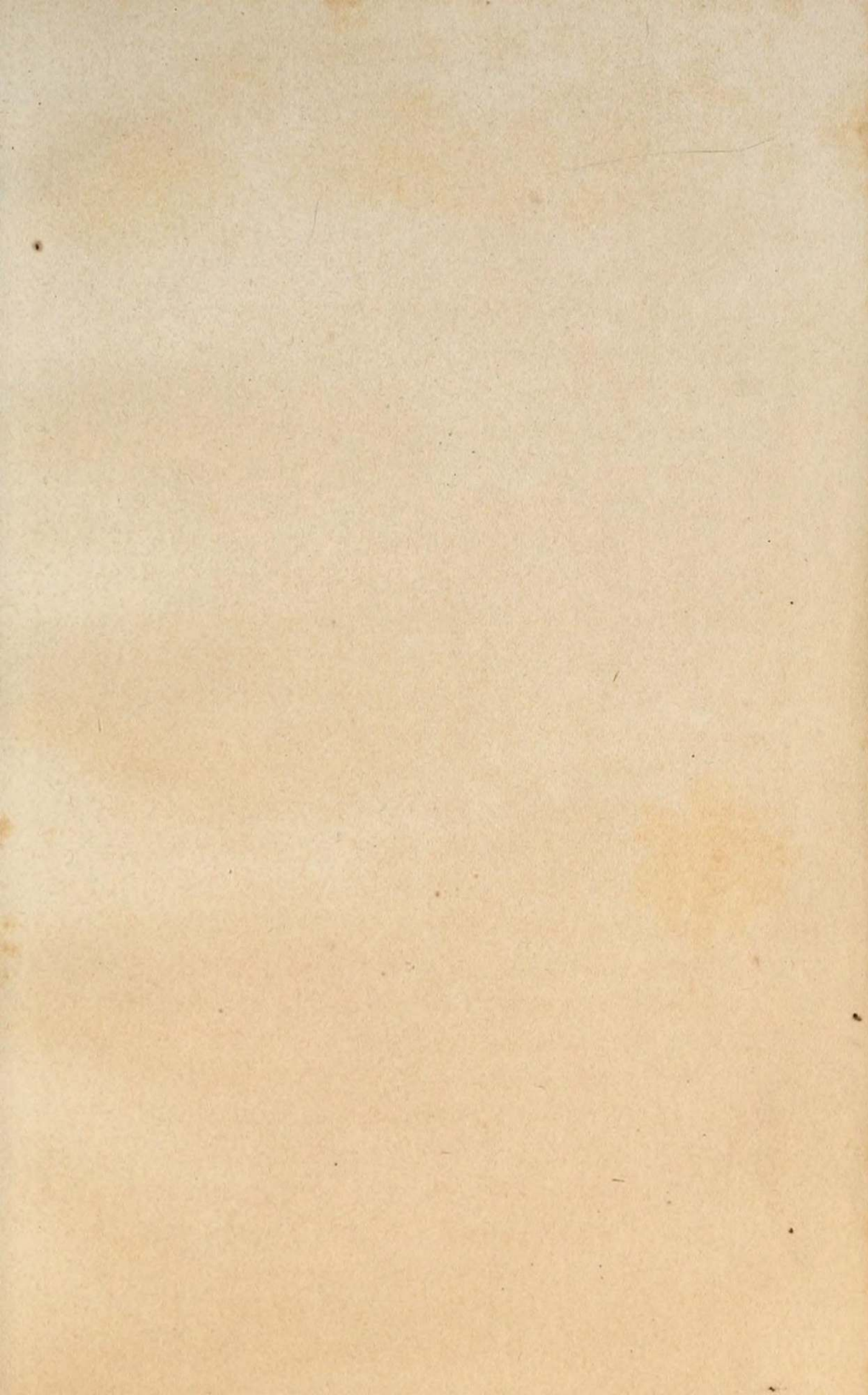




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THE
CAPTIVITY AND DELIVERANCE

OF

MR. JOHN WILLIAMS,

PASTOR OF THE CHURCH IN DEERFIELD,

AND

MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON,

OF LANCASTER,

WHO WERE TAKEN, TOGETHER WITH THEIR FAMILIES
AND NEIGHBORS, BY THE FRENCH AND INDIANS,
AND CARRIED INTO CANADA.

.....
WRITTEN BY THEMSELVES.
.....

BROOKFIELD,

PRINTED BY HORI BROWN,

FROM THE PRESS OF E. MERRIAM & CO.

September.....1811.

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P R E F A C E.

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[BY THE EDITOR.]

THE history of Mrs. ROWLANDSON'S captivity and release may be considered as highly valuable, in many points of view. It is, in itself, an interesting history, and is well calculated to engage the attention of children and youth. And to give them a just view of the ferocity and general habits of the aboriginals, as well as of the many sufferings endured by our ancestors, when settling the ground which we now occupy. And it cannot but lead all serious persons, who peruse it, to reflect on the wonderful goodness of God, to us, who come after them.

One of the present generation, who was born in the county of Worcester, can scarcely believe that all its inhabitants were so lately in fear of their lives, from the native savages. But Mrs. ROWLANDSON'S history will teach them that this was indeed the fact.

It is particularly recommended to every family in those towns through which Mrs. ROWLANDSON passed; and it is hoped that it may lead them to give praise to him, who has now given us such quietness in our dwellings, and freed us from the calamities which our fathers endured, for the good of their posterity.

MR. WILLIAMS' account is of equal importance, and calls for the same grateful feelings to God. The effects of his captivity will appear more worthy of observation, if we consider that some of his posterity who mingled with the Indians in Canada, are now preaching the gospel to the savages, to whom they are allied by blood. Though the ways of Providence then appeared dark, yet, to us they unfold the divine wisdom and goodness. May every reader be enabled to sing, "Just and true are thy ways, O thou king of saints."

[BY THE EDITOR.]

The history of Mrs. Williams' captivity and release may be considered as a singular and interesting event, and is well calculated to attract the attention of children and youth. And to give a just view of the history and general habits of the Indians, as well as of the many interesting scenes which our ancestors, when settling the country, were obliged to witness. And it cannot but be interesting to those, who desire to reflect on the goodness of God to us, who are now settled in the country. One of the present generations, who are now settling the country, can scarcely be ignorant of the sufferings which were so lately experienced by the Indians from the more savage. It is hoped that this history will teach them that they are not the only sufferers. It is particularly recommended to every family, who have a child, which Mrs. Williams' history is intended to be read; and it is hoped that it will be read with pleasure to those who are now settling the country, and that it will be read with pleasure to those who are now settled in the country, and that it will be read with pleasure to those who are now settled in the country.

DEDICATION.



TO HIS EXCELLENCY,

JOSEPH DUDLEY, Esq.

Captain General and Governor in chief, in and over her
Majesties province of the Massachusetts Bay in New En-
gland, &c.

SIR,

IT was a satirical answer, and deeply reproachful to mankind, which the *philosopher* gave to that question, *what soonest grows old?* replied, *thanks.* The reproach of it would not be so sensible were there not sensible demonstrations of the truth of it, in those that wear the character of the ingenuous. Such as are surprized at, and seem to have no common relish of divine goodness; and too soon lose the impression: *They sang his praise, but soon forgot his works.* That it would be thus with respect to our *Benefactors* on earth, is contrary to the ingenuity of human nature: But that our greatful resentments of the signal favors of Heaven, should soon be worn off by time, is to the last degree criminal and unpardonable.

It would be unaccountable stupidity in me, not to maintain the most lively and awful sense of divine rebukes, which the Holy God has seen meet in spotless sovereignty to dispense to me, my family and people, in delivering us into the hands of those that hated us ; who led us into a strange land ; *my Soul has these still in remembrance, and is humbled in me :* However God has given us plentiful occasion to sing of Mercy as well as Judgment. The wonders of divine mercy, which we have seen in the land of our captivity, and deliverance therefrom, cannot be forgotten without incurring the guilt of the blackest ingratitude.

To preserve the memory of these, it has been thought advisable to publish a short account of some of those signal appearances of divine power and goodness for us ; hoping it may serve to excite the *praise, faith and hope* of all that love God ; and may peculiarly serve to cherish a *grateful spirit*, and to render the impressions of God's mighty works indelible on my heart, and on *those* that were with me, have seen the wonders of the Lord and tasted of his salvation : That we may not be under that heavy charge made against Isreal of old, Psalm. 78: 11, 42. *They forgot his works and the wonders he shewed them : They remembered not his hand, nor the day that he delivered them from the enemy.*

And I cannot sir, but think it most agreeable to my duty to God, our Supreme redeemer, to mention your Excellency's name with honor ; since Heaven has honored you as the prime instrument in returning our captivity. Sure I am, the laws of justice and gratitude (which are the laws of God) do challenge from us, the most public acknowledgments of your uncommon sympathy with us, your children, in our bonds, expressed in all endearing methods of parental care and tenderness. All your people are cherished under your wings, happy in your government ; and are obliged to bless God for you : And among your people,

those that are immediately exposed to the outrages of the enemy, have peculiarly felt refreshments from the benign influences of your wise and tender conduct ; and are under the most sensible engagements to acknowledge your Excellency, under God, as the breath of their nostrils.

Your uncommon sagacity and prudence, in contriving to loose the bonds of your captivated children ; your unwearied vigor, and application, in pursuing them, to work our deliverance, can never be enough praised. It is most notorious that nothing was thought too difficult by you to effect this design ; in that you readily sent your own son, Mr. WILLIAM DUDLEY, to undergo the hazards and hardships of a tedious voyage, that this affair might be transacted with success ; which must not be forgotten, as an expression of your great sollicitude and zeal to recover us from the tyranny and oppression of our captivity.

I doubt not but that the God, whom herein you have served, will remember, and gloriously reward you ; and may Heaven long preserve you at your helm, a blessing so necessary for the tranquility of this province, in this dark and tempestuous season ; may the best of blessings from the Father of lights, be showered down upon your person, family and Government ; which shall be the prayer of,

Your Excellency's

Most humble, obedient,

and dutiful servant,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

those that we immediately exposed to the cruelties
of the enemy, have peculiarly felt the influence of
the benign influences of your wise and tender conduct;
and we under the most sensible encouragement to ac-
knowledge your beneficence, under God, as the author
of their health.

Your uncommon sagacity and prudence, in con-
tinuing to loose the bonds of your captivated children;
your unwearied vigour and application, in pursuing
them, to work out deliverance, can never be enough
praised. It is a most glorious and happy design; in-
deed, that you should see your own son, Mr. William
Ludlow, to undergo the hazards and hardships of a
tedious voyage, that his name might be recorded
with success; which must not be forgotten, as an ex-
pression of your great solicitude and zeal to recover
us from the tyranny and oppression of our captivity.
I doubt not but that the God, whom herein you have
served, will remember, and gloriously reward you;
and may likewise long preserve you at your home,
blessing us as necessary for the tranquillity of this pro-
vince, in this dark and tempestuous season; may the
best of blessings attend the Father of the Poor, be down
upon your person, family and Government;
which shall be the prayer of

John Williams's

Most humble obedient


and faithful servant,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

CAPTIVITY AND DELIVERANCE

OF

JOHN WILLIAMS.



THE history I am going to write, proves, that days of *fasting* and *prayer* without reformation, will not avail, to turn away the anger of God from a professing people ; and yet, witnesseth, how very advantageous, gracious supplications are, to prepare particular christians, patiently to suffer the will of God, in very trying public calamities. For some of us moved with fear, set apart a day of *prayer*, to ask of God, either to spare, and save us from the hands of our enemies, or to prepare us to sanctify and honor him, in what way soever he should come forth towards us. The places of scripture from whence we were entertained, were Gen. 32. 10, 11. *I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies, and of all the truth which thou hast shewed unto thy servants :— Deliver me, I pray thee, from the hand of my Brother, from the hand of Esau : For I fear him, lest he will come and smite me, and the Mother*

with the children. (In the forenoon.) And *Gen. 32. 26. And he said, let me go, for the day breaketh : And he said, I will not let thee go, except thou bless me.* (In the afternoon.) From which we were called upon to spread the causes of fear, relating to our own selves, or families before God ; as also, how it becomes us with an undeniable importunity to be following God, with earnest prayers for his blessing, in every condition. And it is very observable, how God ordered our prayers in a peculiar manner, to be going up to him ; to prepare us with a right *christian spirit*, to undergo and endure suffering trials.

Not long after, the Holy and righteous God, brought us under great trials, as to our persons and families, which put us under a necessity of spreading before him in a wilderness, the distressing dangers and calamities of our relations ; Yea, that called on us notwithstanding, seeming present frowns, to resolve by his grace not to be sent away without a blessing. *Jacob* in wrestling has the hollow of his thigh put out of joint ; and it is said to him, *let me go*, yet he is rather animated to an heroic christian resolution to continue earnest for the blessings, than discouraged from asking.

On the twenty ninth of *February*, 1703, 4, not long before break of day, the enemy came in like a flood upon us ; our watch

being unfaithful : An evil, whose awful effects, in a surprizal of our fort, should bespeak all watchmen to avoid, as they would not bring the charge of blood upon themselves. They came to my house in the beginning of the onset, and by their violent endeavors to break open doors and windows, with *Axes, and Hatchets*, awakened me out of sleep ; on which I leaped out of bed, and running toward the door, perceived the enemy making their entrance into the house : I called to awaken two soldiers, in the chamber ; and running toward my bedside, for my arms ; the enemy immediately broke into the room, I judge to the number of twenty, with *painted faces*, and hideous acclamations. I reached up my hands to the bedtester, for my pistol, uttering a short petition to God, *for everlasting mercies for me and mine, on the account of the merits of our Glorified redeemer ; expecting a present passage through the valley of the shadow of death : Saying in myself, as Isaiah, 38. 10, 11. I said in the cutting off my days, I shall go to the gates of the grave : I am deprived of the residue of my years. I said, I shall not see the Lord, even the Lord, in the land of the living : I shall behold man no more with the inhabitants of the world.* Taking down my pistol, I cocked it, and put it to the breast of the first Indian who came up ; but my pistol missing fire, I was seized by three Indians, who disarmed me, and

bound me, naked as I was in my shirt, and so I stood for near the space of an hour: Binding me, they told me they would carry me to *Quebeck*. My pistol missing fire, was an occasion of my life's being preserved: Since which I have also found it profitable to be crossed in my own will. The judgment of God did not long slumber against one of the three which took me, who was a Captain, for by sunrising he received a mortal shot, from my next neighbors house; who opposed so great a number of *French* and *Indians* as three hundred, and yet were no more than seven men in an ungarrisoned house.

I cannot relate the distressing care I had for my Wife, who had lien in but a few weeks before, and for my poor children, family, and christian neighbors. The enemy fell to rifling the house, and entered in great numbers into every room of the house. I begged of God to remember mercy in the midst of judgment that he would so far restrain their wrath and prevent their murdering of us: That we might have *grace to glorify his name, whether in life or death*; and as I was able, committed our souls to God. The enemies who entered the house were all of them *Indians* and *Macqua's*, inflexible over me a while, holding up hatchets over my head, threatening to burn all I had; but yet God beyond expectation, made us in a great measure to be pitied; For though some

were so cruel and barbarous as to take and carry to the door, two of my children and murder them, as also a Negro woman ; yet they gave me liberty to put on my clothes, keeping me bound with a cord on one arm, till I put on my clothes to the other ; and then changing my cord, they let me dress myself, and then pinioned me again. Gave liberty to my wife to dress herself, and our children. About sun an hour high, we were all carried out of the house, for a march and saw many of the houses of my neighbors in flames, perceiving the whole fort, one house excepted, to be taken. Who can tell, what sorrows pierced our souls, when we saw ourselves carried away from God's sanctuary, to go into a strange land exposed to so many trials ? the journey being at least three hundred miles we were to travel ; the snow up to the knees, and we never inur'd to such hardships and fatigues, the place we were to be carried to, a popish county. Upon my parting from the town, they fired my house and barn. We were carried over the river, to a spot on the Mountain, about a mile from my house, where we found a great number of our christian neighbors, men, women, and children, to the number of an hundred, nineteen of which were afterward murdered by the way, and two starved to death, near *Cowass*, in a time of great scarcity or famine, the savages underwent there.

When we came to the foot of our mountain, they took away our shoes, and gave us in the room of them, Indian shoes, to prepare us for our Travel. Whilst we were there the *English* beat out a company that remained in the town, and pursued them to the river, killing and wounding many of them; but the body of the army being alarmed, they repulsed those few *English* that pursued them.

I am not able to give you an account of the number of the enemy slain, but I observed after this fight, no great insulting mirth, as I expected; and saw many wounded persons, and for several days together, they buried of their party, and one of chief note among the *Macquas*. The Governor of *Canada* told me, his army had that success with the loss, but of eleven men, three *Frenchmen*, one of which was the Lieutenant of the army, five *Macquas*, and three *Indians*: But after my arrival at *Quebeck*, I spake with an *English* man, who was taken the last war, and married there, and of their religion; who told me, they lost above forty and that many were wounded: I replied, the Governor of *Canada* said they lost but eleven men; he answered, it is true, that there was but eleven killed outright at the taking of the fort, but that many others were wounded, among whom was the Ensign of the *French*; but said he they had a fight in the meadow,

and that in both engagements, they lost more than forty. Some of the soldiers, both *French* and *Indians* then present told me so, (said he) adding, that the *French* always endeavor to conceal the number of their slain.

After this, we went up the mountain and, saw the smoke of the fires in the town, and beheld the awful desolations of our town. And before we marched any farther, they killed a sucking child of the *English*. There were slain by the enemy of the inhabitants of our town, to the number of thirty eight, besides nine of the neighboring towns. We traveled not far the first day; God made the heathen so to pity our children, that though they had several wounded persons of their own to carry upon their shoulders, for thirty miles, before they came to the river, yet they carried our children, incapable of travelling, in their arms, and upon their shoulders. When we came to our lodging place, the first night, they dug away the snow, and made some wigwams, cut down some of the small branches of the spruce trees to lye down on, and gave the prisoners somewhat to eat; but we had but little appetite. I was pinioned, and bound down that night, and so I was every night whilst I was with the army. Some of the enemy who brought drink with them from the town, fell to drinking, and in their drunken fit, they

killed my negro man, the only dead person I either saw at the town or in the way. In the night an *English* man made his escape; in the morning I was called for, and ordered by the General to tell the *English*, that if any more made their escape, they would burn the rest of the prisoners. He that took me, was unwilling to let me speak with any of the prisoners, as we marched; but on the morning of the second day, he being appointed to guard the rear, I was put into the hands of my other master, who permitted me to speak to my wife, when I overtook her, and to walk with her, to help her in her journey. On the way, we discoursed of the happiness of those who had a right to *an house not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens*; and *God for a Father, and friend*; as also, that it was our reasonable duty, quietly to submit to the will of God, and to say, *the will of the Lord be done*. My wife told me her strength of body began to fail, and that I must expect to part with her; saying she hoped God would preserve my life, and the life of some, if not of all our children, with us; and commended to me, under God, the care of them, and never spake any discontented word as to what had befallen us, but with suitable expressions justified God in what had befallen us. We soon made an halt, in which time my chief surviving master came up, upon which I was put upon

marching with the foremost, and so made to take my last farewell of my wife, *the desire of my eyes*, and companion in many mercies and afflictions. Upon our separation from each other, we asked for each other, Grace sufficient, for what God should call us to: After our being parted from one another, she spent the few remaining minutes of her stay, in reading the holy scriptures; which she was wont personally every day to delight her soul in reading, praying, meditating of, and over, by herself, in her closet, over and above what she heard out of them in our family worship. I was made to wade over a small river, and so were all the *English*, the water above knee deep, the stream very swift; and after that to travel up a small mountain, my strength was almost spent, before I came to the top of it: No sooner had I overcome the difficulty of that ascent, but I was permitted to sit down, and be unburthened of my pack; I sat pitying those who were behind, and intreated my master to let me go down, and help my wife, but he refused, and would not let me stir from him, I asked each of the prisoners (as they passed by me) after her, and heard that, passing through the above mentioned river, she fell down, and was plunged over head and ears in the water; after which she travelled not far, for at the foot of that mountain, the cruel and blood thirsty savage who took her,

slew her with his hatchet, at one stroke; the tidings of which were very awful: And yet such was the heard heartedness of the adversary, that my tears were reckoned to me as a reproach. My loss, and the loss of my children was great, our hearts were so filled with sorrow, that nothing but the comfortable hopes of her being taken away in mercy, to herself, from the evils we were to see, feel and suffer under, (and joined to the assembly of the *spirits of just men made perfect*, to rest in peace, and *joy unspeakable and full of glory*; and the good pleasure of God thus to exercise us) could have kept us from sinking under, at that time. That scripture, *Job 1. 21.* — *Naked came I out of my mothers womb, and naked shall I return thither: The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord:* Was brought to my mind, and from it, that an afflicting God was to be glorified; with some other places of scripture, to persuade to a patient bearing my afflictions.

We were again called upon to march with a far heavier burden on my spirits, than on my back. I begged of God, to over rule in his providence, that the corpse of one so dear to me and of one whose spirit he had taken to dwell with him in glory, might meet with a christian burial, and not be left for meat to the fowls of the air, and beasts of the earth: A mercy that God graciously vouch-

safed to grant. For God put it into the hearts of my neighbors, to come out as far as she lay, to take up her corpse, recarry it to the town, and decently to bury it soon after. In our march they killed another sucking infant of one of my neighbors; and before night, a girl of about eleven years of age. I was made to mourn, at the consideration of my flocks being so far a flock of slaughter, many being slain in the town, and so many murdered in so few miles from the town; and from fears what we must yet expect, from such who delightfully imbrued their hands in the blood of so many of his people. When we came to our lodging place, an Indian captain from the eastward, spake to my master about killing of me, and taking off my scalp. I lift up my heart to God, to implore his grace, and mercy in such a time of need; and afterwards I told my master, if he intended to kill me, I desired he would let me know of it, assuring him that my death after a promise of quarter, would bring the guilt of blood upon him. He told me he would not kill me. We laid down and slept, for God sustained and kept us. In the morning we were all called before the chief *Sachems* of the *Macqua's* and *Indians*, that a more equal distribution might be made of the prisoners, among them: At my going from the wigwam, my best clothing was taken from me. As I came nigh the place ap-

pointed, some of the captives met me, and told me, they thought the enemies were going to burn some of us, for they had pealed off the bark from several trees, and acted very strangely. To whom I replied, they could act nothing against us, but as they were permitted of God, and I was persuaded, he would prevent such severities. When we came to the wigwam appointed, several of the captives were taken from their former masters, and put into the hands of others; but I was sent again to my two masters, who brought me from my house.

In our fourth days march, the enemy killed another of my neighbors, who being nigh the time of travail, was wearied with her journey. When we came to the great river, the enemy took sleighs to draw their wounded, several of our children, and their packs, and marched a great pace. I travelled many hours in water up to the ankles: Near night I was very lame, having before my travel wronged my ankle bone and sinews: I thought, and so did others that I should not be able to hold out to travel. I lift my heart to God, (my only resource) to remove my lameness, and carry me through with my children and neighbors, if he judged it best; however I desired God would be with me in my great change, if he called me by such a death to glorify him; and that he would take care of my children, and neighbors,

and bless them ; and within a little space of time, I was well of my lameness, to the joy of my children, and neighbors, who saw a great alteration in my travelling.

On the Saturday, (March 4,) the journey was long and tedious : We travelled with such speed, that four women were tired, and then slain by them who led them captive.

On Sunday, (March 5,) we rested, and I was permitted to pray and preach to the captives. The place of scripture spoken from, was Lam. 1. 18. *The Lord is righteous, for I have rebelled against his commandment : Hear, I pray you, all people behold my sorrow ; my virgins and my young men are gone into captivity.* The enemy who said to us, *Sing us one of Zions songs,* were ready some of them to upbraid us, because our singing was not so loud as their's. When the Macquas and Indians were chief in power, we had this revival in our bondage, to join together in the worship of God, and encourage one another to patient bearing the indignation of the Lord, till he should plead our cause. When we arrived to *New France,* we were forbidden praying one with another, or joining together in the service of God.

The next day, (Monday, March 6,) soon after we marched, we had an alarm ; on which many of the English were bound ; I was then near the front, and my masters not with me so I was not bound. This alarm

was occasioned by some Indians shooting at geese that flew over them, which put them into a considerable consternation and fright; but after they came to understand that they were not pursued by the English, they boasted, that the English would not come out against them, as they had boasted before we began our journey in the morning. They killed this day two women who were so faint they could not travel.

