evans 166. ESTC System no. 006092692. ESTC Citation no. R26095. Copies only in British Library and New York Public.

1678

[ELIOT, John] *The harmony of the Gospels, in the holy history of the humiliation and sufferings of Jesus Christ, from his incarnation to his death and burial.* Published

by John Eliot, teacher of the church in Roxbury. Boston: Printed by John Foster in the year 1678.

[4] 131 [1] p. [pi]2 [A]4 B-Q4 R2. 4to.

Wing E512. Evans 246. British Library has a copy and there are seventeen in America. ESTC System no. 006468062. ESTC Citation no. W4384.

I find nothing on the market since 1897, when Brinley's copies brought \$110, \$80, and \$40.

1679

[ELIOT, John] *A brief answer to a small book written by John Norcot against infant-baptisme. This answer written by John Eliot for the sake of some of the flock of Jesus Christ who are ready to be staggered in point of infant-baptisme by reading his book.* Boston: Printed by John Foster, 1679.

[2] 27 [1] p. 8vo.

Wing E502A. Evans 266. ESTC System no. 006467692. ESTC Citation no. W24112. Copies at Lilly and New York Public.

I find no copies in the market in modern times. I found a copy catalogued in 1943 at \$1,850 with Lathrop Harper.

1680

The Second Eliot New Testament

VVUSKV | WUTTESTAMENTUM | NUL-
LORDUMUN | IESUS CHRIST |
Nuppoquohwussuaeneumun | [double rule] |
Cambridge, | *Printed for the Right Honourable |*
CORPORATION in London, for the | propogation of
the Gospel among the In- | dians in New-England 1680.

180 leaves. Quarto. After the completion of the New Testament some copies were probably bound up for immediate use. I know of no copies on the market as a stand-alone New Testament in my 30-year career.

1684

[ELIOT, John, attributed] *Proverbs 22:6. Nehtuhpeh peisses ut mayut ne who ayont kah kehehisuit matta pish wunnuk ad amooon.* [Cambridge, MA: Printed by Samuel Green, 1684].

13 [61] [6] p. 16mo.

Evans 427. Wing E516. ESTC System no. 006467802. ESTC Citation no. W31268. ESTC records a single known copy at Massachusetts Historical Society.

1685

The Second Eliot Indian Bible

MAMVSSE | WUNNEETUPANATAMWE | UP-
BIBLUM GOD | NANEESWE | NUKKONE
TESTAMENT | KAH WONK | WUSKU
TESTAMENT. | Ne quoshkinnumuk nashpe
Wuttinneumoh *CHRIST* | noh asoo wesit | *JOHN*
ELIOT. | Nahohtôeu ontchetôe Printenoomuk, |
[rule] | *CAMBRIDGE.* | Printeuooop nashpe *Samuel*
Green. MDCLXXXV.

This translates as: The whole holy his-bible God both old testament this turned by the-servant of Christ who is-called John Eliot second-time amended impression.

New Testament title as above. The caption of the appended metrical psalter is *Wame Ketoohomae uketcoohomaongash David.*

A complete copy has 608 printed leaves without pagination, plus two blank leaves. Quarto. []2, A-Z4, Aa-Zz4, Aaa-Zzz4, Aaaa-Zzzz4, Aaaaa-Ooooo4, Ppppp2; A-Z4, Aa-Yy4.

Sabin 22156, 22157. Evans 385. Field 495 (first edition, see note).

At the beginning of each chapter is a brief comment in English that is not in the first edition.

IN THE EARLY DAYS of researching this article the Christie's auctions of the private collection of Bill Reese took place. Part 1 was 25 May 2022 and its lot 15 was Bill's copy of the Second Eliot Indian Bible. The Reese copy was estimated \$80,000-\$120,000 and brought \$88,200 all in. Bill had the Andrew Gifford copy in contemporary sheep, rebaked and restored. Gifford was a Baptist minister and an important figure in the early history of the British Library. Many of Gifford's books and manuscripts have come out through Bristol Baptist College but the catalogue description does not mention that provenance.

In 2005, Christie's sold the John Bailey-Grindal Rawson copy at \$84,000 all in.