The next day (Tuesday, March 7,) in the morning before we travelled, one *Mary Brooks*, a pious young woman, came to the wigwam where I was, and told me, she desired to bless God, who had inclined the heart of her master, to let her come and take her farewell of me. Said she, by my falls on the ice yestarday, I wronged myself, causing an abortion this night, so that I am not able to travel far; I know they will kill me to day; but (says she) God has (praised be his name) by his spirit with his word, strengthened me to my last encounter with death; and mentioned to me some places of scripture so seasonably sent in for her support. And (says she) I am not afraid of death; I can through the grace of God cheerfully submit to the will of God. Pray for me (said she) at parting, that God would take me to himself. Accordingly she was killed that day. I mention it to the end, I may stir up all in their young days, to improve the death of

Christ by faith, to a giving them an holy boldness in the day of death.

The next day (Wednesday, March 8,) we were made to scatter one from another into smaller companies, and one of my children carried away with Indians belonging to the Eastern parts. At night my master came to me, with my pistol in his hand, and put it to my breast, and said, now I will kill you, for (he said) you would have killed me with it if you could. But by the grace of God I was not much daunted, and whatever his intention might be, God prevented my death.

The next day, (Thursday, March 9,) I was again permitted to pray with that company of captives with me, and we allowed to sing a psalm together. After which, I was taken from all the company of the English, excepting two children of my neighbors, one of which, a girl of four years of age, was killed by her Macqua master the next morning, (Friday, March 10,) the snow being so deep when we left the river, that he could not carry the child and his pack too.

When the sabbath came (March 12,) one Indian staid with me, and a little boy nine years old, whilst the rest went a hunting. And when I was here, I thought with myself that God had now separated me from the congregation of his people, who was now in his sanctuary, when he commandeth the blessing even life for ever : And made to bewail

my unfruitfulness under, and unthankfulness for such a mercy. When my spirit was almost overwhelmed within me, at the consideration of what had past over me, and what was to be expected; I was ready almost to sink in my spirit; but God spake those words with a greater efficacy than man could speak them, for my strengthening and support. Psal. 118. 17. *I shall not die, but live: And declare the works of the Lord.* Psal. 42. 11. *Why art thou cast down O my soul? and why art thou disquieted within me? hope thou in God: For I shall yet praise him, who is the health of my countenance, and my God.* Nehem. 1. 8. 9. *Remember, I beseech thee, the word that thou commandest thy servant Moses, saying if ye transgress, I will scatter you abroad among the nations; But if ye turn unto me, and keep my commandments, and do them, though there were of you cast out unto the uttermost part of the heaven, yet will I gather them from thence, and will bring them unto the place that I have chosen to set my name there.* These three places of scripture, one after another, by the grace of God strengthened my hopes that God would so far restrain the wrath of the adversary, that the greatest number of us left alive, should be carried through so tedious a journey; that though my children had no father to take care of them, that word quieted me to a patient waiting to see the end the Lord would make.

Jer. 49. 11. *Leave thy fatherless children. I will preserve them alive; and let thy widows trust in me.* Accordingly God carried them wonderfully through great difficulties and dangers. My youngest daughter aged seven years, was carried all the journey, and looked after with a great deal of tenderness. My youngest son aged four years, was wonderfully preserved from death; for though they that carried him or drewed him on sleighs, were tired with their journeys, yet the savage cruel tempers, were so overruled by God, that they did not kill him, but in their pity he was spared, and others would take care of him; so that four times on their journey he was spared, and others would take care of him, till at last he arrived at *Mont Royal*, where a French Gentlewoman pitying the child, redeemed it out of the hands of the heathen. My son *Samuel*, and my eldest daughter, were pitied so as to be drawn on sleighs, when unable to travel. And though they suffered very much through scarcity of food, and tedious journies, they were carried through to *Mont Royal*. And my son *Stephen* about eleven years of age, wonderfully preserved from death, in the famine whereof three English persons died, and after eight months brought into *Shamblee*.

My master returned on the evening of the Sabbath, (March 12,) and told me, he had killed five moose. The next day, (Monday,

March 13,) we were removed to the place where he killed them. We tarried there three days, till we had roasted and dried the meat. My master made me a pair of snowshoes, for (said he) you cannot possibly travel without; the snow being knee deep. We parted from thence heavy laden; I travelled with a burden on my back, with snowshoes, twentyfive miles the first day of wearing them; and again the next day till afternoon; and then we came to the French River. My master at this place took away my pack, and drew the whole load on the ice; but my bones seemed to be misplaced, and I unable to travel with any speed. My feet were very sore, and each night I wrung blood out of my stockings, when I pulled them off. My shins also were very sore, being cut with crusty snow, in the time of my travelling without snowshoes. But finding some dry oak leaves, by the river banks, I put them to my shins, and in once applying them, they were healed. And here my master was very kind to me, would always give me the best he had to eat; and by the goodness of God, I never wanted a meal's meat during my captivity; though some of my children and neighbors were greatly wounded (as I may say) with the arrows of famine, and pinching want; having for many days nothing but roots to live upon, and not much of them neither. My master gave me a piece of a

BIBLE ; never disturbed me in reading the scriptures, or in praying to God. Many of my neighbors also, found that mercy in their journey, to have bibles, psalm books, catechisms, and good books, put into their hands, with liberty to use them ; and yet after their arrival at *Canada*, all possible endeavors were used to deprive them of them. Some of them say their bibles were demanded by the French priests, and never redelivered to them, to their great grief and sorrow.

My march on the French river was very sore ; for fearing a thaw, we travelled a very great pace ; my feet were so bruised, and my joints so distorted by my travelling in snowshoes, that I thought it impossible to hold out. One morning a little before break of day, my master came and awaked me out of my sleep, saying, Arise, pray to God, and eat your breakfast, for we must go a great way to day. After prayer, I arose from my knees, but my feet were so tender, swoln, bruised, and full of pain, that I could scarce stand upon them, without holding by the wigwam. And when the Indians said you must run today ; I answered, I could not run. My master pointing out his hatchet, said to me, Then I must dash out your brains, and take off your scalp. I said, I suppose then you will do so, for I am not able to travel with speed. He sent me away alone, on the ice. About sun half an hour

high, he overtook me, for I had gone very slowly, not thinking it possible to travel five miles. When he came up, he called me to run; I told him I could go no faster; he passed by without saying one word more: So that sometimes I scarce saw any thing of him for an hour together. I travelled from about break of day till dark, never so much as sat down at noon to eat warm victuals, eating frozen meat which I had in my coat pocket, as I traveled. We went that day two of their days journey, as they came down, I judge we went forty five miles that day. God wonderfully supported me, and so far renewed my strength, that in the afternoon I was stronger to travel, than in the forenoon. My strength was restored and renewed to admiration. We should never distrust the care and compassion of God, who can give strength to them who have no might, and power to them that are ready to faint.

When we entered on the lake, the ice was rough, and uneven, which was very grievous to my feet, that could scarce bear to be set down on the smooth ice, on the river; I lift up my cry to God in ejaculatory requests, *That he would take notice of my state, and some way or other relieve me.* I had not marched above half a mile, before there fell a moist snow, about an inch and an half deep, that made it very soft for my feet to pass over

the lake, to the place where my masters family was. Wonderful favors in the midst of trying afflictions ! We went a day's journey from the lake, to a small company of Indians, who were a hunting ; they were, after their manner, kind to me, and gave me the best they had, which was Moose flesh, ground nuts and cranberries, but no bread—for three weeks together I eat no bread. After our stay there, and undergoing difficulties in cutting wood, and suffering from lousiness, having lousy old clothes of soldiers put upon me when they stript me of mine, to sell to the French soldiers in the army.

We again began a march for *Shamblee* ; we stayed at a branch of the lake, and feasted two or three days on geese we killed there. After another day's travel, we came to a river where the ice was thawed, we made a canoe of elm bark, in one day ; and arrived on a Saturday *near noon at *Shamblee*, a small village, where is a garrison and fort of French soldiers.

AT SHAMBLEE.

This village is about fifteen miles from *Mont Royal*. The French were very kind to me : A gentleman of the place took me into his house, and to his table, and lodged me

* Suppose March 25.

at night on a good feather bed. The inhabitants and officers were very obliging to me, the little time I stayed with them, and promised to write a letter to the Governor in chief, to inform him of my passing down the river. Here I saw a girl taken from our town, and a young man, who informed me, that the greatest part of the captives were come in, and that two of my children were at *Mont Royal*; that many of the captives had been in, three weeks before my arrival: Mercy in the midst of judgment! As we passed along the river towards *Sorel*, we went into an house where was an English woman of our town, who had been left among the French in order to her conveyance to the Indian fort. The French were very kind to her and to myself, and gave us the best provision they had; and she embarked with us to go down to *St. Francois* fort. When we came down to the first inhabited house at *Sorel*, a French woman came to the river side, and desired us to go into her house, and when we were entered, she compassionated our state, and told us, she had in the last war been a captive among the Indians, and therefore was not a little sensible of our difficulties. She gave the Indians something to eat in the chimney corner, and spread a cloth on the table for us with napkins; which gave such offence to the Indians, that they hasted away, and would not call in at the

fort : But wherever we entered into houses, the French were very courteous. When we came to *St. Francois* river, we found some difficulty by reason of the ice ; and entering into a Frenchman's house, he gave us a loaf of bread, and some fish to carry away with us ; but we passed down the river till night, and there seven of us supped on the fish called Bull head, or Pout, and did not eat it up, the fish was so very large.

The next morning we met with such a quantity of ice, that we were forced to leave our canoe and travel on land. We went to a French officer's house, who took us into a private room, out of the sight of the Indians, and treated us very courteously. That night we arrived at the fort called *St. Francois*, where we found several poor children who had been taken from the Eastward the summer before ; a sight very affecting, they being in habit very much like Indians, and in manners very much symbolizing with them. At this fort lived two Jesuits, one of which was made Superior of the Jesuits at *Quebec*. One of these Jesuits met me at the fort gate, and asked me to go into the church, and give God thanks for preserving my life. I told him I would do that in some other place. When the bell rang for evening prayers, he that took me bid me go, but I refused. The Jesuit came to our wigwam, and prayed a short prayer, and invited me to sup with

them ; and justified the Indians in what they did against us ; rehearsing some things done by Major *Walden*, above thirty years ago ; and how justly God retaliated them in the last war, and inveighed against us for beginning this war with the Indians ; and said, we had before the last winter, and in the winter, been very barbarous and cruel in burning and killing the Indians. I told them, that the Indians in a very perfidious manner, had committed murders on many of our inhabitants, after the signing articles of peace. And as to what they spake of cruelties, they were undoubtedly falshoods ; for I well knew the English were not approvers of any inhumanity or barbarity towards enemies. They said, an English man had killed one of *St. Casteen's* relations, which occasioned this war. For, say they, the nations in a general council, had concluded not to engage in the war on any side, till they themselves were first molested, and then all of them as one, would engage against them that began a war with them ; and that upon the killing of *Casteen's* kinsman, a post was dispatched to *Canada* to advertise the *Macquas* and Indians, that the English had begun a war. On which they gathered up their forces, and that the French joined with them, to come down on the Eastern parts ; and that when they came near *New England*, several of the Eastern Indians told them of the peace made with the

English, and the satisfaction given them from the English for that murder. But the Maquas told them, it was now too late ; for they were sent for, and were now come, and would fall on them, if without their consent they made a peace with the English. Said also that a letter was shown to them, sent from the Governor of *Port Royal*, which he said, was taken in an English ship, being a letter from the Queen of *England* to our Governor, writing how she approved his designs to ensnare and deceitfully to seize on the Indians ; so that being enraged from that letter, and being forced as it were, they began the present war. I told them the letter was a lye, forged by the French.

The next morning the bell rang for mass. My master bid me go to church ; I refused : He threatened me, and went away in a rage. At noon the Jesuits sent for me, to dine with them ; for I eat at their table all the time I was at the fort. And after dinner, they told me, the Indians would not allow of any of their captives staying in their wigwams whilst they were at church ; and were resolved by force and violence to bring us all to church, if we would not go without. I told them it was highly unreasonable so to impose upon those who were of a contrary religion ; and to force us to be present at such a service, as we abhorred, was nothing becoming Christianity. They replied, they

were savages, and would not hearken to reason, but would have their wills. Said also, if they were in *New England* themselves, they would go into their churches to see their ways of worship. I answered, the case was far different, for there was nothing (themselves being judges) as to matter or manner of worship, but what was according to the word of God, in our churches; and therefore it could not be an offence to any man's conscience. But among them there were idolatrous superstitions in worship. They said, come and see, and offer us conviction, of what is superstitions in worship. To which I answered, that I was not to do evil that good might come on it; and that forcing in matters of religion was hateful. They answered, the indians were resolved to have it so, and they could not pacify them without my coming; and they would engage they should offer no force or violence to cause any compliance with their ceremonies. The next mass, my master bid me go to church; I objected; he arose and forcibly pulled me out by head and shoulders out of the wigwam to the church, that was nigh the door. So I went in and sat down behind the door, and there saw a great confusion instead of any gospel order. For one of the Jesuits was at the altar, saying mass in a tongue unknown to the savages; and the other between the altar and the door, saying and

singing prayers among the Indians at the same time ; and many others were at the same time saying over their *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Mary*, by tale from their chaplet, or beads on string. At our going out, we smiled at their devotion so managed ; which was offensive to them ; for they said, we made a derision of their worship. When I was here, a certain savagess died ; one of the Jesuits told me, she was a very holy woman, who had not committed one sin in twelve years. After a day or two the Jesuits asked me, what I thought of their way now I saw it ? I told them, I thought Christ said of it, Mark 7. 7, 8, 9. *Howbeit in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. For laying aside the commandment of God, ye hold the tradition of men, as the washing of pots, and cups ; and many other such like things ye do. And he said unto them, full well ye reject the commandment of God, that ye may keep your own tradition.* They told me, they were not the commandments of men, but apostolical traditions, of equal authority with the holy scriptures. And that after my death, I would bewail my not praying to the Virgin *Mary* ; and that I should find the want of her intercession for me, with her Son ; judging me to hell, for asserting the scriptures to be a perfect rule of faith ; and said I abounded in my own sense, entertaining explications contrary to the sense of the

Pope, regularly sitting with a general council explaining scripture, and making articles of faith. I told them, it was my comfort that Christ was to be my judge, and not they at the great day : And as for their censuring and judging me, I was not moved with it.

One day a certain savagess taken prisoner in *Philip's* war, who had lived at Mr. Bulkley's at *Wethersfield*, called *Ruth*, who could speak English very well ; who had been often at my house, but was now proselyted to the Romish faith, came into the wigwam, and with her an English maid, who was taken the last war, who was dressed up in Indian apparel; could not speak one word of English, who said she could neither tell her own name, or the name of the place from whence she was taken. These two talked in the Indian dialect with my master a long time ; after which my master bad me cross myself ; I told him, I would not ; he commanded me several times, and I as often refused. *Ruth* said Mr. *Williams*, you know the scripture, and therefore act against your own light ; for you know the scripture saith, *Servants obey your masters ; he is your master and you his servant.* I told her she was ignorant, and knew not the meaning of the scripture ; telling her, I was not to disobey the great God, to obey any master, and that I was ready to die to suffer for God, if called thereto. On which she talked with my

master, I suppose she interpreted what I said. My master took hold of my hand to force me to cross myself, but I struggled with him, and would not suffer him to guide my hand; upon this he pulled off a crucifix from his own neck, and bade me kiss it; but I refused once and again; he told me, he would dash out my brains with his hatchet, if I refused. I told him, I should sooner chuse death than to sin against God; then he ran and caught up his hatchet, and acted as though he would have dashed out my brains. Seeing I was not moved, he threw down his hatchet, saying, he would first bite off all my nails, if I still refused. I gave him my hand and told him I was ready to suffer; he set his teeth in my thumb nail, and gave a gripe with his teeth, and then said no good minister, no love God as bad as the devil;—and so left off. I have reason to bless God, who strengthened me to withstand; by this he was so discouraged, as never more to meddle with me about my religion. I asked leave of the Jesuits to pray with those English of our town that were with me, but they absolutely refused to give us any permission to pray one with another, and did what they could to prevent our having any discourse together.

After a few days the Governor *de Vaudrel*, Governor in Chief, sent down two men with letters to the Jesuits, desiring them to order

my being sent up to him to *Mont Royal*, upon which one of the Jesuits went with my two masters and took me along with them, as also two more of *Deerfield*, a man and his daughter about seven years of age. When we came to the Lake, the wind was tempestuous and contrary to us, so that they were afraid to go over; they landed and kindled a fire, and said they would wait awhile to see whether the wind would fall or change. I went aside from the company among the trees, and spread our case, with the temptations of it before God, and pleaded that he would order the season so, that we might not go back again, but be furthered on our voyage, that I might have opportunity to see my children and neighbors, and converse with them, and know their state. When I returned the wind was more boisterous, and then a second time, and the wind was more fierce; I reflected upon myself for my unquietness, and the want of a resigned will to the will of God. And a third time went and bewailed before God my anxious cares, and the tumultuous working of my own heart, and begged a will fully resigned to the will of God and thought that by the grace of God I was brought to say Amen, to whatever God should determine. Upon my return to the company, the wind was yet high; the Jesuit and my master said, come we will go back again to the fort, for there

is no likelihood of proceeding on our voyage, for very frequently such a wind continues three days, sometimes six, after it had continued so many hours, I said to them, the will of the Lord be done; and the canoe was put again into the river, and we embarked. No sooner had my master put me into the canoe, and put off from the shore, but the wind fell, and coming into the middle of the river, they said, we may go over the lake well enough, and so we did. I promised, if God gave me opportunity, I would stir up others to glorify God in a continued persevering, committing their straits of heart to him: *He is a prayer hearing God, and the stormy winds obey him.* After we passed over the Lake, the French wherever we came, were very compassionate to us.

AT MONT ROYAL.

When I came to *Mont Royal*, which was eight weeks* after my captivity, the Governor *de Vaudrel* redeemed me out of the hands of the Indians, gave me the use of a very good chamber, and was in all respects relating to my outward man, courteous and charitable to admiration. At my first entering into his house, he sent for my two children, who were in the city, that I might see them;

* 8 Weeks from February 29, is Tuesday, April 25.

and promised to do what he could to get all my children, and neighbors out of the hands of the savages. My change of diet, after the difficulties of my journies, caused an alteration in my body: I was physiced, blooded, and very tenderly taken care of in my sickness. The Governor redeemed my eldest daughter out of the hands of the Indians; and she was carefully tended in the hospital, until she was well of her lameness; and by the Governor provided for with respect, during her stay in the country. My youngest child was redeemed by a gentlewoman in the city, as the Indians passed by. After the Indians had been at their fort, and discoursed with the priests, they came back and offered to the gentlewoman a man for the child, alledging that the child could not be profitable to her, but the man would, for he was a weaver, and his service would much advance the design she had of making cloth. But God overuled so far, that this temptation to the woman prevailed not for an exchange; for had the child gone to the Indian fort, in an ordinary way it had abode there still, as the rest of the children carried there do. The Governor gave orders to certain officers to get the rest of my children out of the hands of the Indians, and as many of my neighbors as they could. After six weeks, a merchant of the city obtained my eldest son that was taken to live with him: He took a

great deal of pains to persuade the savages to part with him. An Indian came to the city (Sagamore *George of Pennacook*) from *Cowas*, and brought word of my son Stephen's being near *Cowas*, and some money was put into his hand for his redemption, and a promise of full satisfaction if he brought him; but the Indian proved unfaithful, and I never saw my child till a year after.

The Governor ordered a priest to go along with me to see my youngest daughter among the Macquas and endeavor her ransom. I went with him; he was very courteous to me, and from his parish which was near the Macqua fort, he wrote a letter to the Jesuit, to desire him to send my child to see me, and to speak with them that took her, to come along with it. But the Jesuit wrote back a letter, that I should not be permitted to speak with, or see my child, if I came my labor would be lost; and that the Macquas would as soon part with their heart, as my child. At my return to the city, I with an heavy heart carried the Jesuit's letter to the Governor, who, when he read it, was very angry, and endeavored to comfort me assuring me, I should see it, and speak with it; and he would to his utmost endeavor its ransom. Accordingly he sent to the Jesuits who were in the city, and bid them improve their interest for the obtaining the child. After some days, he went with me in his

own person to the fort. When we came thither, he discoursed with the Jesuits ; after which my child was brought into the chamber where I was. I was told I might speak with her, but should not be permitted to speak to no other English person there. My child was about seven years old : I discoursed with her near an hour ; she could read very well, and had not forgot her catechism ; and was very desirous to be redeemed out of the hands of the Macquas, and bemoaned her state among them, telling me how they profaned God's Sabbath ; and said, she thought that a few days before they had been mocking the devil, and that one of the Jesuits stood and looked on them. I told her she must pray to God for his grace every day ; she said, she did as she was able, and God helped her. But says she, they force me to say some prayers in Latin, but I do not understand one word of them, I hope it will not do me any harm. I told her she must be careful she did not forget her catechism, and the scriptures, she had learnt by heart. She told the captives after I was gone, as some of them have since informed me, almost every thing I spake to her ; and said, she was much afraid she should forget her catechism, having none to instruct her. I saw her once a few days after in the city, but had not many minutes of time with her, but what time I had I improved to give her the

Best advice I could. The Governor labored much for her redemption, at last he had the promise of it, in case he would procure for them an Indian girl in her stead. Accordingly he sent up the river some hundred of leagues for one, but it was refused, when offered by the Governor: He offered them an hundred pieces of eight for her redemption, but it was refused. His lady went over to have begged her from them, but all in vain; it is there still, and has forgotten to speak English. Oh! that all who peruse this history, would join in their fervent requests to God, with whom all things are possible, that this poor child, and so many others of our children who have been cast upon God from the womb, and are now outcasts ready to perish, might be gathered from their dispersion, and receive sanctifying grace from God.

When I had discoursed with the child, and was coming out of the fort, one of the Jesuits went out of the chamber with me, and some soldiers, to convey me to the conoe. I saw some of my poor neighbors, who stood with longing expectations to see me, and speak with me, and had leave from their savage masters so to do. I was by the Jesuit himself thrust along by force, and permitted only to tell them some of their relations (they asked after) were well in the city, and that with a very audible voice; being not permitted to come near to them.

After my return to the city, I was very melancholy, for I could not be permitted so much as to pray with the English, who dwelt in the same house. And the English who came to see me, were most of them put back by the guard at the door, and not suffered to come and speak with me. Sometimes the guard was so strict that I could scarce go aside on necessary occasions without a repulse ; and whenever I went out into the city (a favor the Governor himself never refused when I asked it of him) there were spies to watch me and to observe whether I spake to the English. Upon which I told some of the English, they must be careful to call to mind and improve former instructions, and endeavor to stand at a further distance for a while, hoping that after a short time I should have more liberty of conversing with them. But some spies sent out, found on a Sabbath day more than three (the number we by their order published were not to exceed together) of us in company, who informed the priest ; the next day one of the priests told me, I had a greater number of the English with me, and that I had spoken something reflecting on their religion. I spake to the Governor that no forcible means might be used with any of the captives respecting their religion ; he told me, he allowed no such thing. I am persuaded that the Governor, if he might act as himself, would

not have suffered such things to be done as have been done, and that he never did know of several things acted against the English.

At my first coming to *Mont Royal*, the Governor told me, I should be sent home as soon as Captain *Battiss* was returned, and not before; and that I was taken in order to his redemption. The Governor sought by all means to divert me from my malancholly sorrows, and always shewed a willingness for seeing my children. And one day I told him of my design of walking into the city; he pleasantly answered, go with all my heart. His eldest son went with me as far as the door, and saw the guard stop me, he went in and informed his father who came to the door and asked, why they affronted the gentleman going out? They said, it was their order: But with an angry countenance he said, his orders were that I should not be stoped. But within a little time I had my orders to go down to *Quebec*. Another thing showing that many things are done without the Governor's consent, though his name be used to justify them, viz. I asked the Priest, after I had been at *Mont Royal* two days, leave to go and see my youngest child; he said whenever you will see it tell me, and I will bring it to you; for says he, the Governor is not willing you should go thither. And yet not many days after, when we were at dinner, the Governor's lady (seeing me said)

speak to an officer at table, who could speak Latin, to tell me, that after dinner I should go along with them and see my two children. And accordingly after dinner I was carried to see them ; and when I came to the house, I found three or four English captives who lived there, and I had leave to discourse with them. And not long after, the Governor's lady asked me to go along with her to the hospital to see one of my neighbors sick there.

One day one of Jesuits came to the Governor's, and told the company there, that he never saw such persons as were taken from Deerfield. Said he, the Macquas will not suffer any of their prisoners to abide in their wigwams whilst they themselves are at mass, but carry them with them to the church, and they cannot be prevailed with to fall down on their knees to pray there, but no sooner are they returned to their wigwams, but they fall down on their knees to prayer. He said, they could do nothing with the grown persons there ; and they hindered the children's complying.—Whereupon the Jesuits counselled the Macquas to sell all the grown persons from the fort ; a stratagem to seduce poor children. *Oh Lord turn the counsel of these Ahitophels into foolishness, and make the counsels of the heathen of none effect !*

Here I observed, they were wonderfully lifted up with pride, after the return of Cap-

tain *Montinug* from *Northampton* with news of success : they boasted of their success against *New England*. And they sent out an army as they said of seven hundred men, if I mistake not, too hundred of which were French, in company of which army went several Jesuits ; and said, they would lay desolate all the places on *Connecticut* river. The superior of the priests told me, their General was a very prudent and brave commander, of undaunted courage, and he doubted not but they should have great success. This army went away in such a boasting triumphing manner, that I had great hopes God would discover and disappoint their designs : Our prayers were not wanting for the blasting of such a bloody design. The superior of the priests said to me, do not flatter yourselves in hopes of a short captivity ; for, said he, there are two young princes contending for the kingdom of Spain ; and a third, that care was to be taken of his establishment on the English throne. And boasted what they would do in *Europe* ; and that we must expect not only in *Europe*, but in *New England*, the establishment of Popery. I said, Glory not, God can make great changes in a little time, and revive his own interest, and yet save his poor afflicted people. Said he, the time for miracles is past ; and in the time of the last war, the King of *France* was as it were against all the world, and yet

did great things ; but now the kingdom of *Spain* is for him, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, &c. and spake in a lofty manner of great things to be done by them ; and having the world, as I may say, in subjection to them.

I was sent down to *Quebec* in company of *Governor de Ramsey*, Governor of *Mont Royal*, and the superior of the Jesuits, and ordered to live with one of the Council ; from whom I received many favors, for seven weeks. He told me, it was the Priests doings to send me down before the Governor came down ; and that if I went much to see the English, or they came much to visit me, I should yet certainly be sent away where I should have no converse with the English.

AT Q U E B E C.

After coming down to *Quebec*, I was invited to dine with the Jesuits, and to my face they were civil enough. But after a few days, a young Gentleman came to my chamber, and told me, that one of the Jesuits (after we had done dinner) made a few distiches of verses, and gave them to his scholars to translate into French : He shewed them to me. The import of them was, “ That the King of *France* his grandson had sent out his huntsmen, and that they had taken a Wolf, who was shut up, and now he hopes

the sheep would be in safety." I know at the reading of them what they aimed at, but held my peace, as though I had been ignorant of the Jesuits intention. Observing this reproaching spirit, I said in my heart, if God will bless, let men curse if they please ; and I looked to God in Christ, the great shepherd, to keep his scattered sheep among so many Romish ravenous wolves, and to remember the reproaches wherewith his holy name, ordinances and servants were daily reproached. And upon an observation of the time of these verses being composed, I find that near the same time, the Bishop of *Canada* with twenty Ecclesiasticks, were taken by the English as they were coming from *France*, and carried into *England* as prisoners of war.

One Sabbath morning I observed many signs of approaching rain, a great moisture on the stones of the hearth and chimney jams. I was that day invited to dine with the Jesuits ; and when I went up to dinner, it began to rain a small drizzling rain : The superior told me, they had been praying for rain that morning, and now (says he) it begins to rain. I told him, I could tell him of many instances of God's hearing our prayers for rain. However in the afternoon there was a general procession of all orders, Priests, Jesuits and Fryars, and the Citizens in great pomp, carrying (as they said) as an holy re-

lique, one of the bones of St. Paul. The next day I was invited to the Priest's seminary to dinner ; Oh, said they, we went in procession yesterday for rain, and see what a plentiful rain followed. I answered, we had been answered when praying for rain, when no such signs of rain, and the beginnings of rain, had preceded, as now with them, before they appointed or began their procession, &c. However they upbraided me, that God did not approve of our religion, in that he disregarded our prayers, and accepted theirs. For, said they, we heard you had days of fasting and prayer before the fleet came to Quebec ; God would not regard your prayers, but heard ours, and almost in a miraculous way preserved us when assaulted, and refused to hear your fastday prayers for your preservation, but heard ours for your desolation, and our success. They boasted also of their King, and his greatness, and spake of him as though there could be no settlement in the world, but as he pleased ; reviling us as in a low and languishing case, having no king, but being under the government of a Queen. And spake as though the Duke of *Bavaria* would in a short time be Emperor. From this day forward God gave them to hear sorrowful tidings from *Europe* : That a war was commenced against the duke of *Savoy*, and so their enemies increased—their Bishop taken, and two

millions of wealth with him. News every year more distressing and impoverishing them ; and the Duke of *Bavaria* so far from being Emperor that he is dispossessed of his dukedom : And *France* so far from being strengthened by *Spain*, that the kingdom of *Spain* is like to be an occasion of weakening and impoverishing their own kingdom ; they themselves so reporting. And their great army going against *New England*, turned back ashamed ; and they discouraged and disheartened, and every year very exercising fears and cares as to the savages who live up the river. Before the return of that army, they told me, we were led up and down, and sold by the heathen, as sheep for the slaughter, and they could not devise what they should do with us, we should be so many prisoners, when the army returned. The Jesuite told me, it was a great mercy that so many of our children were brought to them, and that now especially since they were not like speedily to be returned, there was hope of their being brought over to the Romish faith. They would take the English children born among them, and against the consent of their parents, baptize them. One Jesuite came to me and asked, whether all the English at *Loret* (a place not far from *Quebec* where the Savages lived) were baptized ? I told him they were. He said, if they be not, let me know of it, that I may baptize

them for fear they should die, and be damned, if they die without baptism. Says he, when the savages went against you, I charged them to baptize all children before they killed them; such was my desire of your eternal salvation, though you were our enemies. There was a gentleman called Monsieur de Beauville, a Captain, the brother of the Lord intendant, who was a good friend to me, and very courteous to all the captives; he lent me an English bible, and when he went to *France* gave it to me. *All means were used to seduce poor souls.*

I was invited one day to dine with one of chief note; as I was going, met with the superior of the Jesuites coming out of the house, and he came in after dinner; and presently it was propounded to me, if I would stay among them, and be of their religion, I should have a great and honorable pension from the King every year. The superior of the Jesuits turned to me and said, "Sir, you have manifested much grief and sorrow for your separation from so many of your neighbors and children; if you will now comply with this offer and proposal, you may have all your children with you; and here will be enough for an honorable maintenance for you and them." I answered, "Sir, if I thought your religion to be true, I would embrace it freely without any such offer, but so long as I believe it to be what it is, the

offer of the whole world is of no more value to me than a blackberry ;” and manifested such an abhorrance of this proposal, that I speedily went to take my leave and be gone. “ Oh Sir, (said he) sit down, why in such a hurry ? You are alone in your chamber, divert yourself a little longer ;” and fell to other discourse : And within half an hour says again, “ Sir, I have one thing earnestly to request of you, I pray you pleasure me !” I said, “ Let your Lordship speak.” Said he, “ I pray come to the palace tomorrow morning, and honor me with your company in my coach to the great church, it being then a Saint’s day.” I answered, “ Ask me any thing wherein I can serve you with a good conscience, and I am ready to gratify you ; but I must ask your excuse here ;” and immediately went away from him. Returning to my chamber, I gave God thanks for his upholding me ; and also made an enquiry with myself, whether I had by any action given encouragement for such a temptation ?

AT CHATEAUVICHE, *fifteen miles below*
QUEBEC.

Not many days after, and a few day before Governor *de Vaudrel’s* coming down, I was sent away fifteen miles down the river, that I might not have opportunity of converse

with the English. I was courteously treated by the French, and the Priest of that parish; they told me, he was one of the most learned men in the country; he was a very ingenious man, zealous in their way, but yet very familiar. I had many disputes with the Priests who came thither: And when I used their own authors to confute some of their positions, my books borrowed of them were taken away from me; for they said, I made an ill use of them. They having many of them boasted of their unity in doctrine and profession, were loth I should show them from their own best approved authors, as many different opinions, as they could charge agast us. Here again, a gentleman in the presence of the old Bishop and Priest, offered me his house, and whole living, with assurance of honor, wealth and employment, if I would embrace their ways. I told them, I had an indignation of soul against such offers, on such terms as parting with what was more valuable than all the world; alledging, what is a man profited if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul? I was sometimes told I might have all my children, if I would comply, and must never expect to have them on any other terms. I told them, My children were dearer to me than all the world, but I would not deny Christ and his truths for the having of them with me; I

would still put my trust in God, who could perform all things for me.

I am persuaded that the Priest of that parish where I kept, abhorred their sending down the heathen to commit outrages against the English ; saying, It was more like committing murder, than managing a war. In my confinement in this parish, I had my undisturbed opportunities to be humbly imploring God's grace for ourselves, for soul and body ; for his protecting presence with *New England*, and his disappointing the bloody designs of enemies ; that God would be a little sanctuary to us in a land of captivity ; and that our friends in *New England* might have grace to make a more thankful and faithful improvement of the means of grace, than we had done ; who by our neglects, find ourselves out of God's sanctuary.

On the 21st of *October* 1704, I received some letters from *New England*, with an account that many of my neighbors escaped out of the desolations in the fort ; and that my wife was recarried and decently buried ; and that my eldest son who was absent in our desolation, was sent to College, and provided for ; which occasioned thanksgiving to God in the midst of afflictions, and caused prayers even in *Canada*, to be going daily up to heaven for a blessing on benefactors, showing such kindness to the desolate and afflicted.

The consideration of such crafty designs to ensnare young ones, and to turn them from the simplicity of the gospel to Romish superstition, was very exercising. Sometimes they would tell me, my children, sometimes my neighbors, were turned to be of their religion. Some made it their work to allure poor souls by flatteries and great promises, some threatened, some offered abusive carriages to such as refused to go to church and be present at mass. Some they industriously contrived to get married among them. A Priest drew up a compendium of the Roman Catholic faith, and pretended to prove it by the scriptures, telling the English, that all they required was contained in the scriptures, which they acknowledged to be the rule of faith and manners; but it was by scriptures horribly perverted and abused. I could never come to the sight of it, (though I often earnestly entreated a copy of it) until I was a ship board for our voyage for *New England*; but hearing of it, I endeavored to possess the English with their danger of being cheated with such a pretence. I understood they would tell the English that I was turned, that they might gain them to change their religion. These their endeavors to seduce to Popery, were very exercising to me. And in my solitariness, I drew up these following sorrowful, mournful considerations, though unused to, and unskilful in poetry,

yet in a plain stile for the use of some of the captives, who would sometimes make their secret visits to me, which at the desire of some of them, are here made public.

SOME CONTEMPLATIONS OF THE POOR AND DESOLATE STATE
OF THE CHURCH AT DEERFIELD.



THE sorrows of my heart enlarged are,
Whilst I my present state with past compare,
I frequently unto God's house did go,
With Christian friends, his praises forth to show.
But now, I solitary sit, both sigh and cry,
Whilst my flock's misery think on do I.

Many, Both old and young, were slain out right ;
Some in a bitter season take their flight ;
Some burnt to death ; and others stifled were ;
The enemy no age or sex would spare.
The tender children, with their parents sad,
Are carry'd forth as captives ; some unclad ;
Some murdered in the way, unburied left ;
And some through famine were of life bereft,
After a tedious journey, some are sold ;
Some left in Heathen hands ; all from Christ's fold,
By Popish rage, and Heath'nish cruelty,
Are banished : Yea some compell'd to be
Present at Mass ; young children parted are
From parents, and such as instructors were.
Crafty designs are us'd by Papists all,
In ignorance of truth, them to inthral ;
Some threatened are, unless they will comply,
In Heathen hands again be made to lye.
To some large promises are made, if they
Will truths renounce, and choose their Popish way.

*Oh Lord ! mine eyes on thee shall waiting be,
Till thou again turn our captivity.*

Their Romish plots, thou canst confound, and save
 This little flock, this mercy do I crave.
 Save us from all our sins, and yet again
 Deliver us from them who truth disdain.

Lord! For thy mercy sake, thy cov'nant mind;
 And in thy house again, rest let us find.
 So we thy praises forth will shew, and speak
 Of all thy wond'rous works; yea we will seek
 Th' advancement of thy great and glorious name,
 Thy rich and sovereign grace, we will proclaim.

THE hearts of some were ready to be discouraged and sink, saying, they were out of sight, and so out of mind. I endeavored to persuade them we were not forgotten; that undoubtedly many prayers were continually going up to heaven for us. Not long after came Capt. *Livingston*, and Mr. *Shelden*, with letters from his excellency our Governor, to the Governor of *Canada*, about the exchange of prisoners; which gave a revival to many, and raised expectations of a return. These visits from *New England* to *Canada* so often, greatly strengthened many who were ready to faint; and gave some check to the designs of the Papists to gain proselytes. But God's time of deliverance was not yet come. As to some particular persons, their temptations and trials were increased; and some abused because they refused a compliance with their superstitions. A young woman of our town met with a new trial. For on a day, a Frenchman came into the room where she was, and shewing her his beads, and boasting

of them, putting them near to her ; she knocked them out of his hands on the floor ; for which she was beaten, and threatened with death, and for some days imprisoned. I pleaded with God his overruling this first essay for the deliverance of some, as a pledge of the rest being delivered in due time. I improved Capt. *de Beauville*, who had always been very friendly, to intercede with the Governor for the return of my eldest daughter ; and for his purchasing my son *Stephen*, from the Indians at *St. Francois* fort ; and for liberty to go up and see my children and neighbors at *Mont Royal*. Divine providence appeared to a moderating my afflictions, in that five English persons of our town were permitted to return with Capt. *Livingston*, amongst whom went my eldest daughter. And my son *Stephen* was redeemed and sent to live with me : He was almost quite naked, and very poor ; he had suffered much among the Indians. One of the Jesuits took it upon him, to come to the wigwam, and whip him on some complaint that the Squaws had made, that he did not work enough for them. As to my petition for going up to *Mont Royal*, to see my children and neighbors, it was denied ; as my former desire of coming up to the city before Capt. *Livingston's* coming, was. God granted me favor as to two of my petitions ; but yet brought me by his grace to be willing, that he should

glorify himself in disposing of me and mine as he pleased, and knew to be most for his glory. And almost always before any remarkable favor, I was brought to lye down at the foot of God, and made to be willing that God should govern the world, so as might be most for his own honor, and brought to resign all to his holy sovereignty. A frame of spirit when wrought in me by the grace of God, giving the greatest content and satisfaction ; and very often a forerunner of the mercy asked of God, or a plain demonstration, that the not obtaining my request was best for me. I had no small refreshing, in having one of my children with me for four months. And the English were many of them strengthened with hopes that the treaties betwixt the goverments would issue in opening a door of escape for all.

In *August*, Mr. *Dudley* and Capt. *Vetch* arrived, and great encouragements were given as to an exchange of all in the spring of the year ; and some few again were sent home ; amongst whom I obtained leave to send my son *Stephen*.

AT Q U E B E C.

Upon Mr. *Dudley's* and Capt. *Vetch's* petitioning, I was again permitted to go up to *Quebec* ; but disputing with a Mendicant Fryar, who said, he was an Englishman sent

from *France*, to endeavor the conversion of the English at *Quebec*; who arrived at *Canada* whilst our gentlemen were there: I was by the Priests means ordered again to return to *Chateauviche*; and no other reason given, but because I discoursed with that Priest, and their fear I should prevent his success among the captives. But God shewed his dislike of such a persecuting spirit; for the very next day, which was *September 20th, O. S. October 1st, N. S.* the Seminary, a very famous building, was most of it burnt down, occasioned by a joiner's letting a coal of fire drop down among the shavings. The Chapel in the Priests garden, and the Great Cross were burnt up: This Seminary and another Library had been burnt but about three years before. The day after my being sent away by the Priests means from *Quebec* at first, there was a thunder storm, and the lightning struck the Seminary in the very place where the fire now began.

AT CHATEAUVICHE.

A little before Mr. *Dudley's* arrival, came a Soldier into my Landlord's house barefoot and barelegged, going on a pilgrimage to *Saint Anne*. For said he, my Captain, who died some years ago, appeared to me, and told me, he was in purgatory; and told me I must go a pilgrimage to *Saint Anne*, doing

penance, and get a mass said for him, and then he should be delivered. And many believed it, and were much affected with it; came and told me of it, to gain my credit of their devised purgatory: The Soldier told me, the Priests had counselled him to undertake this pilgrimage. And I am apt to think, ordered his calling in at my Landlord's, that I might see and speak with him. I laughed at the conceit, that a Soldier must be pitched upon to be sent on this errand; but they were much displeas'd and lamented my obstinacy, in that I would not be reclaimed from a denial of purgatory, by such a miraculous providence.

As I was able, I spread the case before God beseeching him to disappoint them of their expectations to proselyte any of the captives by this stratagem; and by the goodness of God, it was not very serviceable: For the soldier's conversation was such, that several among the French themselves judged it to be a forgery. And though the Captain spoken of was the Governor's lady's brother, I never more heard any concernment or care to get him out of purgatory.

One of the parish where I lived, told me, that on the 22d of July 1705, he was at *Quebec*, at the Mendicant Fryars church, on one of their feast days, in honor of a great Saint of their order, and that at five o'clock mass in the morning, near two hundred persons

present, a great grey cat broke or pushed aside some glass, entered into the church, and passed along near the altar, and put out five or six candles, that were burning; and that no one could tell which way the cat went out: And he thought it was the Devil.

AT Q U E B E C.

When I was in the city in September, I saw two English maids who had lived with the Indians a long time. They told me, that an Indian had died at the place where they were, and that when sundry of his relations were together, in order to his funeral, the dead arose, and informed them, that at his death he went to hell, and there he saw all the Indians that had been dead since their embracing the Popish religion; and warned them to leave it off, or they would be damned too; and laid down dead again. They said the Indians were frightened, and very melancholy; but the Jesuits, to whom they told this, told them, it was only a delusion of the devil, to draw them away from the true religion; adding, that he knew for certain, that all those Indians who had been dead, spoken of by that Indian, were in heaven, only one Squaw was gone to hell, who died without baptism. These maids said also, that many of the Indians much lamented their making war against the English, at the instigation of the French.

AT CHATEAUVICHE.

The Priests, after Mr. *Dudley's* going from *Canada*, were ready to think their time was short for gaining English proselytes, and doubled their diligence and wiles, to gain over persons to their persuasion. I improved all opportunities I could to write to the English, that in that way I might be serviceable to them. But many or most of my letters treating about religion, were intercepted, and burnt. I had a letter sent down to me by order of the Governor, that I had a liberty of writing to my children and friends, which should be continued; provided I wrote about indifferent things, and said nothing in them about the points in controversy between them and us: And if I were so hardy as to write letters otherwise, they should endeavor to prevent their being delivered. Accordingly, I found many of them were burnt. But sometimes notice would be given to the English, that there were letters written, but that they were burnt; so that their writing was somewhat useful, though never perused by the English, because they judged those letters condemned Popery. Many of our letters written from *New England*, were never delivered, because of some expressions about religion in them. And as I said before, after Mr. *Dudley's* departure from *Quebec*, endeavor-

ors were very vigorous to seduce. Some were flattered with large promises, others were threatened and beaten, because they would not turn. And when two English women, who had always opposed their religion were sick in the hospital, they kept with them night and day, till they died ; and their friends kept from coming to visit them ; after their death, they gave out, that they died in the Romish faith, and were received into their communion. Before their death, masses were said for them ; and they buried in the church yard, with all their ceremonies. And after this, letters were sent into all parts to inform the English, that these two women turned to their religion, before their death, and that it concerned them to follow their example ; for they could not be more obstinate than those women were in their health, against the Romish faith, and yet on a death bed embraced it. They told the English who lived near, that our religion was a dangerous religion to die in. But I shall hereafter relate the just grounds we have to think these things were falshoods.

I was informed, there was an English girl bid to take and wear the cross, and cross herself : She refused ; they threatened her, and shewed her the cross. At length she had her choice, either to cross herself, and take the cross, or be whipt, she chose to be whipt ;

and they took up her cloaths, and made as though they would correct her; but seeing her choosing indeed to suffer rather than comply, they desisted, and tied the cross about her neck. Some were taken and shut up among the religious, and all sorts of means used to gain them.

I received a letter from one of my neighbors, wherein he thus bewails. *“I obtained leave of my master, to go to the Macqua fort to see my children, that I had not seen for a long time. I carried a letter from my master, to shew that I had leave to come. When I came to the fort, I heard one of my children was in the woods. I went to see a boy I had there, who lived with one of the Jesuits; I had just asked him of his welfare; he said his master would come presently, he durst not stay to speak with me now, being in such awe of his master. On which I withdrew, and when his master came in, I went and asked leave of him to speak with my child, and shewed him my letter. But he absolutely refused to let me see or speak with him; and said, I had brought no letter from the Governor, and would not permit me to stay in the fort, though I had travelled on foot near fifty miles for no other errand than to speak with my children.”*

The same person, with another Englishman, last spring, obtained leave of the Governor General, to go to the same fort on the same errand, and carried letters from the Governor to the Jesuits, that he might be per-

mitted to speak with his children. The letter was delivered to the Jesuits ; who told him, his son was not at home, but gone a hunting. When as he was hid from them, as he heard afterwards, so the poor man lost his labor a second time. These men say, that when they returned to *Mont Royal*, one Laland, who was appointed as a spy, always to observe the motions of the English, told them, that one of the Jesuits had come in before them, and had told the Governor that the lad was gone a hunting ; and that the Englishman who accompanied this poor man, went out into the woods in hope of finding the lad, and saw him, but the lad run away, and that he followed him and called after him, but he would not stop ; but holding out a gun threatened to shoot him down, if he followed him, and so he was discouraged, and turned back. And says Laland, you will never leave going to see your children and neighbors, till some of you are killed. But the men told him, it was an absolute lie, let who would report it ; for they had neither seen the lad nor did they go into the woods to search after him. They Judge this was told to the Governor, to prevent any English for the future going to see their children and neighbors. Some of ours say, they have been little better than promised, to have their children who are among the savages, in case they themselves would em-

brace Popery. And that the Priests had said; they had rather the children should be among the Indians, as they were, than to be brought out by the French, and so be in readiness to return for *New England*.

A maid of our town was put into a religious house among the nuns, for more than two years, and all sorts of means by flatteries, threatenings, and abusive carriages used to bring her to turn. They offered her money, which when refused, especially the latter part of the time, they threatened her very much; sent for her before them, commanded her to cross herself. She refused; they hit her a box on the ear; bid her again; still she refused. They ordered a rod with six branches full of knots to be brought; and when she refused, they struck her on her hands, with their renewing their commands; and she stood to her refusals till her hands were filled with wales with the blows. But one said, beat her no more; we will give her to the Indians if she will not turn. They pinched her arms till they were black and blue; and made her go into their church; and because she would not cross herself, struck her several blows with their hands on her face. A Squaw was brought in and said, she was sent in to fetch her to the Indians; but she refused: The Squaw went away, and said, she would bring her husband with her tomorrow, and she should be carried away by force. She

told me she remembered what I told her one day, after the nuns had threatened to give her a way to the Indians ; that they only said so to affright her ; that they never would give her away. The nuns told her, she should not be permitted any more to speak to the English ; and that they would afflict her without giving her any rest, if she refused : But God preserved her from falling. This poor girl had many prayers going up to heaven for her daily, and by name, because her trials were more known to the English than the trials of others who lived more remote from them.

Here might be an history by itself of the trials and sufferings of many of our children and young ones, who have been abused, and after separation from grown persons, made to do as they would have them.

I shall here give an account of what was done to one of my children, a boy between fifteen and sixteen years of age, two hundred miles distant from me ; which occasioned grief and sorrow that I want words to utter ; and yet kept under such awe, that he never durst write any thing to me for fear of being discovered in writing about religion. They threatened to put him to the Indians again, if he would not turn ; telling him, he was never bought out of their hands, but only sojourned with them, but if he would turn, he should never be put into their hands any

more. The Priests would spend whole days in urging him. He was sent to school to learn to read and write French; the schoolmaster sometimes flattered him with promises, if he would cross himself, then threatened him if he would not. But when he saw flattering promises of rewards, and threatenings were ineffectual, he struck him with a stick he had in his hand; and when he saw that would not do, he made him get down on his knees about an hour, and then came and bid him make the sign of the cross, and that without any delay; he still refused. Then he gave him a couple of strokes with a whip he had in his hand; which whip had three branches, and about twelve great knots tied to it; and again bid him make the sign of the cross; and if it was any sin, he would bear it himself: And said also, you are afraid you shall be changed if you do it; but (said he) you will be the same; your fingers will not be changed. And after he had made him shed many tears under his abuses and threatenings, he told him, he would have it done: And so through cowardise and fear of the whip he made the sign. And did so for several days together, and with much ado he was brought to cross himself. And then the master told him, he would have it done without his particular bidding him. And when he came to say his lesson and crossed not himself, the master said, have you forgot

what I bid you do? No sir, said he. Then the school master said, down on your knees; and so kept him for an hour and a half, till school was done; and so did for about a week. When he saw this would not do, he took the whip. What! will you not do it? (said he) I will make you; and so again frightened him to a compliance. After this commanded him to go to the church: When he refused, he told him he would make him. And one morning sent four of the biggest boys of the school to draw him by force to mass. These with other severities and witty stratagems were used; and I utterly ignorant of any attempt made upon him, to bring him to change his religion. His fear was such, that he never durst write any of these things, lest his letters should fall into their hands, and he should again be delivered to the Indians. Hearing of an opportunity of writing to him by one of the parish where I was, going up to *Mont Royal*, I wrote a letter to him, and had by him a letter from my son, which I shall here insert.