About 12 years ago I appraised a copy that had belonged to Experience Mayhew at \$390,000 for insurance.

1685

[ELIOT, John] *The Dying speeches of several Indians.* [Cambridge, MA: Printed by Samuel Green, c. 1685]

Page 1: "Here be but a few of the dying speeches and counsels of such Indians as dyed in the Lord... These things are printed, not so much for publishment, as to save charge of writeing out of copies for those that did desiere them. John Eliot." The speeches were translated into English by Eliot.

The Acts and Books of JOHN ELIOT

[2] 12 p.

Wing E509, where this is ascribed to the press of Samuel Green and dated 1683. Evans 340, where the date is 1685. ESTC System no. 006467686. ESTC Citation no. W23253. ESTC decides on 1685 as the pub date and finds two copies, both at New York Public.

No modern market history that I could find; Brinley, 1879, \$145.

1689

[ELIOT, John and Grindal Rawson, translators]
SHEPARD, Thomas. *Sampwutteahae* |
QUINNUPPEKOMPAUAENIN. | Wahuwômook
ogussemesuog Sampwutteahae |

Wunnamptamwaenuog, | ... | THOMAS SHEPARD
| ... | Noh assoowesit | JOHN ELIOT | ...
GRINDAL RAWSON. | [rule] | [quotes from
Matthew and Romans] | [rule] | CAMBRIDGE. |
Printed by *Samuel Green*, in the Year, 1689.

1-161 [162] 4to. This is the Eliot-Rawson translation of Thomas Shepard's *Sincere Convert*. Eliot's final translation.

Evans 497. Sabin 22165. Pilling, p. 174 and facing plate.

Brinley sold a copy in 1879 for \$40 which went to John Carter Brown Library. Around the same time, Yale bought a copy for \$100 (as far as I can tell from Pilling's comments). Siebert, 1999, had a 34-leaf fragment realize \$1,725 all in.

TIMELINE

THIS IS A PERSONALLY SELECTED and New-England-centric timeline of events at least somewhat relevant to the mission of John Eliot, from Columbus' first voyage to our Bill of Rights. The text of the article is about John Eliot, of course, and New England 1631-1690. That storyline does not exist in isolation from the very intense historical upheavals in England during that era. I thought this timeline might put key events on both sides of the Atlantic into an edifying single continuity.

1492 Columbus' First Voyage. It's worth taking a few minutes to try to wrap our heads around what a big deal this was for a long, long time in the European mind and pocketbook

1508 Thomas Aubert and Giovanni da Verrazzano explore Newfoundland and the St. Lawrence River

1509 The ascension of Henry VIII

1516 The Greek and Latin New Testament of Erasmus

1522 The Luther New Testament in German

1524 Giovanni da Verrazzano explores the Eastern Coast of America from Cape Fear to New Brunswick, including New York Bay and Narragansett Bay - where he receives a delegation of the Wampanoag and Narragansett people

1526 The Tyndale New Testament in English

1535 The Coverdale Bible in English

1536 The martyrdom of Tyndale

1537 The Matthew's Bible in English

1539 The Great Bible in English

1545-1563 The Council of Trent, the core of the Counter-Reformation

1547 Henry VIII dies and his Protestant son becomes King Edward VI

1552 *Brevissima relación* by Bartolome de Las Casas, about Spanish abuses of natives under their conquests, the beginning of the Black Legend narrative in England

1553 Edward VI dies and his Catholic half-sister, daughter of Catherine of Aragon and Henry VIII, becomes Queen of England, as the Tudor Queen Mary I

1557 The Geneva New Testament in English

1558 Mary I dies and Elizabeth I takes the Crown and re-establishes the Protestant Church of England

1560 The Geneva Bible (Calvinist Protestant)

1568 The Bishops' Bible (Anglican)

1571 Battle of Lepanto: Ottoman navy defeated, giving Catholic naval forces general control of the Mediterranean

1582-1598 The major publications of Richard Hakluyt

1583 First English translation of Bartolome de Las Casas as *The Spanish Colonie*

1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert claims St. John's, Newfoundland for the Royal prerogative of Queen Elizabeth

- 1585 The first Roanoke colony founded by Ralph Lane; it fails by 1586 with Lane abandoning the island and returning to England with Sir Francis Drake
- 1587 The second colony on Roanoke founded by John White; when White returns in 1590 he finds the settlement fortified but abandoned with no trace of the settlers
- 1588 Defeat of the Spanish Armada by the ascendant British Navy
- 1603 Death of Elizabeth I and the Monarchy moves from the House of Tudor to the House of Stuart as James VI of Scotland becomes James I of England
- 1604 The Hampton Court Conference about a new English Bible, a setback for the Puritan movement
- 1604 Birth of John Eliot in Hertfordshire
- 1605 The George Weymouth expedition kidnaps a group of Native Americans. As far as I can tell this is the first recorded incident of British enslavement of Native Americans. [Cabot and Raleigh had returned with some Native Americans but I cannot determine if they were enslaved.]
- 1607 Jamestown founded by the Virginia Company of London
- 1609 Henry Hudson reaches New York on behalf of the Dutch Republic
- 1609 The *Sea Venture*, headed for Jamestown, is diverted by storms to Bermuda, and the crew and passengers form a permanent English settlement
- 1609-1610 The "Starving Time" at Jamestown; only about 60 of the about 500 settlers survive the winter
- 1611 Publication of the first edition of the King James Bible
- 1614 John Smith and Thomas Hunt begin mapping the New England coast, including Patuxet (future Plymouth), where Hunt kidnaps Tisquantum ("Squanto") and sells him into slavery in Málaga, Spain
- 1616-1619 The New England coastal Native American population is decimated by an epidemic which mostly spared the Narragansetts. The disease remains unidentified though theories have abounded through the centuries
- 1618-1648 The Thirty Years War
- 1619 After escaping to England, Squanto returns to Patuxet as the last of his tribe (killed off by the epidemic) and joins the decimated Wampanoags
- 1619 The first recorded disembarkation of African slaves in British North America, at Old Point Comfort near the Jamestown colony, when the crew of a British privateer flying a Dutch flag unloads about 20 Angolans they had stolen from a Portuguese slave ship
- 1620 The Pilgrims arrive at the desolate settlement of Patuxet and name it Plymouth (sometimes "Plimouth" in the early days) in honor of their final departure point in England.
- 1621 Squanto plays a key role in negotiations between Massasoit and the Pilgrims since he speaks English. Squanto assists the settlers (in general and against the threatening Narragansetts) until he also dies of what William Bradford called the "Indian Fever"
- 1623 The Dorchester Adventurers begin the settlement of Cape Ann, which fails by 1627
- 1624 Edward Winslow's *Good Newes from New England*
- 1625 James I dies and Charles I is crowned King
- 1625 Charles I marries Henrietta Maria, Catholic daughter of Henry IV of France
- 1625 Samuel Purchas publishes *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes*
- 1625 The first English ship arrives in Barbados and claims the island for England
- 1626 Continuous settlement begins in Salem
- 1628 Charles I re-issues the "Thirty-Nine Articles" of the Anglican faith, as first issued in 1563 by Elizabeth I; though in 1563 this is a leaning away from Mary I's Catholicism and back toward the Protestantism of the Henrician Reformation, when re-appearing in 1628 they feel like a slight leaning back towards Rome...and tensions rise
- 1629 Passage in Parliament of the "Three Resolutions," the first being an attempt to block tampering with the "established" Church of England
- 1629 The "Cambridge Agreement" is signed by the shareholders of Massachusetts Bay Company, pledging their emigration to the New World
- 1630 First ships arrive with Puritan settlers of Boston, including John Winthrop on the *Arbella*. The Winthrop fleet was 11 ships
- 1630 John Cotton's *God's Promises to his Plantation*
- 1630 John White's *The Planters Plea*
- 1631 John Eliot arrives in Boston aboard the *Lyon*
- 1632-1673 The series of reports known as the Jesuit