HONORED FATHER,

I Have received your letter bearing date January 11th, 1705-6, for which I give you many thanks, with my duty, and my brothers. I am sorry you have not received all the letters I have writ to you; as I have not received all yours. According to your good

counsel, I do almost every day read something of the Bible, and so strengthen my faith. As to the captives newly brought, *Lancaster* is the place of two of them, and *Marlborough* that of the third; the Governor of *Mont Royal* has them all three. There is other news that will seem more strange to you; that two English women, who in their life time were dreadfully set against the Catholic religion, did on their death bed embrace it. The one *Abigail Turbet*, the other of them *Esther Jones*, both of them known to you. *Abigail Turbet* sent for Mr. *Meriel* the Sabbath before she died. Said (many a time upon several following days) that she committed her soul into his hands, and was ready to do whatever he pleased. She desired him to go to the Chappel *St. Anne*, and there to say a holy mass for her, that she might have her sins pardoned, and the will of the Lord accomplished upon her. Her cousin Mrs. *Badston*, now *Stilson*, asked her, whether she should be willing to do as she said? she answered, yes. And upon the Tuesday she was taken into the Catholic church in the presence of *John Laland*, and Madam *Grizalem*, an English woman, and Mrs. *Stilson*, also with many French people besides. She was anointed with oil on the same day; according to her will then. Upon the Wednesday an image of Christ crucified, was brought to her; she caused it to be set up o-

ver against her at the curtains of her bed, and looked continually upon the same; and also a little crucifix brought unto her; she took it, and kissed it, and laid it upon her stomach. She did also make the sign of the cross upon herself, when she took any meat or drink. She promised to God, that if she should recover, she would go to the mass every day: She having on her hand a crucifix, saying, Oh my Lord, that I should have known thee so late! She did also make a ayer to the *Virgin Mary*, the two last days of the week. She could utter no word, but by kissing the crucifix, endeavoring the crossing herself, she gave an evidence of her faith. She died Saturday the 24th of November, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The next day the Priest did commend the woman's soul to the prayers of the congregation in the mass: In the afternoon she was honorably buried in the church yard next to the church, close to the body of the Justice Peace's wife; all the people being present at her funeral. The same day in the evening Mr. *Meriel* with an English woman, went to *Esther Jones*; she did at first disdain, but a little after she confessed there were seven sacraments, Christ's body present, the sacrament of the mass, the inequality of power among the pastors of the church; and being returned to wait by her all night long, he read and expounded to her some part of the

Catholic confession of faith to her satisfaction. About midnight he asked her, whether she might not confess her sins? I doubt not but I may, said she. And two hours after, she made unto him fervent confession of all the sins of her whole life. When he said, he was to offer Christ to his Father for her; she liked it very well. The superior of the nuns being come in to see her, she now desired that she might receive Christ's body before she died. She did also show Mrs. *Stilson* a great mind to receive the sacrament of Extreme unction; and said, that if ever she should recover and get home, she would have reproached the Ministers for their neglecting that sacrament, so plainly commanded by St. *James*. In the afternoon, after she had begged pardon for her wavering, and the Catholic Confession of Faith was read aloud to her in the hearing of Mr. *Craston*, Mrs. *Stilson*, and another English woman, and she owned the same; about seven o'clock the same day, she said to Mr. *Dubison*, Shall not they give me the holy communion? But her tongue was then so thick that she could hardly swallow any thing. She was then anointed with holy oil: But before, she said to Mr. *Meriel*, why have you not yet, Sir, forgiven my sins? In the night following, that Priest and Mr. *Dubison* were continually by her; and sometimes praying to God in her name, and praying to the Vir-

gin *Mary*, and other Saints. She said also, I believe all : I am very glad Christ was offered to his Father for me. Six or seven hours before she died, a Crucifix was shewed to her by Mr. *Dubison* ; she took it and laid it upon her heart, and kissed it ; and then the nuns hanged it with a pair of beads upon her neck. A little before she died, Mr. *Dubison* asked her to pray for him in heaven ; she promised him : So she gave up the ghost, at ten of the oclock the 27th of November, whilst the high Mass was saying ; she was soon commended to the prayers. On the fourth day of the week following was buried, after the Mass had been said for her : she was laid by *Abigal Turbet*.

Jan. 23d, 1703-6.

I have here transcribed the letter in the very words of it, without the least alteration : the same for substance was sent to several other captives. When I had this letter I presently knew it to be *Meriel's* composing ; but the messenger who brought the letter, brought word that my son had embraced their religion. Afterwards when some blamed him for letting me know of it, because (they said) they feared my sorrow would shorten my days ; he told me, he thought with himself, that if he was in my case, he should be willing to know the worst, and therefore told me, as he would have desired to have known if in my place. I thanked

him, acknowledging it a favor to let me know of it: But the news was ready to overwhelm me with grief and sorrow. I made my complaint to God, and mourned before him; sorrow and anguish took hold upon me. I asked of God to direct me what to do, and how to write, and find an opportunity of conveying a letter to him; and committed this difficulty to his providence. I now found a greater opposition to a patient, quiet, humble resignation to the will of God, than I should otherwise have known, if not so tried. Here I thought of my afflictions and trials; my wife and two children killed, and many of my neighbors; and myself, and so many of my children and friends in a Popish captivity, separated from our children, not capable to come to them to instruct them in the way they ought to go; and cunning crafty enemies, using all their subtilty to insinuate into young ones, such principles as would be pernicious. I thought with myself how happy many others were in that they had their children with them, under all advantages to bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; whilst we were separated one from another, and our children in great peril of embracing damnable doctrines. Oh! that all parents who read this history, would bless God for the advantages they have of educating their children, and faithfully improve it!—I mourned when I

thought with myself, that I had one child with the Macquas, a second turned to Popery, and a little child of six years of age, in danger from a child to be instructed in Popery ; and knew full well, that all endeavors would be used to prevent my seeing or speaking with them. But in the midst of all these, God gave me a secret hope, that he would magnify his power and free grace, and disappoint all their crafty designs. *When I looked on the right hand, and on the left, all refuge failed, and none shewed any care for my soul.* But God brought that word to uphold me ; *Who is able to do exceeding abundantly above what we can ask or think.* As also that, *Is any thing too hard for God ?* I prayed to God to direct me ; and wrote very short the first time, and in general terms, fearing lest if I should write about things in controversy, my letter would not come to him. I therefore addressed him with the following letter.

SON SAMUEL,

YOUR's of January 23d, I received, and with it had the tidings that you had made an abjuration of the Protestant faith for the Romish ; news that I heard with the most distressing, afflicting, sorrowful spirit, that ever I heard any news. Oh ! I pity you. I mourn over you day and night !—Oh ! I pity your weakness, that through the crafti-

ness of man, you are turned from the simplicity of the gospel ! I persuade myself you have done it through ignorance. Oh ! why have you neglected to ask a father's advice in an affair of so great importance as the change of religion ; God knows that the catechism in which I instructed you, is according to the word of God ; and so will be found in the day of judgment. Oh ! consider and bethink yourself what you have done ! And whether you ask me or not, my poor child, I cannot but pray for you, that you may be recovered out of the snare you are taken in. Read the Bible ; pray in secret ; make Christ's righteousness your only plea before God, for justification ; beware of all immorality, and of profaning God's Sabbaths. Let a father's advice be asked for the future, in all things of weight and moment. *What is a man profited if he gain the whole world, and lose his own soul ? Or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul ?* I desire to be humbled under the mighty hand of God thus afflicting me : I would not do as you have done for ten thousand worlds. My heart akes within me, but I will yet wait upon the Lord ; to him will I commit your case day and night : He can perform all things for me and mine ; and can yet again recover you from your fall. He is a *God forgiving iniquity, transgression and sin : To the Lord our God belong forgivenesses, though we have rebelled.*

I charge you not to be instrumental to ensnare your poor brother Warham, or any other, and so add sin to sin. Accept of my love, and do not forsake a father's advice, who above all things desires that your soul may be saved in the day of the Lord.

WHAT I mournfully wrote, I followed with my poor cries to God in heaven to make effectual, to cause in him a consideration of what he had done. God saw what a proud heart I had and what need I had to be answered out of the whirlwind, that I might be humbled before him. Not having any answer to my letter for some weeks, I wrote the following letter, as I was enabled of God and sent to him by a faithful hand; which by the blessing of God, was made effectual for his good, and the good of others, who had fallen to Popery; and for the establishing and strengthening others to resist the essays of the adversary to truth. God brought good out of evil, and made what was designed to promote their interest, an occasion of shame to them.

SON SAMUEL,

I Have waited till now for an answer from you, hoping to hear from you, why you made an abjuration of the Protestant faith, for the Romish. But since you continue to neglect to write to me about it, as you neglected to take any advice or counsel from a

father, when you did it ; I cannot forbear writing again, and making some reflections on the letter you wrote me last, about the two women. It seems to me, from those words of *Abigail Turbet's* in your letter, or rather of *Mr. Meriel's* which you transcribed for him—" *Abigail Turbet sent for Mr. Meriel, she committed her soul into his hand, and was ready to do whatsoever he pleased*"—I say, it seems rational to believe, that she had not the use of her reason ; it is an expression to be abhorred by all who have any true sense of religion. Was *Mr. Meriel* a God, a Christ ? Could he bear to hear such words and not reject them ; replying, " Do not commit your soul into my hands, but see that you commit your soul into the hands of God through Christ Jesus, and do whatever God commands you in his holy word : as for me, I am a creature, and cannot save your soul, but will tell you of *Acts 4. 12*, *Neither is there salvation in any other ; for there is no other name under heaven given among men, whereby we must be saved.*" Had he been a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, he would have said, 'tis an honor due to Christ alone. The holy Apostle says, *Now unto him that is able to keep you, and present you faultless before the presence of his glory, with exceeding joy to the only wise God our Savior, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever, Amen, Jude 24, 25, verses.* As to what you

write about praying to the Virgin *Mary*, and other Saints, I make this reply ; Had Mr. *Meriel* done his duty, he should have said to them as, 1 *Job*. 2. 1, 2. *If any man sin we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous ; and he is the propitiation for our sins. The scriptures say, There is one God, and one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Christ Jesus. Yea, Christ said, Go and preach, He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved. The Apostle in Gal. 1. 8. saith, But though we or an angel from Heaven preach any other gospel to you, than that we have preached to you let him be accursed. They never preached praying to the Virgin Mary, or other Saints. As you would be saved, hear what the Apostle saith, Heb. 4, 13, &c. Neither is there any creature that is not manifest in his sight ; but all things are naked and open unto the eyes of him with whom we have to do. Seeing then that we have a great High Priest that is entered into the heavens, Jesus the Son of God, let us hold fast our profession ; for we have not an high priest that cannot be touched with the feeling of our infirmities, but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without sin ; let us therefore come boldly unto the throne of grace, that we may obtain mercy and find grace to help in time of need. Which words do hold forth, how that Christ Jesus is in every respect qualified to be a mediator and intercessor ; and I am sure they cannot be*

applied to any mere creature to make them capable of our religious trust. When Roman Catholics have said all they can, they are not able to prove that the Saints in heaven have a knowledge of what prayers are directed to them. Some say they know them one way, others say they have the knowledge of them another way : And that which they have fixed upon as most probable to them, is that they know of them from their beholding the face of God ; seeing God they know these prayers. But this is a great mistake. Though the Saints see and know God in a glorious manner, yet they have not an infinite knowledge ; and it does no ways follow, that because they see God, they know all prayers that are directed to them upon the earth. And God has no where in his word told us, that the saints have such a knowledge. Besides, were it a thing possible for them to have a knowledge of what prayers are directed to them, it does not follow that they are to be prayed to, or have religious homage conferred upon them. The Romanists can neither give one scripture precept or example for praying to them : But God has provided a Mediator, who knows all our petitions, and is faithful and merciful enough ; and we have both scripture, precept and example to look to him as our mediator and advocate with the Father. Further, it cannot be proved that it is consistent with the

Saints being creatures, as well as with their happiness, to have a knowledge of prayers from all parts of the world at the same time, from many millions together, about things so vastly differing one from another ; and then to present those supplications for all that look to them, is not humility, but willworship. Col. 2. 18. *Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility, worshiping of angels. ver. 23. Which things indeed have a shew of wisdom, and willworship, and humility.* For what humility can it be to disturb the way that God has provided and encouraged us to come to him in, and impose upon God a way of our own devising ? Was not God angry with Jeroboam, for imposing upon him after such a sort ? 1 Kings 12. 33. *So he offered upon the altar which he had made in Bethel, the fifth day of the eighth month, which he devised of his own heart.* Therefore Christ saith, Mark 7. 7. *Howbeit, in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.* Before the coming of Christ, and his entering into heaven as an intercessor ; (Heb. 7. 25. *Wherefore he is able to save them to the uttermost that come to God by him, seeing he ever liveth to make intercession for them*) I say, before Christ's entering into heaven as an intercessor, not one word of any prayer to Saints : What reason can be given that now there is, of so many Saints to make intercession ; when Christ as a Priest

entered into heaven to make intercession for us? The answer the Romanists give is a very fable and falshood; namely, that there were no Saints in heaven, till after the ascension of Christ, but were reserved in a place called *Limbus Patrum*, and so had not the beatifical vision. See Gen. 5. 24. *Enoch walked with God and was not, for God took him.* If he was not taken into heaven, what can be the sense of those words, *For God took him?* Again 2 Kings 2. 1. When the Lord would take up *Elijah* into heaven by a whirlwind, ver 11. *There appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire, and parted them both asunder, and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven.* Must the truth of the scripture be called in question to uphold their notions? Besides, it is not consistent with reason to suppose that *Enoch* and *Elias* instead of having a peculiar privilege vouchsafed to them, for their eminency in holiness, should be less happy for so long a time than the rest of the saints deceased, who are glorified in heaven; which must be, if they are yet kept and must be till the day of judgment out of heaven, and the beatifical vision, in an earthly Paradise, according to some of the Romanists; or in some other place they know not where, according to others. Religious worship is not to be given to the creature, Mat. 4, 9, 10 and saith, *All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me.* Then saith Jesus to him, *Get*

thee hence Satan, for it is written, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve*, That phrase, *And him only shalt thou serve*, excludes all creatures. Rev. 22. 8, 9. *I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel, which shewed me these things ; then saith he to me, see thou do it not, for I am thy fellow servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book—worship God.* Which plainly shews, that God only is to be worshiped with a religious worship. None can think that Saint John intended to give the highest divine worship to the Angel, who saith, *do not fall down and worship me ; it is God's due, Worship God.* So Acts 10. 25, 26. *As Peter was coming in Cornelius met him and fell down at his feet and worshiped him ; but Peter took him up, saying, stand up, I myself am a man.* See also Lev. 19. 10. The words of the second commandment (which the Romanists either leave out, or add to the first commandment, saying, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me, adding &c.*) I say, the words of the second commandment are, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the waters under the earth ; thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them, for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, &c.* These words being inserted in the letter that came from your

brother *Eleazer* in *New England* the last summer, was the cause of the letter's being sent down from *Mont Royal*, and not given to you, when so near you ; as I suppose, there being no other clause of the letter that could be objected against ; and the reason why found at *Quebec*, when I sent it to you a second time enclosed in a letter written by myself. The brazen Serpent made by divine appointment as a type of Christ, when abused to superstition, has by reforming *Hezekiah* broken in pieces. As to what the Romanists plead about the lawfulness of image and Saint worship, from those likenesses of things made in Solomon's temple, it is nothing to the purpose. We do not say it is unlawful to make or have a picture, but those carved images were not in the temple to be adored, bowed down to, or worshiped. There is no manner of consequence, that because there were images made in Solomon's temple that were not adored and worshiped, that therefore it is now lawful to make and fall down before images, and pray to them, and so worship them. Religious worshiping of Saints, cannot be defended from, but is forbidden in the scriptures ; and for fear of losing their disciples, the Romanists keep away from them the Bible, and oblige them to believe as they say they must believe. As though there was no use to be made of our reason above our souls ; and

yet the *Bereans* were counted *noble* for searching the scriptures to see whether the things preached by *St. Paul* were so or no. They dare not allow you liberty to speak with your father, or others, for fear their errors should be discovered to you.

Again, you write that “*Esther Jones* confessed that there was an inequality of power among the pastors of the church.” An argument to convince the world, that because the Priests in fallacious ways, caused a woman distempered with a very high fever, if not distracted, to say, she confessed there was an inequality of power among the pastors of the church, therefore all the world are obliged to believe that there is a Pope; an argument to be sent from *Dan* to *Beersheba*, every where, where any English captives are, to gain their belief of a Pope. Can any rational man think, that *Christ* in the seventeenth chapter of *Mathew*, gave *St. Peter* such a power as the Papists speak of; or that the disciples so understood *Christ*? when immediately there arose a dispute among them, Who should be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? *Mat. 18. 1.* At the same time came the disciples of *Jesus* saying, who is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven? The *Rock* spoken of in the seventeenth of *Matthew*, was not the person of *Peter*, but the confession made by him; and the same power is given to all the Disciples, if you compare one scripture with

another ; not one word in any place of scripture of such a vicarship power as a Pope, nor any solid foundation of proof that *Peter* had a greater authority than the rest of the Apostles. 1 Cor. 4. 6. *That you might learn in us, not to think of men above that which is written.* Yea, the Apostle condemns them, 1 Cor. 1. 12. for their contentions, *One saying, I am of Paul, I am of Apollos, and I of Cephas ; no more of Peter's being a foundation than any of the rest. For we are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone.* Not one word in any of *Peter's* epistles showing that he had a greater power than the other Apostles. Nay, if the scriptures give any preference it is to *Saint Paul* rather than *Saint Peter*. 1 Cor. 3. 10. *According to the grace of God which is given to me, as a wise master builder, I have laid the foundation.* 1 Cor. 5. 3. 4. *For I verily as absent in body but present in spirit, have judged already as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed : In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, when we are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christs &c.* 1 Cor. 7. 1. *Now concerning the things whereof ye wrote to me ; application made not to St. Peter but Paul, for the decision of a controversy of scripture.* 1 Cor. 11. 2. *Now I praise you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the ordinance as I delivered them to you.* Either those spoken of Acts 15.

or in his ministry and epistles, 2 Cor. 2. 10. *for your sake forgave I it, in the person of Christ.* 2 Cor. 11. 28. *That which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches.* 2 Cor. 12. 11, 12. *For in nothing am I behind the very chiefest of the Apostles, though I be nothing: Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders and mighty deeds; and in other places.* Again, if you consult Acts 15, where you have an account of the first Synod or Council, you will find that the counsel or sentence of the Apostle *James* is followed, verse 19. Wherefore my sentence is, &c. not a word that *St. Peter* was chief. Again, you find *Peter* himself sent forth by the other Apostles; Acts 8. 14. *The Apostles sent unto them Peter and John.* When the church of the Jews found fault with *Peter* for going into the Gentiles: when he went to *Cornelius*, he does not say, why do you question me, or call me to an account? I am Christ's Vicar on earth. When *Paul* reprov'd *Peter*, Gal. 2. he does not defend himself by mentioning an infallibility in himself as Christ's Vicar, or reprove *Paul* for his boldness.

The Roman Catholic Church can not be a true church of Christ, in that it makes laws directly contrary to the commands of Christ. As for example, in withholding the wine or the cup from the laity, in the Lord's supper; when as Christ commands the same to drink who were to eat. Their evasion that the

blood is in the body, and so they partake of both in eating, is a great fallacy built on a false foundation of Transubstantiation. For when men eat, they cannot be said to drink, which Christ commands ; for Christ commands that we take up the cup and drink, which is not done in eating ; besides the Priests themselves will not be so put off. The words, *This is my body*, do only intend, this doth signify or represent my body ; which will appear if you compare scripture with scripture ; for after the consecration, the Holy Ghost calls it bread, and the fruit of the vine. Exod. 12. 11. *It is the Lord's passover* ; that is, it represents it. In all the Evangelists, you read of killing and eating the passover, a few lines or verses before these words, *This is my body* ; which plainly show, that our Savior in the same way of figurative expression speaks of the gospel sacrament. If these words were taken as the Romanists expounded them, he must eat his own body himself, whole and entire in his own hands ; and after that each one of the disciples eat him entire, and yet he sit at the table whole, untouched at the same time ; contradictions impossible to be defended by any rational arguments. Yea, his whole body must be now in heaven, and in a thousand other places, and in the mouth of every communicant at the same time, and that both as a broken and unbroken sacrifice, and

be subject to putrefaction. Christ is said to be a door, a true vine, a way, a Rock. What work shall we make, if we expound these in a literal manner ; as the Romanists do, when they say, *This is my body*, is meant of the real body of Christ in the Eucharist ? It is said 1 Cor. 10. 4. *And did all drink of the same spiritual drink, for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ.* Was Christ literally a Rock, think you ? Yea it is absurd to believe, that a Priest uttering a few words over a wafer not above an inch square, can make it a God, or the body of Christ entire as it was offered on the cross. A blasphemy, to pretend to a power of making God at their pleasure ; and then eat him, and give him to others to be eaten or shut him up in their altars ; that they can utter the same words, and make a God or not make a God, according to their intention ; and that the people are obliged to believe that it is God, and so adore it, when they never heard any word of consecration, nor know the Priest's intention.

As to what you write about the Holy Mass, I reply, it is wholly an human invention ; not a word of such a sacrifice in the whole bible ; it is being a sacrifice propitiatory daily to be offered, is contrary to the holy scriptures. Heb. 7. 27. *Who needeth not daily, as these high priests, to offer up sacrifice first for his own sins, and then for the peoples ;*

for this he did once, when he offered up himself. And yet the Romanists say, there is need that he be offered up as a sacrifice to God every day. Heb. 9. 12. *By his own blood he entered in once into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption for us. 25, 26, 27, 28. Nor yet that he should offer himself often, as the high priest entereth into the holy place, every year with the blood of others : For then must he often have suffered since the foundation of the world. But now once in the end of the world, hath he appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. As it is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment : So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many. Heb. 10. 10. By which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all. Verse 12. But this man after he had offered one sacrifice for sins, forever sat down on the right hand of God, Verse 14. For by one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified.* By which scriptures you may see that the Mass is not of divine appointment, but an human invention. Their evasion of a bloody and unbloody sacrifice, is a flim ; the holy scriptures speak not one word, of Christ being offered as a sacrifice propitiatory, after such a sort as they call an unbloody sacrifice. All the ceremonies of the Mass are human inventions, that God never commanded.

As to what is in the letter about praying for the women after their death is very ridic-

ulous. For, as a tree falls, so it lies ; as death leaves, judgment will find : No change after death from an afflicted to an happy place and state. Purgatory is a fancy, for the enriching the clergy, and impoverishing the laity. The notion of it a fatal snare to many souls, who sin with hopes of easy getting priestly absolutions at death, and buying off torments with their money. The soul at death goes immediately to judgment, and so to heaven or hell. No authentic place of scripture mentions so much as one word of any such place or state. Mr. *Meriel* told me, " If I found one error in our religion, it was enough to cause me to disown our whole religion." By his argument you may see what reason you have to avoid that religion that is so full of errors.

Bethink yourself, and consult the scriptures, if you can get them, (I mean the Bible) Can you think their religion is right, when they are afraid to let you have an English Bible ? or to speak with your father, or other of your Christian neighbors, for fear they would give you such convictions of truth, that they cannot remove ? Can that religion be true, that cannot bear an examination from the scriptures, that are a perfect rule in matters of faith ? or that must be upheld by ignorance, especially ignorance of the holy scriptures ?

These things have I written as in my heart I believe. I long for your recovery, and will not cease to pray for it. I am now a man of a sorrowful spirit, and look upon your fall as the most aggravating circumstance of my afflictions; and am persuaded that no pains will be wanting, to prevent me from seeing or speaking with you; but I know that God's grace is all sufficient: He is able to do abundantly above what I can ask or think. Do not give way to discouragement as to your return to *New England*: Read over what I have written, and keep it with you, if you can; you have no friend on earth that wisheth your eternal salvation more heartily than your father. I long to see and speak with you, but I never forget you; my love to you, and to your brother and sister, and to all our fellow prisoners. Let me hear from you as often as you can. I hope God will appear for us before it be long.