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- Relations relating the progress of Jesuit missions in North America
- 1633 The staunch anti-Puritan William Laud is made Archbishop of Canterbury by Charles I
- 1633-1634 The smallpox epidemic ("The Indian Fever")
- 1635 William Wood's *New Englands Prospect* published in London
- 1636 Roger Williams is exiled from Massachusetts Bay Colony and founds Providence Colony, Rhode Island
- 1636-1638 The Pequot War
- 1637 Samuel Gorton arrives in Massachusetts Bay and is promptly kicked out, moving first to Plymouth and then on to Rhode Island
- 1637 John Wheelwright is banished from Boston
- 1637 John Winthrop defeats Henry Vane for governorship of the colony
- 1637 The trial of Anne Hutchinson
- 1638 Anne Hutchinson banished from Boston. She and her followers found Portsmouth, Rhode Island
- 1638-1641 The John Cotton lectures on the *Book of Revelation*
- 1640 "Bay Psalm Book"
- 1640 The Long Parliament accuses William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, of treason
- 1641 The *Massachusetts Body of Liberties* established as the first legal code in New England
- 1642 John Cotton's *Brief Exposition of the whole Book of Canticles*
- 1642 Thomas Lechford's *Plaine Dealing*
- 1643 *New England's First Fruits* (Eliot Tract 1)
- 1643 Anne Hutchinson murdered by Siwanoy warriors in the Dutch Bronx (nothing to do with religious controversy)
- 1643-1644 Separate diplomatic initiatives in London of Roger Williams and Samuel Gorton (re: Rhode Island and the efforts to control Narragansett Bay territory). In 1644, the Warwick Commission awards Williams a charter for the colony of Rhode Island which includes Shawomet and Pawtuxet, whose sachems had submitted to Massachusetts Bay General Court in 1643
- 1643 Samuel Gorton's "Gortonists" are tried and convicted of blasphemy in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay—reversing that loss in 1646 before the Warwick Commission
- 1643 Roger Williams publishes in London his *Key Into the Language of America*, a collection of Algonquian words and expressions with some commentary
- 1643 The Church of England declares Presbyterianism as its governing form—a blow to Congregationalism
- 1644 Roger Williams publishes in London *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution*
- 1644 The submission of the "Six Sachems" to the Massachusetts General Court
- 1645 Roger Williams' *Christenings Make Not Christians*
- 1645 The John Cotton lectures on *The Song of Songs* (expanding on his proto-millennarianism of his Lincolnshire sermons of the 1620s)
- 1645 Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud is beheaded by authority of a Parliamentary Bill of Attainder
- 1646-1647 Gorton publishes *Simplicities Defense against Seven-Headed Policy* and *An Incorruptible Key* (on Psalm 110)
- 1646 Eliot begins the mission to the Indians with his first sermons in Algonquian
- 1646 The Cambridge Platform is issued
- 1647 *Day-Breaking* (Eliot Tract 2)
- 1648 *Clear Sun-shine* (Eliot Tract 3)
- 1648 John Cotton's *The Way of the Congregational Churches*
- 1648 The Cambridge Platform is adopted, declaring Congregationalism as the "New England Way" in the Massachusetts Bay
- 1649 *Platform of Church Discipline* printed by Samuel Green
- 1649 Charles I is beheaded
- 1649-1660 The Commonwealth of England and the Interregnum
- 1649-1653 England ruled by the Rump Parliament and the "English Council of State," later "Protector's Privy Council"
- 1649 *Glorious Progress* (Eliot Tract 4)
- 1650 George Thorowgood's *Jewes in America*
- 1651 *Light Appearing* (Eliot Tract 5)

- 1652 *Strength out of Weaknesse* (Eliot Tract 6)
- 1652 Roger Williams' *The Bloody Tenant yet More Bloody*
- 1653 *Tears of Repentance* (Eliot Tract 7)
- 1653 Oliver Cromwell takes control from Parliament, becomes Lord Protector and dissolves Parliament
- 1655 *Late and Further Manifestation* (Eliot Tract 8)
- 1655 The English invade Spanish Jamaica, led by General Robert Venables and Admiral William Penn (father of the Quaker founder of Pennsylvania, William Penn)
- 1656 John Phillip's attack on Spanish mistreatment of natives, in his translation of Las Casas titled *The Tears of the Indians*
- 1658 Oliver Cromwell dies
- 1658-1660 Richard Cromwell ("Tumbledown Dick"), Charles Fleetwood, and George Monck vie for power and control of England
- 1659 *Further Accompt* (Eliot Tract 9)
- 1659 *The Christian Commonwealth*
- 1659-1661 Boston executes four Quakers. The 1660s started roughly for Boston with these executions. Eliot awkwardly struggled to explain the colony's executions in a retrospective letter to Richard Baxter dated 10 January 1668, writing that these Quakers were not apprehended and convicted because they were Quakers but because they had been "turbulent" and had failed to conduct themselves in "quietness, peace, and submission to order." Moreover, Eliot asserted that the Court had taken "much pains with them, with long patience. And proceeded with sundry steps and degrees against them." Eliot tries to assure Baxter that the Court was so reluctant to carry out these sentences they offered the condemned a chance to leave Massachusetts if they promised never to return. Eliot concludes with the observation that these four remained "presumptuously obstinate" and thereby sealed their own fate.
- 1660 *Further Account* (Eliot Tract 10)
- 1660 The Declaration of Breda, a proclamation of Charles II of a general pardon for crimes committed in the Civil Wars and the Interregnum
- 1660 Restoration of the House of Stuart to the Monarchy with Charles II as King
- 1660 The Jamaican Maroons switch allegiance from Spanish to English, securing the island for England (though not officially acknowledged until the Treaty of Madrid in 1670)
- 1660 Massasoit's sons Wamsutta and Metacom legally change their names in a Plymouth court to Alexander and Philip
- 1661 The Wampanoag sachem Massasoit dies and Wamsutta (Alexander) becomes sachem
- 1661 First Eliot Indian New Testament
- 1661 George Bishop publishes *New-England Judged* to expose the Puritan abuse of Quakers
- 1661 Wamsutta (Alexander), eldest son of Massasoit, dies and his younger brother Metacom (Philip) becomes sachem of the Wampanoags
- 1661 King Charles II forbids Massachusetts from executing Quakers
- 1662 The Boston Synod promotes the Half Way Covenant to ease tensions between Presbyterians and Congregationalists
- 1663 First Eliot Indian Bible
- 1665 *Communion of the Churches* in which Eliot builds upon the Half Way Covenant for an ecclesiology and church polity that can find a productive place between Presbyterianism and Congregationalism
- 1666 Eliot's *Indian Grammar Begun*
- 1669 Eliot's *Indian Primer, or the way of training up...*
- 1671 *Brief Narrative* (Eliot Tract 11)
- 1671 Eliot's *Indian Dialogues*
- 1672 Eliot's *Logic Primer*
- 1672 Thomas Shepard's *The Sincere Convert*. Translated into Algonquian in 1689, Eliot's final translation
- 1675-1678 King Philip's War
- 1677 William Hubbard publishes *The Present State of New-England: Being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians*, one of the first accounts of King Philip's War
- 1677 Richard Hutchison publishes in London *The Warr in New-England Visibly Ended. King Philip the barbarous Indian now Beheaded...*
- 1682 Mary Rowlandson publishes her captivity narrative, *The sovereignty and goodness of God...* [Colonial title and now standard uniform title]
- 1680 The Second Eliot New Testament
- 1684 England revokes the Massachusetts Charter
- 1685 Second Eliot Indian Bible
- 1685 Eliot's *Dying Speeches of Several Indians*