There are a great many other things in the letter, that deserve to be refuted, but I shall be too tedious in remarking them all at once. Yet would not pass over that passage in the letter, that Esther Jones confessed that there were Seven Sacraments. To which I answer, that some of the most learned of the Romish religion confessed (without the distracting pains of a violent fever) and left it on record in print, that it cannot be convincingly made out from scripture, that there are seven sac-

raments ; and that their most incontestable proof is from tradition, and by their traditions they might have found seventeen as well as seven : Considering that four Popes successively spent their lives in purging and correcting old authors. But no men can out of the holy scriptures, prove any more than two sacraments of divine institution, under the New Testament, namely, Baptism and the Lord's supper. If you make the scriptures a perfect rule of faith, as you ought to do, you cannot believe as the Romish church believes. Oh ! see that you sanctify the Lord himself in your heart, and make him your fear and your dread. Fear not them that can kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do ; but rather fear him that has power to destroy both soul and body in hell fire. The Lord have mercy upon you, and shew you mercy for the worthiness and righteousness sake of Jesus Christ, our great and glorious Redeemer and advocate, who makes intercession for transgressors. My prayers are daily to God for you, your brother and sister, yea and for all my children and fellow prisoners. I am your afflicted and sorrowful father,

JOHN WILLIAMS.

Chateauviche, March, 22, 1706.

GOD who is gloriously free and rich in his grace to vile sinners, was pleased to bless poor and weak means for the recovery of my

child so taken, and gave me to see, that he did not say to the house of Jacob, seek you me in vain. Oh! that every reader would in every difficulty make him their refuge; he is an hopeful stay. To alleviate my sorrow, I received the following letter in answer to mine.

Mont Royal, May 12, 1706.

HONORED FATHER,

I received your letter which you sent by——, which good letter I thank you for, and for the good counsel which you gave me; I desire to be thankful for it, and hope it will be for the good of my soul. I may say as in Psalms, *The sorrows of death compassed me, and the pains of hell got hold on me: I found trouble and sorrow, then called I upon the name of the Lord; O Lord, I beseech thee, deliver my soul! Gracious is the Lord and righteous, yea our God is merciful.* As for what you ask me about making an abjuration of the Protestant faith for the Romish, I durst not write so plain as I would, but hope to see and discourse with you. I am sorry for the sin I have committed in changing religion, for which I am greatly to blame. You may know that Mr. *Meriel* the school master, and others, were continually at me about it; at last I gave over to it, for which I am very sorry. As for that letter you had from me,

it was a letter transcribed for Mr. *Meriel*; and for what he saith about *Abigail Turbet*, and *Esther Jones*, no body heard them but he, as I understand. I desire your prayers to God for me, to deliver me from my sins. Oh remember me in your prayers! I am your dutiful son, ready to take your counsel.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS.

THIS Priest Mr. *Meriel*, has brought many letters to him, and bid him write them over and send them, and so he has done for many others. By this, as also my Mrs. *Stilson's* saying, "She does not think that either of these women did change their religion before their death;" she affirms also, "that oftentimes during their sickness, whilst they had the use of their reason, they protested against the Romish religion and faith." It is evident that these women never died Papists, but that it was a wily stratagem of the Priests to advance their religion; for letters were sent immediately after their death, to use this as a persuasive argument to gain others. But God in his Providence gave in farther conviction of their fallaciousness in this matter.

For the last summer, one *Biggilow* of *Marlborough*, a captive at *Mont Royal*, was very sick in the hospital, and in the judgment of all, was a sickness to death. Then the Priests

and others gave out, that he was turned to be of their religion, and taken into their communion. But contrary to their expectation, he was brought back from the gates of death, and would comply with none of their rites; saying, that whilst he had the use of his reason, he never spake any thing in favor of their religion; and that he never disowned the Protestant faith, nor would he now. So that they were silenced and put to shame.

There is no reason to think that these two women were any more Papists than he; but they are dead and cannot speak. One of the witnesses spoken of in the forementioned letters, told me, she knew of no such thing; and said Mr. *Meriel* told her, that he never heard a more fervent and affectionate prayer, than one which *Esther Jones* made a little before her death. I am verily persuaded, that he calls that prayer to God, so full of affection and fervor, the confession made by her of the sins of her whole life. These two women always in their health, and so in their sickness, opposed all Popish principles; as all that knew them can testify, so long as they could be permitted to go and speak with them. One of these women was taken from the *Eastward*, and the other, namely, *Esther Jones* from *Northampton*.

AT Q U E B E C.

In the beginning of March, 1706, Mr. *Shelden* came again to *Canada*, with letters from his Excellency our Governor, at which time I was a few days at *Quebec*. And when I was there, one night about ten o'clock, there was an Earthquake, that made a report like a cannon, and made the houses to tremble: It was heard and felt many leagues, all along the island of *St. Lawrence*, and other places. When Mr. *Shelden* came the second time, the adversaries did what they could to retard the time of our return, to gain time to seduce our young ones to Popery. Such were sent away who were ungainable, and most of the younger sort still kept. Some still flattered with promises of reward, and great essays to get others married among them. One debauched, and then in 24 hours of time published, taken into their communion and married; but the poor soul has had time since to lament her sin and folly, with a bitter cry; and asks your prayers, that God of his sovereign grace would yet bring her out of the horrible pit, she has thrown herself into. Her name was *Rachel Stores*, of *Wells*.

In April, one *Zebediah Williams*, of our town died; he was a very hopeful and pious young man, who carried himself so in

his captivity, as to edify several of the English, and recover one fallen to Popery, taken the last war; though some were enraged against him on these accounts; yet even the French where he sojourned, and with whom he conversed, would say he was a good man; one that was very prayerful to God, and studious and painful in reading the holy scriptures: A man of a good understanding, a desirable conversation: In the beginning of his last sickness he made me a visit (before he went to the hospital at *Quebec*) to my great satisfaction, and our mutual consolation and comfort in our captivity, as he had several times before, living not above two miles from me over the river, at the island of *St. Lawrence*, about six weeks or two months. After his death, the French told me *Zebediah* was gone to hell, and damned; for, said they, he has appeared since his death to one *Joseph Egerly*, (an Englishman, who was taken the last war) in flaming fire, telling him, he was damned for refusing to embrace the Romish religion, when such pains were used to bring him to the true faith; and for being instrumental to draw him away from the Romish communion, forsaking the Mass; and was therefore now come to advertise him of his danger!—I told them I judged it to be a Popish lie; saying, I bless God, our religion needs no lies to uphold, maintain and establish it, as theirs did. But

they affirmed it to be true, telling me how God approved of their religion, and witnessed miraculously against ours. But I still told them, I was persuaded his soul was in heaven, and that their reports were only devised fables to seduce souls. For several weeks they affirmed it, telling me, that all who came over the river from the island affirmed it to be a truth. I begged of God to blast this hellish design of theirs, so that in the issue it might be to render their religion more abominable, and that they might not gain one soul by such a stratagem. After some weeks had passed in such assertions, there came one into my landlord's house, affirming it to be a truth reported of *Zebediah*; saying, *Joseph Egerly* had been over the river, and told one of our neighbors this story. After a few hours I saw that neighbor; and asked him, whether he had seen *Egerly* lately? He said, Yes.—What news told he you? None, said he. Then I told him what was affirmed as a truth. He answered, *Egerly* said nothing like this to him, and he was persuaded that he would have told him, if there had been any truth in it. About a week after came one *John Boult* from the island of *St. Lawrence*, a lad taken from *Newfoundland*, a very serious sober lad of about seventeen years of age; he had often before come over with *Zebediah* to visit me. At his coming in, he much lamented the loss of *Zebediah*;

and told me, that for several weeks they had told him the same story, affirming it to be a truth, and that *Egerly* was so awakened by it, as to go again to mass every day; urging him, since God in such a miraculous way offered such conviction of the truth of their religion, and the falshood and danger of ours, to come over to their religion, or else his damnation would be dreadfully aggravated. He said he could have no rest for them day and night; but (said he) I told them their religion was contrary to the word of God, and therefore I would not embrace it; and that I did not believe what they said. And says he to me, one day I was sitting in the house, and *Egerly* came in, and I spake to him before the whole family (in the French tongue, for he could not speak much English) and asked him of this story; he answered, it is a great falshood; saying, he never appeared to me, nor have I ever reported any such thing to any body; and that he had never been to the Mass since *Zebediah's* death. At the hearing of which they were silenced and put to shame. We blessed God together for discovering their wickedness, and disappointing them in what they aimed at; and prayed God to deliver us and all the captives from delusions, and recover them who had fallen, and so parted. After which I took my pen and wrote a letter to one *Mr. Samuel Hill*, an English cap-

tive, taken from *Wells*, who lived at *Quebec*. and his brother *Ebenezer Hill*, to make a discovery of this lying plot, and to warn them of their danger, and assure them of the falsehood of this report; but the letter fell into the hands of the Priests, and was never delivered. This *Egerly* came home with us, so that they gained nothing but shame by their stratagem.—God often disappoints the crafty devices of wicked men.

In the latter end of summer, they told me, they had news from *New England*, by one who had been a captive at Boston, who said that the ministers at Boston had told the French captives, that the Protestant religion was the only true religion; and that as a confirmation of it, they would raise a dead person to life before their eyes, for their conviction; and that having persuaded one to feign himself dead, they came and prayed over him, and then commanded him in the name of Christ (whose religion they kept pure) to arise; they called and commanded, but he never arose; so that instead of raising the dead, they killed the living; which the bereaved relations discovered. I told them, it was an old lie and calumny against Luther and Calvin, new vamped, and that they only change the persons and place. But they affirm it to be a truth. I told them, I wondered they were so fond of a faith propagated, and then maintained by lying words.

We were always out of hopes of being returned before winter, the season proving so cold in the latter end of September, and were praying to God to prepare our hearts with an holy submission to his will, to glorify his holy name in a way of passive obedience, in the winter. For my own part, I was informed by several who came from the city, that the Lord intendant said, if *More* returned and brought word that *Battis* was in prison, he would put me in prison, and lay me in irons. They would not permit me to go into the city, saying, I always did harm when I came to the city. And if at any time I was at the city, they would persuade the Governor to send me back again.

In the beginning of last June, the superior of the Priests came to the parish where I was, and told me, he saw I wanted my friend *Captain de Beauville*, and that I was ragged. But says he, your obstinacy against our religion, discourages from providing better cloaths. I told him, it was better going in a ragged coat, than with a ragged conscience.

In the beginning of last June, went out an army of five hundred *Macquas* and Indians, with an intention to have fallen on some English towns down *Connecticut* river; but lighting on a *Scatacook* Indian, who ran away in the night, they were discouraged; saying, he would alarm the whole country. About

fifty, as some say, or eighty, as others, returned. Thus God restrained their wrath.

When they were promising themselves another winter, to draw away the English to Popery, came news of an English brigantine a coming; and that the honorable Captain Samuel Appleton, Esq. was coming ambassador to fetch off the captives, and Captain John Bonner, with him. I cannot tell you how the clergy and others, labored to stop many of the prisoners. To some liberty, to some money, and yearly pensions were offered, if they would stay. Some they urged to tarry at least till the spring of the year; telling them it was so late in the year, they would be lost by shipwreck, if they went now; some younger ones they told, if they went home they would be damned and burnt in hell forever, to affright them; day and night they were urging them to stay. And I was threatened to be sent aboard, without a permission to come ashore again, if I should again discourse with any of the English, who were turned to their religion. At *Mont Royal* especially all crafty endeavors were used to stay the English. They told my child, if he would stay, he should have an honorable pension from the King every year, and that his master, who was an old man, and the richest in Canada, would give him a great deal; telling him, if he returned he would be poor for (said they) your father is

poor, has lost all his estate, it was all burnt. But he would not be prevailed with to stay. And others were also in like manner urged to stay ; but God graciously broke the snare, and brought them out. They endeavored in the fall of the year, to have prevailed with my son to have gone to France, when they saw he would not come to their communion any more. One woman belonging to the Eastern parts, who had by their persuasions, married an English captive taken the last war, came away with her husband ; which made them say, they were sorry they ever persuaded her to turn to their religion, and then to marry ; for instead of advancing their cause by it they had weakened it ; for now they had not only lost her, but another they thought they had made sure of. Another woman belonging to the Eastward, who had been flattered to their religion, to whom a Bible was denied, till she promised to embrace their religion, and then had the promise of it for a little time ; opened her Bible while in the church, and present at mass, she read the fourth chapter of Deuteronomy, and received such conviction whilst reading, that before her first communion she fell off from them, and could never be prevailed with any more to be of their religion.

We have reason to bless God, who has wrought deliverance for so many ; and yet pray to God for a door of escape to be open-

ed for the great number yet behind, not much short of an hundred; many of which are children, and of these not a few among the Savages, and having lost the English tongue, will be lost, and turn Savages in a little time, unless something extraordinary prevent.

The vessel that came for us, in its voyage to *Canada*, struck on a bar of sands, and there lay in a very great hazard for four tides; and yet they saw reason to bless God for striking there; for had they got over that bar, they should at midnight in a storm of snow have run upon a terrible ledge of rocks.

We came away from *Quebec*, October 25, and by contrary winds, and a great storm, we were retarded, and then driven back nigh the city, and had a great deliverance from shipwreck, the vessel striking twice on a rock in that storm. But through God's goodness we all arrived in safety at Boston, November 21; the number of captives fifty seven, two of which were my children. I have yet a daughter of ten years of age, and many neighbors, whose case bespeaks your compassion, and prayers to God, to gather them, being outcasts ready to perish.

At our arrival at Boston, we found the kindnesses of the Lord in a wonderful manner; in God's opening the hearts of many to bless God with us and for us; wonderfully to

give for our supplies in our needy state. We are under obligations to praise God, for disposing the hearts of so many to so great charity; and under great bonds to pray for a blessing on the heads, hearts and families of them who so liberally and plentifully gave for our relief. It is certain, that the charity of the whole country of *Canada*, though moved with the doctrine of merit, does not come up to the charity of *Boston* alone, where notions of merit are rejected; but acts of charity, performed out of a right Christian spirit, from a spirit of thankfulness to God, out of obedience to God's command, and unfeigned love and charity to them that are of the same family and household of faith. The Lord grant, that all who devise such liberal things, may find the accomplishment of the promises made by God in their own persons and theirs after them, from generation to generation.

SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE TROUBLES ARISING IN
CANADA.

I SHALL annex a short account of the troubles beginning to rise in *Canada*.— On *May* 16, arrived a canoe at *Quebec*, that brought letters from *Mississippi*, written the *May* preceding; giving an account that the plague was there, and that one hundred and fifty *French*, in a very little time had died of it; and that the savages called the *Lezilouways*, were very turbulent, and had with their arrows wounded a *Jesuit* in five places, and killed a *Frenchman* that waited on him. In *July*, news came, that the nations up the river were engaged in a war one against the other; and that the *French* living so among them, and trading with them, were in great danger; that the *Mitchel Macquinas* had made war with the *Mizianmies*, and had killed a *Mendicant Fryar* and three other *Frenchmen*, and eleven savages, at a place called the *Straits*, where they were settling a garrison and a place of traffic; the *Mitchel Macquinas* had taken sixteen *Frenchmen* prisoners, and burnt their trading houses. These tidings made the *French* very full of perplex-

ing troubles ; but the Jesuits are endeavoring to pacify them : But the troubles when we came away, were rather increasing than lessening ; for the last letters from the *French* prisoners at *Mitchel Macquina*, report, that the Savages had sent out two companies, one of an hundred and fifty, another of an hundred and sixty, against the Savages at the *Straits* ; and they would engage as well against the *French* as the *Indians*.

FROM THE WEEKLY NEWS LETTER No. 130,

AND

THE WEEKLY JOURNAL No. 118.

Deerfield, June 16. 1729.

ON the 12th Inst. died here our Rev. and beloved Pastor, MR JOHN WILLIAMS, in the 63th Year of his Age. The Lords Day preceding, he preached on both parts of the day, though he felt himself something heavy, and indisposed. Being but a few days before returned from his Journey to Boston. On monday morning he was seized with a fit of the Apoplexy. After which we perceived, by the signs he gave on our speaking to him, he had the exercise of reason, but never spoke more than two or three words. And on thursday half an hour before one in the morning, he expired to our great surprise and distress, unto whom, he was on the best accounts greatly endeared. On the Friday following, he was decently interred. The Rev. Mr. Chancey of Hadley preached a Funeral Sermon on the Occasion—A very grievous breach is made not only upon this flock of Christ, but also upon this County and neighborhood, so soon after the death of Mr. Stoddard of Northampton. Yea it

ought to be considered as a great and public loss, as a fall of one of the Pillars of the Land. MR. WILLIAMS began his ministry among us in May 1686. And was the first and only settled Pastor that hath been in this place. God who sent him to us, and inclined his heart to settle with us in our small beginnings, hath made him a great blessing unto us, and we hope, through grace he hath left many *Seals* of his Ministry among us. He was sincerely devoted to the service of Christ, who graciously endowed him, with very valuable Ministerial abilities. He was much in prayer, and singularly gifted in it. He was heartily concerned for the interest of Religion, and the best good of this people; and a constant intercessor of the Throne of Grace for the same. From his ardent care to promote the honor of Christ, and the salvation of precious souls he was "abundant in his labors, both in season and out of season," Plainly, faithfully, and frequently charging and instructing both Elder, and Younger, affectionately dispensing the most seasonable Counsels, and warning to his people. Travelling in Birth with them, till Christ was found in them, and adorning the doctrine of God our Savior in a very circum-spect, holy and blameless life. MR. WILLIAMS would sometimes say "it is a dangerous thing to be set in the front of New England's sins"—The divine providence that

fixed his post in one of the frontier towns in the Province fitted him for it, by giving him courage, patience, and cheerfulness of spirit, so that he was wonderfully carried through all the difficulties, distractions, and dangers that he encountered. And his prayers, counsels, and example, did not a little contribute to the support and encouragement of his people from time to time. And on that Tragical Morning, ever to be remembered by us, February 29, 1703, 4, When the biggest part of the town was surprized, and either destroyed, or made captives by the French, and Indian Enemy; of this cup, he and his family drank as deep as any. Two of his children and a Negro Woman being killed on the spot, himself and all the rest of his family, except his eldest son who was absent from home, made prisoners, and soon driven out of the house for a march, wherein first his Negro Man, and then his dear Wife were murdered by the cruel savages; under which extraordinary trials he had much of the divine presence, and supports.

God wonderfully preserved him, through the cold and hardships of the dreadful march of 300 miles through the deserts to Canada. And there God enabled him to withstand, all the methods that were used to draw or drive him, to a compliance with Popish Worship and superstition; and even to yield himself an offering to God, when his furious

Indian Master stood over him with his hatchet threatening present death, if he would not comply to cross himself, and kiss a Crucifix, his heart and courage were strengthened so that he said, "I will sooner die than sin against God"—And his counsels when he could find opportunity to give them, were greatly serviceable, to the strengthening the other captives.

After two years and eight months captivity he obtained deliverance, through the good hand of God, and the care of this Government, and arrived at Boston, Nov, 21, 1706 with 57 captives, two of which were his children: But a more particular account of these things may be seen in his book entitled, the Captivity and deliverance &c; upon the whole was observable, that by the natural vivacity, calmness and evenness of his temper, and a gracious resignation, his spirit was kept unbroken, through all his sore trials. And by the presence of Christ with him, he came forth as gold refined and more fitted for his Masters use; having learned obedience by the things which he suffered.

Not long afterwards, he resettled at Deerfield, willingly returning to his beloved work, and friends, and continued laboring with them in all seasons, and amidst the difficulties and troubles, that attended such a frontier Town by the Indian Wars from time to time. His presence among them

conduced much to the rebuilding of the place : which is now in flourishing circumstances. And God dealt with him something after the manner as with Job ; opening the hearts of several worthy Gentlemen, as well as his relations, to contribute bountifully to his, and his families relief, whose generosity must be principally acknowledged under God, in the liberal education of his two elder sons, besides many other kindnesses to his family. He was once and again called by public authority to serve as a Chaplain, in the expedition against Port Royal, and in that designed against Canada, under General Hill and Admiral Walker. And to a winter Journey to Canada with Col. Stoddard, for the redemption of captives. Which negotiation succeeded as to some, but not as to his own daughter, who continues to this day among the Macquas ! a subject of pity and prayer.

He was second son of Deacon Samuel Williams of Roxbury, born there December 10, 1664. Had his education at Harvard College, given him by his honored and pious Grandfather Deacon William Park. He was twice married, first to the only daughter of the Rev. Eleazer Mather, first Pastor of Northampton. The second time to the daughter of Capt. Allen of Windsor, both the grandchildren, of the Rev. Mr. Warham, formerly Pastor of Windsor, who is now his

sorrowful relict. By the former he was blessed with eleven children, and five by the latter, Eight of which only do survive him, viz. four sons and four daughters. His three elder sons are worthy pastors of Churches, in Mansfield, Springfield and Watertown. His eldest daughter married to Mr. Meacham the Pastor of Coventry. His fourth son is now at the College in Cambridge; who it is to be desired may meet with the kindness of Survivors for his fathers sake.

THE

CAPTIVITY AND DELIVERANCE

OF

MRS. MARY ROWLANDSON,

OF LANCASTER,

WHO WAS TAKEN BY THE FRENCH AND INDIANS.

.....

WRITTEN BY HERSELF.

.....

BROOKFIELD,

PRINTED BY HORI BROWN,

FROM THE PRESS OF E. MERRIAM & CO.

September.....1811.

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London, 1811.

CAPTIVITY AND DELIVERANCE

OF

MARY ROWLANDSON.



ON the tenth of February came the Indians with great numbers upon Lancaster: Their first coming was about sunrise; hearing the noise of some guns, we looked out; several houses were burning, and the smoke ascending to Heaven. There were five persons taken in one house, the father, and the mother, and one sucking child they knocked on the head; the other two they took and carried away, and there were two others, who being out of the garrison upon some occasion, were set upon, one was knocked on the head, the other escaped, another there was who running along was shot and wounded, and fell down; he begged of them his life, promising them money, (as they told me) but they would not hearken to him, but knocked him in head, striped him naked, and split open his bowels. Another seeing many of the Indians about his barn, ventured and went out, but was quickly shot down. There were three

others belonging to the same garrison who were killed ; the Indians getting up upon the roof of the barn, had advantage to shoot down upon them over their fortification. Thus these murderous wretches went on burning and destroying before them.

At length they came and beset our own house, and quickly it was the dolefullest day that ever mine eyes saw. The house stood upon the edge of a hill ; some of the Indians got behind the hill, others in the barn, and others behind any thing that would shelter them ; from all which places they shot against the house, so that the bullets seemed to fly like hail ; and quickly they wounded one man among us, then another, and then a third. About two hours (according to my observation in that amazing time) they had been about the house before they prevailed to fire it, (which they did with flax and hemp which they brought out of the barn, and there being no defence about the house, only two flankers at two opposite corners, and one of them not finished) they fired it once and one ventured out and quenched it, but they quickly fired it again, and that took. Now is that dreadful hour come, that I have often heard of, (in the time of the war, as it was the case of others) but now mine eyes see it. Some in our house were fighting for their lives, others wallowing in their blood, the house on fire over our heads, and

the bloody heathen ready to knock us on the head if we stirred out. Now might we hear mothers and children crying out for themselves, and one another, *Lord what shall we do!* Then I took my children (and one of my sisters heirs) to go forth and leave the house: But as soon as we came to the door, and appeared, the Indians shot so thick that the bullets rattled against the house, as if one had taken a handful of stones and threw them so that we were forced to give back. We had six stout dogs belonging to our garrison, but none of them would stir, though another time, if an Indian had come to the door, they were ready to fly upon him and tear him down. The Lord hereby would make us the more to acknowledge his hand, and to see that our help is always in him. But out we must go, the fire increasing, and coming along behind us, roaring, and the Indians gaping before us with their guns, spears, and hatchets to devour us. No sooner were we out of the house, but my brother in law (being before wounded in defending the house, in or near the throat) fell down dead, whereat the Indians scornfully shouted, and halloed, and were presently upon him, stripping off his cloaths. The bullets flying thick, one went through my side, and the same (as would seem) through the bowels and hand of my poor child in my arms. One of my elder sisters children

(named *William*) had then his leg broke, which the Indians perceiving, they knocked him on head. Thus were we butchered by those merciless heathens, standing amazed, with the blood running down to our heels. My elder sister being yet in the house, and seeing those woful sights, the infidels hauling mothers one way, and children another, and some wallowing in their blood: And her eldest son telling her that her son *William* was dead, and myself was wounded, she said, and Lord let me die with them: Which was no sooner said, but she was struck with a bullet, and fell down dead over the threshold. I hope she is reaping the fruit of her good labors, being faithful to the service of God in her place. In her younger years she lay under much trouble upon spiritual accounts, till it pleased God to make that precious scripture take hold of her heart, *2 Cor. 12, 9.* *And he said unto me, my grace is sufficient for thee.* More than twenty years after I have heard her tell how sweet and comfortable that place was to her. But to return: The Indians laid hold of us, pulling me one way, and the children another, and said, come go along with us. I told them they would kill me; they answered, if I were willing to go along with them they would not hurt me.