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- 1685 Charles II dies and James II ascends
- 1686 England sends Boston a Royal Governor to enforce English laws
- 1688-1689 The Glorious Revolution. James II is overthrown and Parliament invites to the throne William and Mary, as William III (William of Orange) and Mary II (the Stuart daughter of James II)
- 1689 In the wake of the Glorious Revolution, England passes a Toleration Act which extends to the American colonies
- 1688-1697 King William's War
- 1690 Death of John Eliot
- 1691 Cotton Mather publishes *Triumphs of the Reformed Religion, in America: The Life of the Renowned John Eliot...a memorable evangelist among the Indians of New-England*
- 1692-1693 The Salem Witch Trials
- 1694 Mathew Mayhew publishes (in Boston) *A Brief Narrative of the Success which the Gospel hath had*. This was re-issued in London in 1695 as *Conquests and Triumphs of Grace: Being a Brief Narrative of the Success which the Gospel hath had among the Indians of Martha's Vineyard...*
- 1694 Cotton Mather publishes *The Life and Death of John Eliot*
- 1694 Mary II dies
- 1702 William III dies and Queen Anne ascends
- 1703 "A Declaration Against the Pennicooke and Eastern Indians," the broadside announcement of Queen Anne's War (against the French and Indians), which lasted until 1713
- 1706 Cotton Mather publishes *An Epistle to the Christian Indians*
- 1707 The Acts of Union join the Kingdom of England and the Kingdom of Scotland as the Kingdom of Great Britain and Queen Anne of England becomes Queen Anne of Great Britain.
- 1709 The Massachusetts-English diglot of the Psalms of David and the Gospel of John, the first printed Holy Scripture in English in America beyond brief quotations
- 1714 Death of Queen Anne and ascension of George I (House of Hanover) as Anne's closest Protestant relative
- 1716 Thomas Church edits and publishes Benjamin Church's *Entertaining Passages Relating to King Philip's War...*
- 1721 Cotton Mather publishes *India Christiana: A Discourse delivered unto the Commissioners for the Propagation of the Gospel among the American Indians*
- 1727 Death of George I and ascension of George II
- 1727 Experience Mayhew publishes *Indian Converts*
- 1736 John Mason publishes *A Brief History of the Pequot War: especially of the Memorable Taking of the Fort at Mistick in Connecticut in 1637*
- 1741 Jonathan Edwards' sermon *Sinners in the Hands of a Angry God*
- 1746 David Brainerd's *Mirabilia Dei inter Indicos, or the Rise and Progress of a Remarkable Work of Grace Amongst a Number of the Indians*
- 1754-1763 The French and Indian War, in Europe called the Seven Years War
- 1760 Death of George II and ascension of George III
- 1765 The Stamp Act
- 1773 The Tea Act and the Boston Tea Party
- 1774 First Continental Congress
- 1775 The Battle of Bunker Hill
- 1776 Declaration of Independence
- 1777 The Aitken New Testament
- 1782 The Aitken Bible
- 1783 The Treaty of Paris; Britain accepts American independence
- 1791 Adoption of the Establishment Clause and Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment in the Bill of Rights
- 1802 Thomas Jefferson's letter to the Danbury Baptists. "Believing with you that religion is a matter which lies solely between Man & his God, that he owes account to none other for his faith or his worship, that the legitimate powers of government reach actions only, & not opinions, I contemplate with sovereign reverence that act of the whole American people which declared that their legislature should 'make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof', thus building a wall of separation between Church & State. Adhering to this expression of the supreme will of the nation in behalf of the rights of conscience, I shall see with sincere satisfaction the progress of those sentiments which tend to restore to man all his natural rights, convinced he has no natural right in opposition to his social duties."

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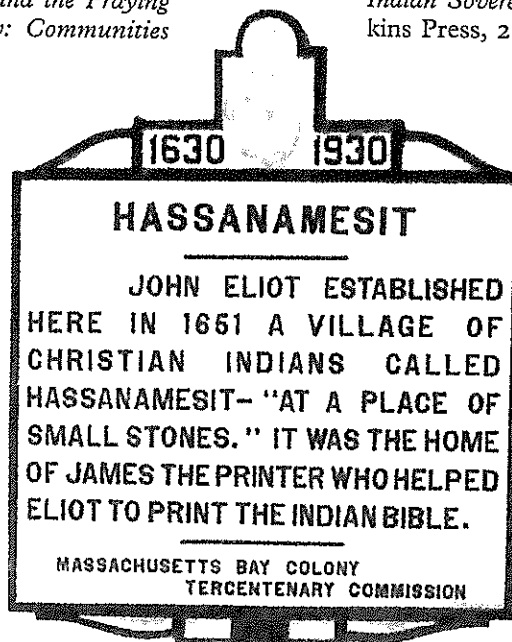
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