Oh! the doleful sight that now was to behold at this house! come, behold the works

of the Lord, what desolations he has made in the earth. Of thirty seven persons who were in this one house, none escaped either present death, or a bitter captivity, save only one, who might say as he, *Job*, 1. 15. *And I only am escaped alone to tell the news.* There were twelve killed, some shot, some stabbed with their spears, some knocked down with their hatchets. When we are in prosperity, Oh the little that we think of such dreadful sights, to see our dear friends and relations lie bleeding out their hearts blood upon the ground. There was one who was chopped into the head with a hatchet, and striped naked and yet was crawling up and down. It is a solemn sight to see so many Christians lying in their blood, some here and some there, like a company of sheep torn by wolves. All of them striped naked by a company of hell hounds, roaring, singing, ranting and insulting, as if they would have torn our very hearts out; yet the Lord by his Almighty Power, preserved a number of us from death, for there were twentyfour of us taken alive and carried captive.

I had often before this said, that if the Indians should come, I should chuse rather to be killed by them, than taken alive: But when it came to a trial, my mind changed; their glittering weapons so daunted my spirit, that I chose rather to go along with those (as I may say) ravenous bears, than that mo-

ment to end my days. And that I may the better declare what happened to me during that grievous captivity, I shall particularly speak of the several removes we had up and down the wilderness.

THE FIRST REMOVE.

Now away we must go with those barbarous creatures, with our bodies wounded and bleeding, and our hearts no less than our bodies. About a mile we went that night, up upon a hill within sight of the town, where they intended to lodge. There was hard by a vacant house, deserted by the English before, for fear of the Indians, I asked them whether I might not lodge in that house that night? to which they answered, what will you love Englishmen still? This was the dolefullest night that ever my eyes saw. Oh the roaring, singing, dancing, and yelling of those black creatures in the night, which made the place a lively resemblance of hell: And as miserable was the waste that was there made, of horses, cattle, sheep, swine, calves, lambs, roasting pigs, and fowls, (which they had plundered in the town) some roasting, some frying and burning, and some boyling, to feed our merciless enemies; who were joyful enough, though we were disconsolate. To add to the dolefulness of the former day, and the dismalness of the

present night, my thoughts ran upon my losses and sad bereaved condition. All was gone, my husband gone, (at least separated from me, he being in the bay ; and to add to my grief, the Indians told me they would kill him as he came homeward) my children gone, my relations and friends gone, our house and home, and all our comforts within door and without, all was gone, (except my life) and I knew not but the next moment that might go too.

There remained nothing to me but one poor wounded babe, and it seemed at present worse than death, that it was in such a pitiful condition, bespeaking compassion, and I had no refreshing for it, nor suitable things to revive it. Little do many think, what is the savageness and brutishness of this barbarous enemy, even those that seem to profess more than others among them, when the English have fallen into their hands.

Those seven that were killed at Lancaster the summer before upon a Sabbath day, and the one that was afterwards killed upon a week day, were slain and mangled in a barbarous manner, by one eyed John and Marlborough's praying Indians, which Capt. Mosely brought to Boston, as the Indians told me.

THE SECOND REMOVE.

But now (the next morning) I must turn my back upon the town, and travel with them into the vast and desolate wilderness, I know now whither. It is not my tongue or pen can express the sorrows of my heart, and bitterness of my spirit, that I had at this departure: But God was with me in a wonderful manner, carrying me along, and bearing up my spirit, that it did not quite fail. One of the Indians carried my poor wounded babe upon a horse; it went moaning all along, I shall die, I shall die. I went on foot after it, with sorrow that cannot be expressed. At length I took it off the horse, and carried it in my arms, till my strength failed, and I fell down with it. Then they set me upon a horse, with my wounded child in my lap, and there being no furniture upon the horses back, as we were going down a steep hill, we both fell over the horses head, at which they like inhuman creatures laughed, and rejoiced to see it, though I thought we should there have ended our days, as overcome with so many difficulties. But the Lord renewed my strength still, and carried me along that I might see more of his Power, yea, so much that I could never have thought of, had I not experienced it.

After this it quickly began to snow, and when night came on, they stoped: And now down I must sit in the snow, by a little fire, and a few boughs behind me, with my sick child in my lap, and calling much for water, being now (through the wound) fallen into a violent Fever. My own wound also growing so stiff, that I could scarce sit down or rise up, yet so it must be, that I must sit all this cold winter night, upon the cold snowy ground, with my sick child in my arms, looking that every hour would be the last of its life; and having no Christian friend near me, either to comfort or help me. Oh I may see the wonderful power of God, that my spirit did not utterly sink under my afflictions; still the Lord upheld me with his gracious and merciful spirit, and we were both alive to see the light of the next morning.

THE THIRD REMOVE.

The morning being come, they prepared to go on their way: One of the Indians got up upon a horse, and they set me up behind him, with my poor sick babe in my lap. A very wearisome and tedious day I had of it; what with my own wound, and my child being so exceeding sick, and in a lamentable condition with her wound, it might easily be judged what a poor feeble condition we

were in, there being not the least crumb of refreshing that came within either of our mouths from Wednesday night to Saturday night, except only a little cold water. This day in the afternoon, about an hour by sun, we came to the place where they intended, viz. an Indian town called Wenimesset, northward of Quabaug. When we were come, Oh the number of Pagans (now merciless enemies) that there came about me, that I may say as *David*, Psal. 27. 13. *I had fainted, unless I had believed, &c.* The next day was the Sabbath: I then remembered how careless I had been of God's holy time: how many sabbaths I had lost and misspent, and how evilly I had walked in God's sight; which lay so close upon my spirit, that it was easier for me to see how righteous it was with God to cut off the thread of my life, and cast me out of his presence for ever. Yet the Lord still shewed mercy to me, and helped me; and as he wounded me with one hand, so he healed me with the other. This day there came to me one Robert Pepper, (a man belonging to Roxbury,) who was taken at Capt. Beer's fight; and had been now a considerable time with the Indians, and up with them almost as far as Albany, to see King Philip, as he told me, and was now very lately come with them into these parts. Hearing I say, that I was in this Indian town he obtained leave to come and

see me. He told me he himself was wounded in the leg at Capt. Beer's fight; and was not able sometimes to go but as they carried him, and that he took oak leaves and laid to his wound, and by the blessing of God, he was able to travel again. Then I took oak leaves and laid to my side, and with the blessing of God, it cured me also; yet before the cure was wrought, I may say as it is in *Psal. 38. 5, 6. My wounds stink and are corrupt, I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the day long.* I sat much alone with my poor wounded child in my lap, which moaned night and day, having nothing to revive the body, or cheer the spirits of her; but instead of that, one Indian would come and tell me one hour, your master will knock your child on the head, and then a second, and then a third, your master will quickly knock your child on the head.

This was the comfort I had from them; miserable comforters were they all. Thus nine days I sat upon my knees, with my babe in my lap, till my flesh was raw again. My child being even ready to depart this sorrowful world, they bid me carry it out to another wigwam; (I suppose because they would not be troubled with such spectacles) whither I went with a very heavy heart, and down I sat with the picture of death in my lap. About two hours in the night, my

sweet babe like a lamb departed this life, on Feb. 18. 1675. it being about six years and five months old. It was nine days from the first wounding, in this miserable condition, without any refreshing of one nature or other, except a little cold water. I cannot but take notice how at another time I could not bear to be in the room where any dead person was, but now the case is changed; I must, and could lie down by my dead babe all the night after. I have thought since of the wonderful goodness of God to me, in preserving me so in the use of my reason and senses, in that distressed time, that I did not use wicked and violent means to end my own miserable life. In the morning, when they understood that my child was dead, they sent for me home to my masters wigwam: (By my master in this writing, must be understood *Qunnaopin*, who was a sagamore, and married K. Philip's wives sister; not that he first took me, but I was sold to him by a Narraganset Indian, who took me when I first came out of the garrison) I went to take up my dead child in my arms to carry it with me, but they bid me let it alone: There was no resisting, but go I must and leave it. When I had been a while at my masters wigwam, I took the first opportunity I could get, to go look after my dead child: When I came, I asked them what they had done with it? they told me

it was upon the hill ; then they went and shewed me where it was, where I saw the ground was newly digged, and where they told me they had buried it ; there I left that child in the wilderness, and, and must commit it and myself also in this wilderness condition, to him who is above all. God having taken away this dear child, I went to see my daughter *Mary*, who was at this same Indian town, at a wigwam not very far off, though we had little liberty or opportunity to see one another ; she was about ten years old, and taken from the door at first by a praying Indian, and afterward sold for a gun. When I came in sight, she would fall a weeping, at which they were provoked, and would not let me come near her, but bid me be gone ; which was a heart cutting word to me. I had one child dead, another in the wilderness, I knew not where, the third they would not let me come near to ; *Me* (as he said) *have ye bereaved of my children, Joseph is not, and Simeon is not, and ye will take Benjamin also, all these things are against me.* I could not sit still in this condition, but kept walking from one place to another. And as I was going along, my heart was even overwhelmed with the thoughts of my condition, and that I should have children, and a nation that I knew not, ruled over them. Whereupon I earnestly intreated the Lord that he would consider my low estate, and

shew me a token for good, and if it were his blessed will, some sign and hope of some relief. And indeed quickly the Lord answered, in some measure, my poor prayer: For as I was going up and down mourning and lamenting my condition, my son came to me, and asked me how I did? I had not seen him before, since the destruction of the town; and I knew not where he was, till I was informed by himself, that he was amongst a smaller parcel of Indians, whose place was about six miles off, with tears in his eyes, he asked me whether his sister Sarah was dead? and told me he had seen his sister Mary; and prayed me, that I would not be troubled in reference to himself. The occasion of his coming to see me at this time was this: There was, as I said, about six miles from us, a small plantation of Indians, where it seems he had been, during his captivity; and at this time, there were some forces of the Indians gathered out of our company, and some also from them, (amongst whom was my sons master) to go to assault and burn Medfield: In this time of his masters absence, his dame brought him to see me. I took this to be some gracious answer to my earnest and unfeigned desire. The next day the Indians returned from Medfield: (all the company, for those that belonged to the other smaller company, came through the town that now we were

at) but before they came to us, oh the outrageous roaring and hooping that there was! they began their din about a mile before they came to us. By their noise and hooping they signified how many they had destroyed (which was at that time twenty three) those that were with us at home, were gathered together as soon as they heard the hooping, and every time that the other went over their number, these at home gave a shout, that the very earth rang again. And thus they continued till those that had been upon the expedition were come up to the Saggamor's wigwam; and then, oh the hideous, insulting and triumphing that there was over some English mens scalps, that they had taken (as their manner is) and brought with them. I cannot but take notice of the wonderful mercy of God to me in those afflictions, in sending me a bible: One of the Indians that came from Medfield fight, and had brought some plunder, came to me, and asked me if I would have a bible, he had got one in his basket, I was glad of it, and asked him if he thought the Indians would let me read? he answered yes? so I took the bible, and in that melancholy time it came into my mind to read first the 28th, Chap. of *Deuteronomy*, which I did, and when I had read it, my dark heart wrought on this manner, that there was no mercy for me, that the blessings were gone, and the curses

came in their room, and that I had lost my opportunity. But the Lord helped me still to go on reading, till I came to chap. 30. the seven first verses ; where I found there was mercy promised again, if we would return to him, by repentance ; and though we were scattered from one end of the earth to the other, yet the Lord would gather us together, and turn all those curses upon our enemies. I do not desire to live to forget this scripture, and what comfort it was to me.

Now the Indians began to talk of removing from this place, some one way, and some another. There were now besides myself nine English captives in this place, (all of them children except one woman) I got an opportunity to go and take my leave of them ; they being to go one way, and I another. I asked them whether they were earnest with God for deliverance, they all told me they did as they were able, and it was some comfort to me, that the Lord stirred up children to look to him. The woman, viz. good wife Joslin, told me, she should never see me again, and that she could find in her heart to run away : I desired her not to run away by any means, for we were near thirty miles from any English town, and she very big with child, having but one week to reckon ; and another child in her arms two years old, and bad rivers there were to go over, and we were feeble with our poor and

coarse entertainment. I had my bible with me, I pulled it out, and asked her whether she would read; we opened the bible, and lighted on *Psal. 27.* in which psalm we especially took notice of that verse, *Wait on the Lord, be of good courage, and he shall strengthen thine heart, wait I say on the Lord.*

THE FOURTH REMOVE.

And now must I part with that little company that I had. Here I parted from my daughter Mary, (whom I never saw again till I saw her in Dorchester, returned from captivity) and from four little cousins and neighbors, some of which I never saw afterward, the Lord only knows the end of them. Among them also was that poor woman before mentioned, who came to a sad end, as some of the company told me in my travel: She having much grief upon her Spirits, about her miserable condition, being so near her time, she would be often asking the Indians to let her go home; they not being willing to that, and yet vexed with her importunity, gathered a great company together about her, and striped her naked, and set her in the midst of them; and when they had sung and danced about her (in their hellish manner) as long as they pleased, they knocked her on the head, and the child in her arms with her: When they had done

that, they made a fire and put them both into it, and told the other children that were with them, that if they attempted to go home, they would serve them in like manner. The children said she did not shed one tear, but prayed all the while. But to return to my own journey : We travelled about half a day or a little more, and came to a desolate place in the wilderness, where there were no wigwams or inhabitants before : We came about the middle of the afternoon to this place ; cold, wet, snowy, hungry, and weary, and no refreshing (for man) but the cold ground to sit on, and our poor Indian cheer.

Heart acheing thoughts here I had about my poor children, who were scattered up and down among the wild beasts of the forest : My head was light and dissy, (either through hunger or hard lodging, or trouble, or altogether) my knees feeble, my body raw by sitting double night and day, that I cannot express to man, the affliction that lay upon my spirit, but the Lord helped me at that time to express it to himself. I opened my bible to read, and the Lord brought that precious scripture to me, *Jer. 31. 16. Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thine eyes from tears, for thy work shall be rewarded, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy.* This was a sweet cordial to me, when I was ready to faint, many and

many a time have I sat down, and wept sweetly over this scripture. At this place we continued about four days.

THE FIFTH REMOVE.

The occasion (as I thought) of their moving at this time, was the English Army's being near and following them: For they went as if they had gone for their lives, for some considerable way; and then they made a stop, and chose out some of their stoutest men, and sent them back to hold the English Army in play whilst the rest escaped; and then like Jehu they marched on furiously, with their old and young: Some carried their old decrepid mothers, some carried one and some another. Four of them carried a great Indian upon a bier; but going through a thick wood with him, they were hindered, and could make no haste; whereupon they took him upon their backs, and carried him one at a time, till we came to Bacquag Riv. r. Upon a Friday a little after noon we came to this river: When all the company was come up, and were gathered together, I thought to count the number of them, but they were so many, and being somewhat in motion, it was beyond my skill. In this travel, because of my wound, I was somewhat favored in my load: I carried only my knittingwork, and two quarts of parched

meal : Being very faint, I asked my mistress to give me one spoonful of the meal, but she would not give me a taste. They quickly fell to cutting dry trees, to make rafts to carry them over the river, and soon my turn came to go over. By the advantage of some brush which they had laid upon the raft to sit on, I did not wet my foot, (which many of themselves at the other end were mid leg deep) which cannot but be acknowledged as a favor of God to my weakened Body, it being a very cold time. I was not before acquainted with such kind of doings, or dangers. *When thou passeth through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers they shall not overflow thee.* Isai. 43. 2. A certain number of us got over the river that night, but it was the night after the Sabbath before all the company was got over. On the Saturday they boiled an old horse's Leg (which they had got) and so we drank of the broth, as soon as they thought it was ready, and when it was almost all gone, they filled it up gain.

The first week of my being among them, I hardly eat any thing : The second week I found my stomach grew very faint for want of something ; and yet it was very hard to get down their filthy trash ; but the third week (though I could think how formerly my stomach would turn against this or that, and I could starve and die before I could eat

such things,) yet they were pleasant and savory to my taste. I was at this time knitting a pair of white cotten stockings for my mistress, and I had not yet wrought upon the Sabbath Day: when the Sabbath came, they bid me go to work; I told them it was Sabbath day, and desired them to let me rest, and told them I would do as much more tomorrow; to which they answered me, they would break my face. And here I cannot but take notice of the strange Providence of God in preserving the heathen: They were many hundreds, old and young, some sick and some lame, many had papooses at their backs, the greatest number (at this time with us) were Squaws, and they travelled with all they had, bag and baggage, and yet they got over this river aforesaid; and on Monday they set their wigwams on fire, and away they went; on that very day came the English Army after them to this river, and saw the smoak of their wigwams, and yet this river put a stop to them. God did not give them courage or activity to go over after us; we were not ready for so great a mercy as victory and deliverance; if we had been, God would have found out a way for the English to have passed this River, as well as for the Indians with their Squaws and children, and all their luggage. *Oh that my people had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways, I should soon have subdued their*

enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries. Psal. 81. 13, 14.

THE SIXTH REMOVE.

On Monday (as I said) they set their wigwams on fire, and went away. It was a cold morning, and before us there was a great brook with ice on it : Some waded through it, up to the knees and higher, but others went till they came to a beaver dam, and I amongst them, where through the good providence of God, I did not wet my foot. I went along that day, mourning and lamenting (leaving farther my own country, and travelling farther into the vast and howling wilderness) and I understood something of Lot's wife's temptation, when she looked back : We came that day to a great swamp, by the side of which we took up our lodging that night. When we came to the brow of the hill that looked toward the swamp, I thought we had come to a great Indian town. (Though there were none but our own company) the Indians were as thick as the trees ; it seemed as if there had been a thousand hatchets going at once : If one looked before one, there was nothing but Indians, and behind one, nothing but Indians ; and so on either hand : And I myself in the midst, and no christian soul near me, and yet how hath the Lord preserved me in safety ! Oh the

experience that I have had of the goodness of God to me and mine !

THE SEVENTH REMOVE.

After a restless and hungry night there, we had a wearisome time of it the next day. The swamp by which we lay, was as it were a deep dungeon, and an exceeding high and steep hill before it. Before I got to the top of the hill, I thought my heart and legs and all would have broken, and failed me. What through faintness and soreness of body, it was a grievous day of travel to me. As we went along, I saw a place where English cattle had been, that was comfort to me, such as it was ; quickly after that we came to an English path, which so took with me, that I thought I could there have freely lien down and died. That day, a little after noon, we came to Squauheag, where the Indians quickly spread themselves over the deserted English fields, gleaning what they could find ; some picked up ears of wheat, that were crinckled down, some found ears of Indian corn, some found ground nuts, and others sheaves of wheat that were frozen together in the shock, and went to threshing of them out. Myself got two ears of Indian corn, and whilst I did but turn my back, one of them was stolen from me, which much troubled me. There came an Indian to them at that time, with a

basket of horse liver ; I asked him to give me a piece : What (says he) can you eat horse liver? I told him I would try if he would give me a piece, which he did; and I laid it on the coals to roast, but before it was half ready, they got half of it away from me ; so that I was forced to take the rest and eat it as it was, with the blood about my mouth, and yet a savory bit it was to me ; for to the hungry soul every bitter thing is sweet. A solemn sight me thought it was, to see whole fields of wheat and Indian corn forsaken and spoiled, and the remainder of them to be food for our merciless Enemies. That night we had a mess of wheat for our supper.

THE EIGHTH REMOVE.

On the morrow morning we must go over Connecticut river to meet with King Philip ; two canoes full they had carried over, the next turn myself was to go ; but as my foot was upon the canoe to step in, there was a sudden outcry among them, and I must step back ; and instead of going over the river, I must go four or five miles up the river farther Northward. Some of the Indians ran one way, and some another. The cause of this rout was, as I thought, their espying some Englishscouts, who were thereabouts. In this travel up the river, about noon the company

made a stop, and sat down, some to eat, and others to rest them. As I sat amongst them, musing on things past, my son Joseph unexpectedly came to me: We asked of each others welfare, bemoaning our doleful condition, and the change that had come upon us: We had husband, and father, and children, and sisters, and friends, and relations, and house, and home, and many comforts of this life; but now we might say as *Job*, *naked came I out of my mothers womb, and naked shall I return: The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord.* I asked him whether he would read? he told me, he earnestly desired it. I gave him my bible, and he lighted upon that comfortable scripture, *Psal 118. 17, 18. I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord: The Lord hath chastened me sore, yet he hath not given me over to death.* Look here mother (says he) did you read this? And here I may take occasion to mention one principal ground of my setting forth these few lines, even as the psalmist says, to declare the works of the Lord, and his wonderful power in carrying us along, preserving us in the wilderness, while under the enemies hand, and returning of us in safety again; and his goodness in bringing to my hand so many comfortable and suitable scriptures in my distress.

But to return : We travelled on till night, and in the morning we must go over the river to Philip's crew. When I was in the canoe, I could not but be amazed at the numerous crew of Pagans that were on the bank on the other side. When I came ashore, they gathered all about me, I sitting alone in the midst : I observed they asked one another questions, and laughed, and rejoiced over their gains and victories. Then my heart began to fail, and I fell a weeping ; which was the first time, to my remembrance, that I wept before them ; although I had met with so much affliction, and my heart was many times ready to break, yet could I not shed one tear in their sight, but rather had been all this while in a maze, and like one astonished ; but now I may say as *Psal. 137. 1. By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.* There one of them asked me, why I wept ? I could hardly tell what to say ; yet I answered, they would kill me : No, said he, none will hurt you. Then came one of them, and gave me two spoonfuls of meal (to comfort me) and another gave me half a pint of pease, which was more worth than many bushels at another time. Then I went to see King Philip ; he bid me come in, and sit down ; and asked me whether I would smoke it ? (a usual complement now a days, among Saints and Sinners) but this no way

suit me. For though I had formerly used tobacco, yet I had left it ever since I was first taken. It seems to be a bait, the devil lays to make men lose their precious time. I remember with shame, how formerly, when I had taken two or three pipes, I was presently ready for another; such a bewitching thing it is: But I thank God, he has now given me power over it; surely there are many who may be better employed, than to sit sucking a stinking tobacco pipe.

Now the Indians gather their Forces to go against Northampton: Over night one went about yelling and hooting to give notice of the design. Whereupon they went to boiling of ground nuts, and parching of corn (as many as had it) for their provision; and in the Morning away they went. During my abode in this place, Philip spake to me to make a shirt for his boy, which I did; for which he gave me a shilling; I offered the money to my master, but he bid me keep it, and with it I bought a piece of horse flesh. Afterward he asked me to make a cap for his boy, for which he invited me to dinner: I went, and he gave me a pancake, about as big as two fingers; it was made of parched wheat, beaten, and fryed in bears grease, but I thought I never tasted pleasanter meat in my life. There was a Squaw who spake to me to make a shirt for her sannup; for which she gave me a piece of bear. Anoth-

er asked me to knit a pair of stockings, for which she gave me a quart of pease. I boiled my pease and bear together, and invited my master and mistress to dinner ; but the proud gossip, because I served them both in one dish, would eat nothing, except one bit that he gave her upon the point of his knife. Hearing that my son was come to this place, I went to see him, and found him lying flat upon the ground ; I asked him how he could sleep so ? he answered me, that he was not asleep, but at prayer ; and that he lay so, that they might not observe what he was doing. I pray God he may remember these things now he is returned in safety. At this place, (the Sun now getting higher) what with the beams and heat of the Sun, and the smoke of the wigwams, I thought I should have been blind. I could scarce discern one wigwam from another. There was here one Mary Thurston of Medfield, who seeing how it was with me, lent me a hat to wear ; but as soon as I was gone, the Squaw who owned that Mary Thurston, came running after me, and got it away again. Here was a Squaw who gave me a spoonful of meal, I put it in my pocket to keep it safe, yet notwithstanding somebody stole it, but put five Indian corns in the room of it ; which corns were the greatest provision I had in my travel for one day.

The Indians returning from Northampton, brought with them some horses, and sheep, and other things which they had taken ; I desired them that they would carry me to Albany upon one of those horses, and sell me for powder ; for so they had sometimes discoursed. I was utterly hopeless of getting home on foot, the way that I came. I could hardly bear to think of the many weary steps I had taken, to come to this place.

THE NINTH REMOVE.

But instead of going either to Albany or homeward we must go five miles up the river, and then go over it. Here we abode a while. Here lived a sorry Indian, who spake to me to make him a shirt, when I had done it, he would pay me nothing for it. But he living by the river side, where I often went to fetch water, I would often be putting of him in mind, and calling for my pay ; at last he told me, if I would make another shirt for a papoos not yet born, he would give me a knife, which he did, when I had done it. I carried the knife in, and my master asked me to give it him, and I was not a little glad that I had any thing that they would accept of, and be pleased with. When we were at this place, my master's maid came home ; she had been gone three weeks into

the Narraganset country to fetch corn, where they had stored up some in the ground: She brought home about a peck and a half of corn. This was about the time that their great captain (*Naananto*) was killed in the Narraganset country.

My son being now about a mile from me, I asked liberty to go and see him, they bid me go, and away I went; but quickly lost myself, travelling over hills and through swamps, and could not find the way to him. And I cannot but admire at the wonderful power and goodness of God to me, in that though I was gone from home, and met with all sorts of Indians, and those I had no knowledge of, and there being no christian soul near me, yet not one of them offered the least imaginable miscarriage to me. I turned homeward again, and met with my master, and he shewed me the way to my son. When I came to him, I found him, not well; and withall he had a bile on his side, which much troubled him: We bemoaned one another a while, as the Lord helped us, and then I returned, again. When I was returned I found myself as unsatisfied as I was before. I went up and down mourning and lamenting, and my spirit was ready to sink, with the thoughts of my poor children; my son was ill, and I could not but think of his mournful looks, having no christian friend near him, to do any office of love for him, either for soul or body. And my poor girl,

I knew not where she was, nor whether she was sick, or well, or alive or dead. I repaired under these thoughts to my bible, (my great comforter in that time) and that scripture came to my hand, *Cast thy burden upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee*, Psal. 55. 22.

But I was fain to go and look after something to satisfy my hunger : And going among the wigwams, I went into one, and there found a Squaw who shewed herself very kind to me, and gave me a piece of bear. I put it into my pocket, and came home ; but could not find an opportunity to broil it, for fear they should get it from me ; and there it lay all that day and night in my stinking pocket. In the morning I went again to the same Squaw, who had a kettle of ground nuts boiling : I asked her to let me boil my piece of bear in her kettle, which she did, and gave me some ground nuts to eat with it, and I cannot but think how pleasant it was to me. I have sometimes seen bear baked handsomely amongst the English, and some liked it, but the thoughts that it was bear, made me tremble : But now that was savory to me that one would think was enough to turn the stomach of a brute creature.

One bitter cold day, I could find no room to sit down before the fire : I went out, and could not tell what to do, but I went into another wigwam, where they were also sitting

round the fire ; but the Squaw laid a skin for me, and bid me sit down, and gave me some ground nuts, and bid me come again ; and told me they would buy me, if they were able ; and yet these were strangers to me that I never knew before.

THE TENTH REMOVE.

That day a small part of the company removed about three quarters of a mile, intending farther the next day. When they came to the place where they intended to lodge, and had pitched their wigwams, being hungry I went again back to the place we were before at, to get something to eat ; being encouraged by the Squaw's kindness, who bid me come again. When I was there, there came an Indian to look after me ; who when he had found me, kicked me all along. I went home and found venison roasting that night, but they would not give me one bit of it. Sometimes I met with favors, and sometimes with nothing but frowns.

THE ELEVENTH REMOVE.

The next day in the morning, they took their travel, intending a days Journey up the river ; I took my load at my back, and quickly we came to wade over a river, and passed over tiresome and wearisome hills.

One hill was so steep, that I was fain to creep up upon my knees, and to hold by the twigs and bushes to keep myself from falling backward. My head also was so light that I usually reeled as I went, but, I hope all those wearisome steps that I have taken, are but a forwarding of me to the heavenly rest. *I know O Lord, that thy Judgments are right and that thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me, Psal. 119. 75.*

THE TWELFTH REMOVE.

It was upon a Sabbath day morning, that they prepared for their travel. This morning I asked my master whether he would sell me to my husband? he answered nux; which did much rejoice my spirit. My mistress, before we went, was gone to the burial of a papoos, and returning, she found me sitting, and reading in my bible: She snatched it hastily out of my hand, and threw it out of doors; I ran out and caught it up, and put it in my pocket, and never let her see it afterward. Then they packed up their things to be gone, and gave me my load: I complained it was too heavy, whereupon she gave me a slap on the face, and bid me be gone. I lifted up my heart to God, hoping that redemption was not far off; and the rather because their insolency grew worse and worse.

But the thoughts of my going homeward (for so we bent our course) much cheered my spirit, and made my burden seem light, and almost nothing at all. But (to my amazement and great perplexity) the scale was soon turned; for when we had gone a little way, on a sudden my mistress gave out, she would go no further, but turn back again, and said I must go back again with her, and she called her sannup, and would have him go back also, but he would not; but said, he would go on, and come to us again in three days. My spirit was upon this (I confess) very impatient, and almost outrageous. I thought I could as well have died as went back. I cannot declare the trouble that I was in about it; but yet back again I must go. As soon as I had an opportunity, I took my bible to read, and that quieting Scripture came to my hand *Psal. 46. 10. Be still, and know that I am God.* Which stilled my spirit for the present; but a sore time of trial I concluded I had to go through. My master being gone, who seemed to me the best friend that I had of an Indian, both in cold and hunger, and quickly so it proved. Down I sat, with my heart as full as it could hold, and yet so hungry, that I could not sit neither: But going out to see what I could find, and walking among the trees, I found six acorns and two chesnuts, which were some refreshment to me. Toward night I

gathered me some sticks for my own comfort, that I might not lye cold : But when we came to lye down, they bid me go out, and lye somewhere else, for they had company (they said) come in more than their own : I told them I could not tell where to go, they bid me go look : I told them, if I went to another wigwam they would be angry, and send me home again. Then one of the company drew his sword, and told me he would run me through, if I did not go presently. Then was I fain to stoop to this rude fellow, and to go out in the night I knew not whither. Mine eyes have seen that fellow afterwards walking up and down in Boston, under the appearance of a friendly Indian, and several others of the like cut. I went to one wigwam, and they told me they had no room. Then I went to another, and they said the same : At last an old Indian bid me come to him, and his Squaw gave me some ground nuts ; she gave me also something to lay under my head, and a good fire we had : And through the good Providence of God, I had a comfortable lodging that night. In the morning another Indian bid me come at night, and he would give me six ground nuts, which I did. We were at this place and time about two miles from Connecticut river. We went in the morning (to gather ground nuts) to the river, and went back again at night. I went with a great load at

my back, (for they when they went, though but a little way, would carry all their trumpery with them) I told them the skin was off my back, but I had no other comforting answer from them than this, that it would be no matter if my head were off too.

THE THIRTEENTH REMOVE.

Instead of going toward the bay, (which was that I desired) I must go with them five or six miles down the river, into a mighty thicket of brush; where we abode almost a fortnight. Here one asked me to make a shirt for her papoos, for which she gave me a mess of broth, which was thickened with meal made of the bark of a tree; and to make it the better, she had put into it about a handful of pease, and a few roasted ground nuts. I had not seen my son a pretty while and here was an Indian of whom I made enquiry after him, and asked him when he saw him? he answered me, that such a time his master roasted him, and that himself did eat a piece of him as big as his two fingers, and that he was very good meat. But the Lord upheld my spirit under this discouragement; and I considered their horrible addictedness to lying, and that there is not one of them that makes the least conscience of speaking the truth.

In this place, one cold night as I lay by the fire, I removed a stick which kept the heat from me, a Squaw moved it down again, at which I looked up, and she threw a handful of ashes in my eyes; I thought I should have been quite blinded and never have seen more; but lying down, the water ran out of my eyes, and carried the dirt with it, that by the morning I recovered my sight again. Yet upon this, and the like occasions, I hope it is not too much to say with *Job*, *Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends, for the hand of the Lord has touched me.* And here I cannot but remember how many times sitting in their wigwams, and musing on things past, I should suddenly leap up and run out, as if I had been at home, forgetting where I was, and what my condition was: But when I was without, and saw nothing but wilderness, and woods, and a company of barbarous heathen, my mind quickly returned to me, which made me think of that spoken concerning Sampson, who said, *I will go out and shake myself as at other times, but he wist not that the Lord was departed from him.*

About this time, I began to think that all my hopes of restoration would come to nothing. I thought of the English army, and hoped for their coming, and being retaken by them, but that failed. I hoped to be carried to Albany, as the Indians had discours-

ed, but that failed also, I thought of being sold to my husband, as my master spake; but instead of that, my master himself was gone, and I left behind, so that my spirit was now quite ready to sink. I asked them to let me go out and pick up some sticks, that I might get alone, and pour out my heart unto the Lord. Then also I took my bible to read, but I found no comfort here neither; yet I can say, that in all my sorrows and afflictions, God did not leave me to have any impatience work towards himself, as if his ways were unrighteous; but I knew that he laid upon me less than I deserved. Afterwards, before this doleful time ended with me, I was turning the leaves of my bible, and the Lord brought to me some scriptures which did a little revive me, as that, *Isa. 55. 8. For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord.* And also that, *Psal. 37. 5. Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass.*

About this time they came yelping from Hadley, having there killed three English men, and brought one captive with them, viz. Thomas Read. They all gathered about the poor man, asking him many questions. I desired also to go and see him; and when I came, he was crying bitterly, supposing they would quickly kill him. Whereupon I asked one of them, whether they intended

to kill him, he answered me they would not : He being a little cheered with that, I asked him about the welfare of my husband, he told me he saw him such a time in the bay, and he was well, but very melancholy. By which I certainly understood (though I suspected it before) that whatsoever the Indians told me respecting him, was vanity and lies. Some of them told me he was dead, and they had killed him : Some said he was married again, and that the governor wished him to marry, and told him he should have his choice, and that all persuaded him I was dead. So like were these barbarous creatures to him who was a liar from the beginning.

As I was sitting once in the wigwam here, Philip's maid came in with the child in her arms, and asked me to give her a piece of my apron, to make a flap for it ; I told her I would not ; then my mistress bid me give it, but I still said no. The maid told me, if I would not give her a piece, she would tear a piece off it : I told her I would tear her coat, then : With that my mistress rises up, and takes up a stick big enough to have killed me, and struck at me with it, but I stepped out, and she struck the stick into the mat of the wigwam. But while she was pulling of it out, I ran to the maid and gave her all my apron, and so that storm went over.

Hearing that my son was come to this place, I went to see him, and told him his Father was well, but very melancholy : He told me he was as much grieved for his Father, as for himself ; I wondered at his speech, for I thought I had enough upon my spirit, in reference to myself, to make me mindless of my husband, and every one else, they being safe among their friends. He told me also, that a while before, his master, (together with other Indians) were going to the French for powder, but by the way the Mohawks met with them, and killed four of their company, which made the rest turn back again ; for which I desire that myself and he may bless the Lord ; for it might have been worse with him, had he been sold to the French, than it proved to be in his remaining with the Indians.

I went to see an English youth in this place, one John Gilberd of Springfield. I found him lying without doors upon the ground ; I asked him how he did ? he told me he was very sick of a flux with eating so much blood. They had turned him out of the wigwam, and with him an Indian Papoos, almost dead, (whose parents had been killed) in a bitter cold day without fire or cloaths : The young man himself had nothing on but his shirt and waistcoat. This sight was enough to melt a heart of flint. There they lay quivering in the cold, the youth round

like a dog, the papoos stretched out with his eyes and nose, and mouth full of dirt, and yet alive, and groaning. I advised John to go and get to some fire; he told me he could not stand, but I persuaded him still, lest he should lye there and die. And with much ado I got him to a fire, and went myself home. As soon as I had got home, his masters daughter came after me, to know what I had done with the English man? I told her I had got him to a fire in such a place. Now had I need to pray *Paul's Prayer*, 2. *Thess.* 3. 2. *That we may be delivered from unreasonable and wicked men.* For her satisfaction I went along with her, and brought her to him; but before I got home again, it was noised about, that I was running away, and getting the English youth along with me: That as soon as I came in, they began to rant and domineer, asking me where I had been, and what I had been doing? and saying they would knock me on the head: I told them I had been seeing the English youth, and that I would not run away. They told me I lied, and getting up a hatchet, they came to me, and said, they would knock me down if I stired out again; and so confined me to the wigwam. Now may I say with David. 2, *Sam.* 24. 14. *I am in a great strait.* If I keep in, I must die with hunger; and if I go out, I must be knocked on the head. This distressed condition held that day, and half the

next ; and then the Lord remembered me, whose mercies are great. Then came an Indian to me with a pair of stockings which were too big for him, and he would have me ravel them out, and knit them fit for him. I shewed myself willing, and bid him ask my mistress if I might go along with him a little way ? she said, yes, I might ; but I was not a little refreshed with that news, that I had my liberty again. Then I went along with him, and he gave me some roasted ground nuts, which did again revive my feeble stomach.

Being got out of her sight, I had time and liberty again to look into my bible, which was my guide by day, and my pillow by night. Now that comfortable scripture presented itself to me, *Isai. 45. 7. For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee.* Thus the Lord carried me along from one time to another, and made good to me this precious promise, and many others. Then my son came to see me, and I asked his master to let him stay a while with me, that I might comb his head, and look over him, for he was almost overcome with lice. He told me when I had done, that he was very hungry, but I had nothing to relieve him but bid him go into the wigwams as he went along, and see if he could get any thing among them. Which he did, and (it seems) tarried a little too long, for his master

was angry with him, and beat him, and then sold him. Then he came running to tell me he had a new master, and that he had given him some ground nuts already. Then I went along with him to his new master, who told me he loved him, and he should not want. So his master carried him away, and I never saw him afterward, till I saw him at Piscataqua in Portsmouth.

That night they bid me go out of the wigwam again : My mistress's papoos was sick, and it died that night ; and there was one benefit in it, that there was more room. I went to a wigwam, and they bid me come in, and gave me a skin to lye upon, and a mess of venison and ground nuts, which was a choice dish among them. On the morrow they buried the papoose ; and afterward, both morning and evening, there came a company to mourn and howl with her : though I confess I could not much condole with them. Many sorrowful eyes I had in this place ; often getting alone, *like a crane or a swallow, so did I chatter ; I did mourn as a dove, mine eyes fail with looking upward. O Lord, I am oppressed, undertake for me, Isai. 38. 14.* I could tell the Lord as *Hezekiah, ver. 3. Remember now O Lord, I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in truth.* Now had I time to examine all my ways : My conscience did not accuse me of unrighteousness towards one or other ; yet I saw how in my walk with

God, I had been a careless creature. As David said, *Against thee and thee only have I sinned.* And I might say with the poor Publican, *God be merciful unto me a sinner.* Upon the Sabbath days I could look upon the sun, and think how people were going to the house of God, to have their souls refreshed, and then home, and their bodies also ; but I was destitute of both, and might say as the poor Prodigal, *He would fain have filled his belly with the husks that the swine did eat, and no man gave unto him, Luke, 15. 16.* For I must say with him, *Father I have sinned against Heaven, and in thy sight, ver. 21.* I remembered how on the night before and after the Sabbath, when my family was about me, and relations and neighbors with us ; we could pray, and sing, and refresh our bodies with the good creatures of God, and then have a comfortable bed to lye down on ; but instead of all this, I had only a little swill for the body, and then like a swine, must lye down on the ground. I cannot express to man, the sorrow that lay upon my spirit, the Lord knows it. Yet that comfortable scripture would often come to my mind, *For a small moment have I forsaken thee, but with great mercies will I gather thee.*

THE FOURTEENTH REMOVE.

Now must we pack up and be gone from this thicket, bending our course toward the bay towns. I having nothing to eat by the way this day, but a few crumbs of cake, that an Indian gave my girl, the same day we were taken. She gave it me and I put it into my pocket : There it lay, till it was so mouldy, (for want of good baking) that one could not tell what it was made of ; it fell all to crumbs, and grew so dry and hard, that it was like little flints ; and this refreshed me many times, when I was ready to faint. It was in my thoughts when I put it into my mouth, that if ever I returned, I would tell the world, what a blessing the Lord gave to such mean food. As we went along, they killed a Deer, with a young one in her ; they gave me a piece of the fawn, and it was so young and tender, that one might eat the bones as well as the flesh, and yet I thought it very good. When night came on, we sat down ; it rained, but they quickly got up a bark wigwam, where I lay dry that night. I looked out in the morning, and many of them had lain in the rain all night, I saw by their reaking. Thus the Lord dealt mercifully with me many times, and I fared better than many of them. In the morning they took the blood of the deer, and put it

into the paunch, and so boiled it ; I could eat nothing of that, though they eat it sweetly. And yet they were so nice in other things, that when I had fetched water, and had put the dish I diped the water with, into the kettle of water which I brought, they would say they would knock me down for they said it was a sluttish trick.

THE FIFTEENTH REMOVE.

We went on our travel. I having got one handful of ground nuts, for my support that day : they gave me my load, and I went on cheerfully, (with the thoughts of going homeward) having my burden more on my back than my spirit. We came to Baquaug river again that day, near which we abode a few days. Sometimes one of them would give me a pipe, another a little tobacco, another a little salt, which I would change for a little victuals. I cannot but think what a wolfish appetite persons have in a starving condition ; for many times when they gave me that which was hot, I was so greedy, that I should burn my mouth, that it would trouble me hours after, and yet I should quickly do the same again. And after I was thoroughly hungry, I was never again satisfied. For though sometimes it fell out that I got enough, and did eat till I could eat no more, yet I was as unsatisfied as I was when

I began. And now could I see that scripture verified, (there being many scriptures that we do not take notice of, or understand till we are afflicted) *Mic. 6. 14. Thou shalt eat and not be satisfied.* Now might I see more than ever before, the miseries that sin hath brought upon us. Many times I should be ready to run out against the heathen, but that scripture would quiet me again, *Amos, 3. 6. Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it?* The Lord help me to make a right improvement of his word, and that I might learn that great lesson, *Mic. 6. 8, 9. He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with thy God? Hear ye the rod, and who hath appointed it.*

THE SIXTEENTH REMOVE.

We began this remove with wading over Baquaug river. The water was up to the knees, and the stream very swift, and so cold, that I thought it would have cut me in sunder. I was so weak and feeble, that I reeled as I went along, and thought there I must end my days at last, after my bearing and getting through so many difficulties. The Indians stood laughing to see me staggering along, but in my distress, the Lord gave me Experience of the truth and good-

ness of that promise, *Isa. 43. 2. When thou passest through the waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee.* Then I sat down to put on my stockings and shoes, with the tears running down my eyes, and many sorrowful thoughts in my heart. But I got up to go along with them. Quickly there came up to us an Indian, who informed them, that I must go to Wachuset to my master, for there was a letter come from the Council to the Saggamoses about redeeming the captives, and that there would be another in fourteen days, and that I must be there ready. My heart was so heavy before, that I could scarce speak, or go in the path; and yet now so light that I could run. My strength seemed to come again, and to recruit my feeble knees, and aching heart; yet it pleased them to go but one mile that night, and there we stayed two days. In that time came a company of Indians to us, near thirty, all on horseback. My heart skiped within me, thinking they had been English men at the first sight of them: For they were dressed in English apparel, with hats, white neckcloths, and sashes about their waists, and ribbons upon their shoulders: But when they came near, there was a vast difference between the lovely faces of christians, and the foul looks of those heathens, which much damped my spirit again.

THE SEVENTEENTH REMOVE.

A comfortable remove it was to me, because of my hopes. They gave me my pack, and along we went cheerfully; but quickly my will proved more than my strength; having little or no refreshing, my strength failed, and my spirits were almost quite gone. Now may I say as *David*, Psal. 109. 22, 23, 24. *I am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me. I am gone like the shadow when it declineth: I am tossed up and down like the locust: My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth of fatness.* At night we came to an Indian town, and the Indians sat down by a wigwam discoursing, but I was almost spent, and could scarce speak. I laid down my load, and went into the wigwam, and there sat an Indian boiling of horses feet; (they being wont to eat the flesh first, and when the feet were old and dried, and they had nothing else, they would cut off the feet and use them) I asked him to give me a little of his broth, or water they were boiling in. He took a dish, and gave me one spoonful of SAMP, and bid me take as much of the broth as I would. Then I put some of the hot water to the samp, and drank it up, and my spirit came again. He gave me also a piece of the ruffe or ridding of the small guts, and I broiled it on the

coals ; and now may I say with *Jonathan*, see *I pray you how mine eyes are enlightened, because I tasted a little of this honey.* 1 Sam. 14. 29. Now is my spirit revived again ; though means be never so inconsiderable, yet if the Lord bestow his blessing upon them, they shall refresh both soul and body.

THE EIGHTEENTH REMOVE.

We took up our packs, and along we went. But a wearisome day I had of it. As we went along, I saw an English man stript naked, and laying dead upon the ground, but knew not who it was. Then we came to another Indian town, where we stayed all night. In this town there were four English children, captives, and one of them my own sister's. I went to see how she did, and she was well, considering her captive condition. I would have tarried that night with her, but they that owned her would not suffer it. Then I went to another wigwam, where they were boiling corn and beans, which was a lovely sight to see, but I could not get a taste thereof. Then I went into another wigwam, where there were two of the English children : The Squaw was boiling horses feet, she cut me off a little piece, and gave one of the English children a piece also. Being very hungry, I had quickly eat up mine ; but the child could not bite it,

it was so tough and sinewy, but lay sucking, gnawing, chewing and slabbering of it in the mouth and hand, then I took it of the child, and ate it myself, and savory it was to my taste. That I may say as Job, *Chap. 6. 7. The things that my soul refused to touch, are as my sorrowful meat.* Thus the Lord made that pleasant and refreshing, which another time would have been an abomination. Then I went home to my mistress' wigwam, and they told me I disgraced my master with begging, and if I did so any more, they would knock me on the head: I told them they had as good do that, as starve me to death.

THE NINETEENTH REMOVE.

They said, when we went out, that we must travel to Wachuset this day. But a bitter weary day I had of it; travelling now three days together, without resting any day between. At last, after many weary steps, I saw Wachuset hills, but many miles off. Then we came to a great swamp, through which we travelled up to the knees in mud and water, which was heavy going to one tired before. Being almost spent, I thought I should have sunk down at last, and never get out; but I may say as in *Psal. 94. 18. When my foot slipped, thy mercy O Lord held me up.* Going along, having indeed my

life, but little spirit, Philip (who was in the company) came up, and took me by the hand, and said, two weeks more, and you shall be mistress again. I asked him if he spake true? he answered, yes, and quickly you shall come to your master again, who had been gone from us three weeks. After many weary steps, we came to Wachuset, where he was, and glad was I to see him. He asked me when I washed me? I told him not this month; then he fetched me some water himself, and bid me wash, and gave me the glass to see how I looked, and bid his Squaw give me something to eat. So she gave me a mess of beans and meat, and a little ground nut cake. I was wonderfully revived with this favor shewed me. Psal. 106. 46. *He made them also to be pitied of all those that carried them captives.*

My master had three Squaws, living sometimes with one, and sometimes with another. One, this old Squaw at whose wigwam I was, and with whom my master had been those three weeks, another was Wettimore, with whom I had lived and served all this while. A severe and proud dame she was; bestowing every day in dressing herself near as much time as any of the gentry of the land: Powdering her hair, and painting her face, going with her necklaces, with jewels in her ears, and bracelets upon her hands. When she had dressed herself, her work was to

make girdles of wampom and beads. The third Squaw was a younger one, by whom he had two papooses. By that time I was refreshed by the old Squaw, Wettimore's maid came to call me home, at which I fell a weeping. Then the old Squaw told me to encourage me, that when I wanted victuals, I should come to her, and that I should lye in her wigwam. Then I went with the maid, and quickly I came back and lodged there. The Squaw laid a Mat under me, and a good rug over me; the first time that I had any such kindness shewed me. I understood that Wettimore thought, that if she should let me go and serve with the old Squaw, she should be in danger to loose not only my service but the redemption pay also. And I was not a little glad to hear this; being by it raised in my hopes, that in God's due time, there would be an end of this sorrowful hour. Then came an Indian and asked me to knit him three pair of stockings, for which I had a hat, and a silk handkerchief. Then another asked me to make her a shift, for which she gave me an apron.

Then came Tom and Peter with the second letter from the counsel, about the captives. Though they were Indians, I got them by the hand, and burst out into tears; my heart was so full that I could not speak to them; but recovering myself, I asked them how my husband did? and all my friends and

acquaintance? they said they were well, but very melancholy. They brought me two biscuits, and a pound of tobacco. The tobacco I soon gave away: When it was all gone, one asked me to give him a pipe of tobacco, I told him it was all gone; then began he to rant and threaten; I told him when my husband came, I would give him some: Hang him, rogue, (says he) I will knock out his brains, if he comes here. And then again in the same breath, they would say, that if there should come an hundred without guns, they would do them no hurt. So unstable and like mad men they were. So that fearing the worst, I durst not send to my husband, though there were some thoughts of his coming to redeem and fetch me, not knowing what might follow; for there was little more trust to them, than to the master they served. When the letter was come, the Saggamores met to consult about the captives, and called me to them, to enquire how much my husband would give to redeem me: When I came, I sat down among them, as I was wont to do, as their manner is; then they bid me stand up, and said they were the General Court. They bid me speak what I thought he would give. Now knowing that all we had was destroyed by the Indians, I was in a great strait. I thought if I should speak of but a little, it would be slighted, and hinder the matter; if of a great

sum, I knew not where it would be procured; yet at a venture, I said twenty pounds, yet desired them to take less; but they would not hear of that but sent that message to Boston, that for twenty pounds I should be redeemed. It was a praying Indian that wrote their letter for them. There was another praying Indian, who told me, that he had a brother that would not eat horse, his conscience was so tender and scrupulous, (though as large as hell, for the destruction of poor christians) then he said he read that scripture to him, *2. King. 6. 25. There was a famine in Samaria, and behold they besieged it, until an asses head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a kab of doves dung, for five pieces of silver.* He expounded this place to his brother, and shewed him that it was lawful to eat that in a famine, which is not at another time. And now says he, he will eat horse with any Indian of them all. There was another praying Indian, who when he had done all the mischief that he could, betrayed his own Father into the English's hands, thereby to purchase his own life. Another praying Indian was at Sudbury fight, though as he deserved, he was afterward hanged for it. There was another praying Indian so wicked and cruel, as to wear a string about his neck, strung with christian fingers. Another praying Indian when they went to Sudbury fight, went with

them, and his Squaw also with him, with her papoos at her back : Before they went to that fight, they got a company together to Powaw : The manner was as followeth.

There was one that kneeled upon a deer skin, with the company round him in a ring, who kneeled, striking upon the ground with their hands, and with sticks, and muttering or humming with their mouths. Besides him who kneeled in the ring, there also stood one with a gun in his hand : Then he on the deer skin made a speech, and all manifested assent to it, and so they did many times together. Then they bid him with the gun go out of the ring, which he did ; but when he was out, they called him in again ; but he seemed to make a stand : Then they called the more earnestly, till he returned again. Then they all sung. Then they gave him two guns, in each hand one. And so he on the deer skin began again ; and at the end of every sentence in his speaking, they all assented, humming or muttering with their mouths, and striking upon the ground with their hands. Then they bid him with the two guns, go out of the ring again ; which he did a little way. Then they called him in again, but he made a stand, so they called him with greater earnestness : But he stood reeling and wavering, as if he knew not whether he should stand or fall, or which way to go. Then they called him with ex-

ceeding great vehemency, all of them, one and another. After a little while he turned in, staggering as he went, with his arms stretched out, in each hand a gun. As soon as he came in, they all sung and rejoiced exceedingly a while, and then he upon the deer skin made another speech, unto which they all assented in a rejoicing manner; and so they ended their business, and forthwith went to Sudbury fight.

To my thinking, they went without any scruple but that they should prosper, and gain the victory. And they went out not so rejoicing, but they came home with as great a victory. For they said they had killed two Captains, and almost an hundred men. One English man they brought alive with them, and he said it was too true, for they had made sad work at Sudbury; as indeed it proved. Yet they came home without that rejoicing and triumphing over their victory, which they were wont to shew at other times: But rather like dogs, (as they say) which have lost their ears. Yet I could not perceive that it was for their own loss of men; they said they lost not above five or six; and I missed none, except in one wigwam. When they went, they acted as if the Devil had told them that they should gain the victory; and now they acted as if the devil had told them that they should have a fall. Whether it were so or no, I

cannot tell, but so it proved : For quickly they began to fall, and so held on that summer, till they came to utter ruin. They came home on a Sabbath day, and the Powaw that kneeled upon the Deer skin, came home (I may say without any abuse) as black as the Devil. When my master came home, he came to me, and bid me make a shirt for his Papoos of a holland laced pillowbeer. About that time there came an Indian to me, and bid me come to his wigwam at night, and he would give me some pork and ground-nuts. Which I did, and as I was eating, another Indian said to me, he seems to be your good friend, but he killed two English men at Sudbury, and there lye their cloaths behind you ; I looked behind me, and there I saw bloody cloaths, with bullet holes in them ; yet the Lord suffered not this wretch to do me any hurt. Yea, instead of that, he many times refreshed me : Five or six times did he and his Squaw refresh my feeble carcass. If I went to their wigwam at any time, they would always give me something, and yet they were strangers that I never saw before. Another Squaw gave me a piece of fresh pork, and a little salt with it, and lent me her fryingpan to fry it ; and I cannot but remember what a sweet, pleasant and delightful relish that bit had to me, to this day. So little do we prize common mercies, when we have them to the full.

THE TWENTIETH REMOVE.

It was their usual manner to remove, when they had done any mischief, lest they should be found out ; and so they did at this time. We went about three or four miles, and there they built a great wigwam, big enough to hold an hundred Indians, which they did in preparation to a great day of dancing. They would now say amongst themselves, that the governor would be so angry for his loss at Sudbury, that he would send no more about the captives, which made me grieve and tremble. My sister being not far from this place, and hearing that I was here, desired her master to let her come and see me, and he was willing to it, and would go with her ; but she being ready first, told him she would go before, and was come within a mile or two of the place : Then he overtook her, and began to rant as if he had been mad, and made her go back again in the rain ; so that I never saw her till I saw her in Charlestown. But the Lord requited many of their ill doings, for this Indian, her master, was hanged afterward at Boston. They began now to come from all quarters, against their merry dancing day : Amongst some of them came one good wife kettle : I told her my heart was so heavy that it was ready to break : So is mine too, said

she, but yet I hope we shall hear some good news shortly. I could hear how earnestly my sister desired to see me, and I earnestly desired to see her ; yet neither of us could get an opportunity. My daughter was now but about a mile off ; and I had not seen her in nine or ten weeks, as I had not seen my sister since our first taking. I desired them to let me go and see them, yea, I intreated, begged and persuaded them to let me see my daughter ; and yet so hard hearted were they, that they would not suffer it. They made use of their tyranical power whilst they had it, but through the Lord's wonderful mercy, their time was now but short.

On a Sabbath day, the sun being about an hour high in the afternoon, came Mr. John Hoar, (the counsel permitting him and his own forward spirit inclining him) together with the two forementioned Indians, Tom and Peter, with the third letter from the Council. When they came near, I was abroad ; they presently called me in, and bid me sit down, and not stir. Then they caught up their guns and away they ran, as if an enemy had been at hand, and the guns went off apace. I manifested some great trouble, and they asked me what was the matter ? I told them I thought they had killed the English man, (for they had in the mean time told me that an English man was come) they said no ; they shot over his horse, and

under, and before his horse; and they pushed him this way and that way, at their pleasure, shewing what they could do. Then they let them come to their wigwams. I begged of them to let me see the English man, but they would not; but there was I fain to sit their pleasure. When they had talked their fill with him, they suffered me to go to him. We asked each other of our welfare, and how my husband did, and all my friends? he told me they were all well, and would be glad to see me. Among other things which my husband sent me, there came a pound of tobacco, which I sold for nine shillings in money: For many of them for want of tobacco, smoked hemlock and ground ivy. It was a great mistake in any who thought I sent for tobacco, for through the favor of God, that desire was overcome. I now asked them, whether I should go home with Mr. Hoar? they answered no, one and another of them; and it being late, we lay down with that answer: In the morning Mr. Hoar invited the Saggamores to dinner; but when we went to get it ready, we found they had stolen the greatest part of the provision Mr. Hoar had brought. And we may see the wonderful power of God, in that one passage, in that when there was such a number of them together, and so greedy of a little good food, and no English there but Mr. Hoar and myself, that there they did not knock us on the head, and take what we

had ; there being not only some provision, but also trading cloth, a part of the twenty pounds agreed upon : But instead of doing us any mischief, they seemed to be ashamed of the fact, and said it was Matchit Indians that did it. Oh that we could believe that there is nothing too hard for God ! God shewed his power over the Heathen in this, as he did over the hungry lions, when Daniel was cast into the den. Mr. Hoar called them betime to dinner, but they eat but little, they being so busy in dressing themselves and getting ready for their dance ; which was carried on by eight of them, four men and four Squaws ; my master and mistress being two. He was dressed in his holland shirt, with great laces sewed at the tail of it, he had his Silver buttons, his white stockings, his garters hung round with shillings, and had girdles of wampom upon his head and shoulders. She had a kersey coat, covered with girdles of wampom from the loins upward. Her arms from her elbows to her hands, were covered with bracelets, there were handfuls of Necklaces about her neck, and several sorts of jewels in her ears. She had fine red stockings, and white shoes, her hair powdered and her face painted red, that was always before black. And all the dancers were after the same manner. There were two other singing and knocking on a kettle for their music. They kept hopping

up and down one after another, with a kettle of water in the midst, standing warm upon some embers, to drink of when they were dry. They held on till it was almost night, throwing out wampom to the standers by. At night I asked them again, if I should go home? they all as one said no, except my husband would come for me. When we were lain down, my master went out of the wigwam, and by and by sent in an Indian, called James the Printer, who told Mr. Hoar, that my master would let me go home to morrow, if he would let him have one pint liquor. Then Mr. Hoar called his own Indians, Tom and Peter, and bid them all go, and see if he would promise it before them three; and if he would, he should have it, which he did, and had it. Philip smelling the business, called me to him, and asked me what I would give him, to tell me some good news, and to speak a good word for me, that I might go home to morrow? I told him I could not tell what to give him, I would any thing I had, and asked him what he would have? He said two coats, and twenty shillings in money, half a bushel of seed corn, and some tobacco. I thanked him for his love, but I knew that good news as well as that crafty fox. My master after he had his drink, quickly came ranting into the wigwam again, and called for Mr. Hoar, drinking to him, and saying he was a

good man, and then again he would say, hang him rogue. Being almost drunk, he would drink to him, and yet presently say he should be hanged. Then he called for me; I trembled to hear him, and yet I was fain to go to him; and he drank to me, shewing no incivility. He was the first Indian I saw drunk, all the time I was among them. At last his Squaw ran out, and he after her, round the wigwam, with his money jingling at his knees, but she escaped him; but having an old Squaw he ran to her; and so through the Lord's mercy, we were no more troubled with him that night. Yet I had not a comfortable nights rest; for I think I can say, I did not sleep for three nights together. The night before the letter came from the council, I could not rest, I was so full of fears and troubles; yea, at this time I could not rest night nor day. The next night I was overjoyed, Mr. Hoar being come, and that with such good tidings. The third night I was even swallowed up with the thoughts of going home again, and that I must leave my children behind me in the wilderness; so that sleep was now almost departed from mine eyes.

On Tuesday morning they called their General Court (as they stiled it) to consult and determine, whether I should go home or no. And they all seemingly consented that I should go, except Philip, who would not come among them.

But before I go any farther, I would take leave to mention a few remarkable passages of Providence, which I took special notice of in my afflicted time.

1. Of the fair opportunity lost in the long march, a little after the Fort fight, when our English army was so numerous, and in pursuit of the enemy, and so near as to overtake several and destroy them; and the enemy in such distress for food, that our men might track them by their rooting in the earth for ground nuts, whilst they were flying for their lives; I say that then our army should want provision, and be forced to leave their pursuit, and return homeward, and the very next week the enemy came upon our town, like bears bereft of their whelps, or so many ravenous wolves, rending us and our lambs to death. But what shall I say? God seemed to leave his people to themselves, and ordered all things for his own holy ends. *Shall there be evil in the city and the Lord hath not done it? They are not grieved for the afflictions of Joseph, therefore they shall go captive, with the first that go captive. It is the Lord's doing, and it should be marvellous in our eyes.*

2. I cannot but remember, how the Indians derided the slowness and dulness of the English army in its setting out. For after the desolations at Lancaster and Medfield, as I went along with them, they asked me when I thought the English army would come after them? I told them I could not tell. It

may be they may come in May, said they. Thus did they scoff at us, as if the English would be a quarter of a year getting ready.

3. Which also I have hinted before, when the English army with new supplies were sent forth to pursue after the enemy, and they understanding it, fled before them till they came to Baquaug river, where they forthwith went over safely; that, that river should be impassable to the English. I can but admire to see the wonderful providence of God in preserving the heathen for farther affliction to our poor country. They could go in great numbers over, but the English must stop: God had an overruling hand in all those things.

4. It was thought, if their corn were cut down, they would starve and die with hunger; and all that could be found, was destroyed, and they driven from that little they had in store, into the woods, in the midst of winter; and yet how to admiration did the Lord preserve them for his holy ends, and the destruction of many still among the English! strangely did the Lord provide for them, that I did not see (all the time I was among them) one man, woman or child die with hunger. Though many times they would eat that that a hog or a dog would hardly touch; yet by that God strengthened them to be a scourge to his people.

Their chief and commonest food was ground nuts ; they eat also nuts, and acorns, hartychocks, lilly roots, ground beans, and several other weeds and roots, that I know not.

They would pick up old bones, and cut them in pieces at the joints, and if they were full of worms and maggots, they would scald them over the fire, to make the vermine come out, and then boil them, and drink up the liquor, and then beat the great ends of them in a mortar, and so eat them. They would eat horses guts, and ears, and all sorts of wild birds which they could catch : Also, bear, venison, beavers, tortois, frogs, squirrels, dogs, skunks and rattlesnakes : Yea, the very bark of trees ; besides all sorts of creatures, and provision which they plundered from the English. I can but stand in admiration to see the wonderful power of God, in providing for such a vast number of our enemies in the wilderness, where there was nothing to be seen, but from hand to mouth. Many times in a morning, the generality of them, would eat up all they had, and yet have some further supply against they wanted. It is said, *Psal. 81. 13, 14. Oh that my people had hearkened to me, and Israel had walked in my ways ; I should soon have subdued their enemies, and turned my hand against their adversaries.* But now our perverse and evil carriages in the sight of the Lord, have so offended him, that instead of turning his hand

against them, the Lord feeds and nourishes them up to be a scourge to the whole land.

5. Another thing that I would observe is, the strange providence of God in turning things about when the Indians were at the highest, and the English at the lowest. I was with the enemy eleven weeks and five days, and not one week passed without their fury, and some desolation by fire and sword upon one place or other. They mourned for their own losses, yet triumphed and rejoiced in their inhumane and devilish cruelty to the English. They would boast much of their victories; saying, that in two hours time, they had destroyed such a captain, and his company in such a place; and such a captain and his company in such a place: And boast how many towns they had destroyed, and then scoff, and say, they had done them a good turn, to send them to Heaven so soon. Again, they would say, this Summer they would knock all the rogues on the head or drive them into the sea, or make them flee the country; thinking surely, Agag like, the bitterness of death is past. Now the heathen begin to think all is their own; and the poor christians hopes to fail, (as to man) and now their eyes are more to God, and their hearts sigh Heavenward, and to say in good earnest, *Help Lord or we perish*. When the Lord had brought his people to this, that they saw no help in any thing but himself, then he takes the quarrel

into his own had ; and though they had made a pit (in their own imaginations) as deep as Hell for the christians that summer, yet the Lord hurled themselves into it. And the Lord had not so many ways before to preserve them, but now he hath as many to destroy them.

But to return again to my going home ; where we may see a remarkable change of providence : At first they were all against it, except my husband would come for me ; but afterward they assented to it, and seemed to rejoice in it : Some asking me to send them some bread, others some tobacco, others shaking me by the hand, offering me a hood and scarf to ride in : not one moving hand or tongue against it. Thus hath the Lord answered my poor desires, and the many earnest requests of others put up unto God for me. In my travels an Indian came to me, and told me, if I were willing, he and his Squaw would run away, and go home along with me. I told them no ; I was not willing to run away, but desired to wait God's time, that I might go home quietly, and without fear. And now God hath granted me my desire. O the wonderful power of God that I have seen, and the experiences that I have had : I have been in the midst of those roaring lions, and savage bears, that feared neither God, nor man, nor the devil, by night and day, alone and in company ; sleeping all sorts together, and yet not one of them ever

offered the least abuse of unchastity to me, in word or action. Though some are ready to say, I speak it for my own credit ; but I speak it in the presence of God and his glory. God's power is as great now, as it was to save Daniel in the lions den, or the three children in the fiery furnace. I may well say as he, *Psal. 170. 12. Oh give thanks unto the Lord for he is good, for his mercy endureth forever. Let the redeemed of the Lord say so, whom he hath redeemed from the hand of the enemy :* Especially that I should come away in the midst of so many hundreds of enemies, and not a dog move his tongue. So I took my leave of them, and in coming along, my heart melted into tears more than all the while I was with them, and I was almost swallowed up with the thoughts that ever I should go home again. About the suns going down, Mr. Hoar, myself, and the two Indians, came to Lancaster, and a solemn sight it was to me. There had I lived many comfortable years among my relations and neighbors ; and now not one christian to be seen, nor one house left standing. We went on to a farm house that was yet standing, where we lay all night ; and a comfortable lodging we had, though nothing but straw to lye on. The Lord preserved us in safety that night, and raised us up again in the morning, and carried us along, that before noon we came to Concord. Now was I full of joy, and yet not without sorrow : Joy, to see such a lovely sight, so

many christians together, and some of them my neighbors : There I met with my brother, and my brother in law, who asked me if I knew where his wife was ? poor heart ! he had helped to bury her, and knew it not : She being shot down by the house, was partly burnt, so that those who were at Boston at the desolation of the town, and came back afterwards and buried the dead, did not know her. Yet I was not without sorrow, to think how many were looking and longing, and my own children among the rest, to enjoy that deliverance that I had now received ; and I did not know whether ever I should see them again. Being recruited with food and raiment, we went to Boston that day ; where I met with my husband, but the thoughts of our dear children, one being dead, and the other we could not tell where, abated our comfort each in other. I was not before so much hemed in by the merciless and cruel heathen, but now as much with pitiful, tender hearted and compassionate christians. In that poor and beggarly condition, I was received in, I was kindly entertained in several houses : So much love I received from several, (many of whom I knew not) that I am not capable to declare it. But the Lord knows them all by name : The Lord reward them seven fold into their bosoms of his spirituals, for their temporals. The twenty pounds, the price of my redemption, was raised by some Boston gentlewom-

en, and M. Usher, whose bounty and charity, I would not forget to make mention of. Then Mr. Thomas Shepard of Charlestown received us into his house, where we continued eleven weeks; and a father and mother they were unto us. And many more tender hearted friends we met with in that place. We were now in the midst of love, yet not without much and frequent heaviness of heart, for our poor children, and other relations, who were still in affliction. The week following, after my coming in, the Governor and counsel sent to the Indians again, and that not without success; for they brought in my sister and good wife Kettle. Their not knowing where our children were, was a sore trial to us still; and yet we were not without secret hopes of seeing them again. That which was dead lay heavier upon my spirit, than those which were alive among the heathen; thinking how it suffered with its wounds, and I was not able to relieve it; and how it was buried by the heathen in the wilderness from among all christians. We were hurried up and down in our thoughts, sometimes we should hear a report that they were gone this way, and sometimes that; and that they were come in, in this place or that. We kept inquiring to hear concerning them, but no certain news as yet. About this time the council had ordered a day of publick *Thanksgiving*, though I thought I had still cause of mourning; being

unsettled in our minds we thought we would ride eastward, to see if we could hear any thing concerning our children. As we were riding along between Ipswich and Rawly, we met with William Hubbard, who told us our son Joseph, and my sisters son, were come in to Major Waldren's: I asked him how he knew it? he said the Major himself told him so. So along we went till we came to Newbury; and their minister being absent, they desired my husband to preach the *Thanksgiving* for them; but he was not willing to stay there that night, but would go over to Salisbury, to hear farther, and come again in the morning, which he did, and preached there that day.

At night, when we had done, one came and told him that his daughter was come in at Providence: Here was mercy on both hands. Now hath God fulfilled that precious scripture, which was such a comfort to me in my distressed condition. When my heart was ready to sink into the earth, and my knees trembling under me, and I was *walking through the valley of the shadow of death*: Then the Lord brought, and has now fulfilled that reviving word unto me, *Thus saith the Lord, refrain thy voice from weeping, and thy eyes from tears, for thy work shall be rewarded, saith the Lord, and they shall come again from the land of the enemy.* Now we were between them, the one on the East, and the other on the West; our son being nearest, we went to him first,

to Portsmouth, where we met with him, and with the Major also; who told us, he had done what he could, but could not redeem him under Seven pounds, which the good people thereabouts were pleased to pay. The Lord reward the Major, and all the rest, though unknown to me, for their labor of love. My sisters son was redeemed for four pounds which the council gave orders for the payment of. Having now received one of our children, we hastened toward the other: going back through Newbury, my husband preached there on the sabbath day, for which they rewarded him manifold.

On Monday we came to Charlestown, where we heard that the governor of Rhodeisland had sent over for our daughter, to take care of her, being now within his jurisdiction; which should not pass without our acknowledgments. But she being nearer Rehoboth than Rhodeisland, Mr. Newman went over and took care of her, and brought her to his own house. And the goodness of God was admirable to us in our low estate, in that he raised up passionate friends on every side, when we had nothing to recompence any for their love. The Indians were now gone that way, that it was apprehended dangerous to go to her; but the carts which carried provision to the English army, being guarded, brought her with them to Dorchester, where we received her safe; blessed be the Lord for it, for great is his power, and he can do what-

soever seemeth him good. Her coming in was after this manner : She was travelling one day with the Indians, with her basket at her back ; the company of Indians were got before her, and gone out of sight, all except one Squaw : She followed the Squaw till night, and then both of them lay down, having nothing over them but the heavens, nor under them but the earth. Thus she travelled three days together, having nothing to eat or drink but water and green Hirtle berries. At last they came into Providence, where she was kindly entertained by several of that town. The Indians often said, that I should never have her under twenty pounds, but now the Lord hath brought her in upon free cost, and given her to me the second time. The Lord make us a blessing indeed, each to others. Now have I seen that scripture also fulfilled, *Deut. 30. 4, 7. If any of thine be driven out to the utmost parts of Heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will I fetch thee. And the Lord thy God will put all these curses upon thine enemies, and on them which hate thee, which persecuted thee.* Thus hath the Lord brought me and mine out of that horrible pit, and hath set us in the midst of tender hearted and compassionate christians. This is the desire of my soul, that we may walk worthy of the mercies received, and which we are receiving.

Our family being now gathered together, the south church in Boston hired a house for

us : then we removed from Mr. Shepard's (those cordial friends) and went to Boston, where we continued about three quarters of a year : Still the Lord went along with us, and provided graciously for us. I thought it some what strange to set up house keeping with bare walls, but as Solomon says, *Money answers all things* : And that we had through the benevolence of christian friends, some in this town, and some in that, and others ; and some from England, that in a little time we might look and see the house furnished with love. The Lord hath been exceeding good to us in our low estate, in that when we had neither house nor home, nor other necessaries, the Lord so moved the hearts of these and those towards us, that we wanted neither food nor raiment for ourselves or ours, Prov. 18. 24. *There is a friend that sticketh closer than a brother.* And how many such friends have we found, and now living amongst ! and truely such a friend have we found him to be unto us, in whose house we lived, viz. Mr. James Whitcomb, a friend near hand, and afar off.

I can remember the time, when I used to sleep quietly without workings in my thoughts, whole nights together ; but now it is otherwise with me. When all are fast about me, and no eye open, but his who ever waketh, my thoughts are upon things past, upon the awful dispensation of the Lord towards us ; upon his wonderful power and might in carrying of us through in many

difficulties, in returning us in safety, and suffering none to hurt us. I remember in the night season how the other day I was in the midst of thousands of enemies, and nothing but death before me : It was then hard work to persuade myself, that ever I should be satisfied with bread again. But now we are fed with the finest of the wheat, and (as I may say) with honey out of the rock : Instead of the husks, we had fatted calf : The thoughts of these things in the particulars of them, and of the love and goodness of God towards us, make it true of me, what David said of himself, *Psal. 6. 6. I water my couch with my tears.* Oh the wonderful power of God that mine eyes have seen, affording matter enough for my thoughts to run in, that when others are sleeping mine eyes are weeping.

I have seen the extreme vanity of this world : One hour I have been in health, and wealth, wanting nothing, but the next hour in sickness, and wounds, and death, having nothing but sorrow and affliction. Before I knew what affliction meant, I was ready sometimes to wish for it. When I lived in prosperity, having the comforts of this world about me, my relations come, and my heart cheerful, and taking little care for any thing ; and yet seeing many who preferred before myself under many trials and afflictions, in sickness, weakness, poverty, losses, crosses, and cares of the world, I should be sometimes jealous lest I should have my portion of this life ; and that scripture would come to my

mind, *Heb. 12. 6. For whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth.* But now I see the Lord had his time to scourge and chasten me. The portion of some is to have their affliction by drops but the wine of astonishment, like a sweeping rain, that leaveth no food, did the Lord prepare to be my portion. Affliction I wanted, and affliction I had, full measure, pressed down and running over : Yet I see when God calls a person to ever so many difficulties yet he is able to carry them through, and make them say, they have been gainers thereby. And I hope I can say in some measure, as *David, It is good for me that I have been afflicted.* The Lord hath shewed me the vanity of these outward things ; that they are the vanity of vanities, and vexation of spirit : That they are but a shadow, a blast, a bubble, and things of no continuance. If trouble from smaller matters begin to arise in me, I have something at hand to check myself with, and say, why am I troubled ? It was but the other day, that if I had had the world, I would have given it for my freedom, or to have been a servant to a christian. I have learned to look beyond present and smaller troubles, and to be quieted under them as *Moses said, Exod. 14. 13. Stand still and see the salvation of the Lord.*



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