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TOILING AMONG THE SEED OF ISRAEL: A COMPARISON OF
PURITAN AND MORMON MISSIONS TO THE INDIANS

by

Christina Skousen

A thesis submitted to the faculty of

Brigham Young University

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of History

Brigham Young University

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BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY

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As chair of the candidate's graduate committee, I have read the thesis of Christina Skousen in its final form and have found that (1) its format, citations, and bibliographical style are consistent and acceptable and fulfill university and department style requirements; (2) its illustrative materials including figures, tables, and charts are in place; and (3) the final manuscript is satisfactory to the graduate committee and is ready for submission to the university library.

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ABSTRACT

TOILING AMONG THE SEED OF ISRAEL: A COMPARISON OF PURITAN AND MORMON MISSIONS TO THE INDIANS

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Department of History

Master of Arts

Substantial comparative analyses of Puritanism and Mormonism are lacking in historical scholarship, despite noted similarities between the two religions. This study helps to fill that void by comparing the Puritan and Mormon proselytization efforts among the Indians that occurred at the respective sites of Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Southern Indian Mission. In my examination of the missionization attempts that took place at these two locations, I analyze a common motive and method of the two denominations for attempting to Christianize the Indians.

The Puritan and Mormon missionaries proselytizing in Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Southern Indian Mission shared an identical motive for seeking to convert the Indians to Christianity. The missionaries' conviction that the regional natives were descendants of the House of Israel prompted them to proselytize among the Indians, as

they understood that the conversion of the House of Israel constituted one of the important events to precede the prophesied return of Christ to the earth.

The Puritans and Mormons engaged in and overseeing the missionary endeavors of the two locales under study likewise shared several parallel conversion methods. One such method consisted of utilizing one of the largest resources available to the two religions: their constituents. The Puritans and Mormons each implemented the association and example of their missionaries and congregational members as a primary method of conversion. Moreover, they applied that technique in a corresponding manner.

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A NOTE ON THE TEXT

All quotations used in this thesis maintain the original spelling of the documents from which they were obtained; however, italics have been removed.

INTRODUCTION

For the Puritans journeying toward Massachusetts Bay in 1630, colonization in the New World offered several favorable opportunities: greater religious autonomy, an occasion for building a model community, and a chance to proselytize among nonbelievers. Roughly two hundred years later, the Mormons likewise traveled to the Great Basin hoping to establish a civilization far from religious persecution, where a utopian existence could be attempted and potential converts might abound.

Analogies between the Puritans and Mormons have not been limited to their similarity in traveling to new territories with corresponding objectives in mind. Indeed, scholars have noted likenesses between the two groups in organization, doctrine, aims, worldview, and character. Moreover, it is not surprising that scholars are comparing Puritanism and Mormonism. Each of the two religions has left legacies that have affected America; consequently, both of them are depicted as defining religions for America. Puritans are credited with creating the “American spirit,” eventually bringing about the Revolutionary War. Puritanism has also given birth to other religions, including Congregationalism and Presbyterianism. Mormonism, for its part, is likewise considered an important American religious movement. Authors such as Leonard Arrington, Davis Bitton, and Wallace Stegner assert that Mormonism should be studied for its contributions to the American West and for its American subculture. Further,

Mormonism is “the only major religion with American roots.”¹ In short, Puritanism and Mormonism have both been influential religions in the United States.

The comparison of Mormons to Puritans is not a recent phenomenon. During the nineteenth century, newspaper editor and literary author alike cited resemblances between the two religions.² This tendency toward comparison became more pronounced, however, halfway through the twentieth century. “The New England Origins of Mormonism,” published in 1953, was perhaps the most noted publication comparing Puritans and Mormons. In this article, David Brion Davis argued that early Mormons were analogous to the Puritans in their doctrine, creation of a theocracy, and view of their role in history.³ Various authors subsequently referred to Davis’s article in their discussions of Puritan-Mormon comparisons, some of which refuted Davis’s claims.⁴

¹Leonard J. Arrington and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979), xi.

²In 1871, Ralph Waldo Emerson, himself of Puritan descent, described Mormonism as “an after-clap of Puritanism” (quoted in Rex Eugene Cooper, *Promises Made to the Fathers: Mormon Covenant Organization* [Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990], 58).

³David Brion Davis, “The New England Origins of Mormonism,” *The New England Quarterly* 26 (1953): 147–168. Leonard J. Arrington also lists several similarities between the Mormons and Puritans, including generally conservative doctrine and a predilection for incorporating religious belief into daily life. Arrington further notes that most of the early leaders of the Mormon church were born in New England or were New England descendants. The appeal that Mormonism had to descendants of New England Puritans is also mentioned by Arrington (*Great Basin Kingdom: An Economic History of the Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1958], 3–5).

⁴Grant Underwood challenged Davis’s findings, stating that the similarities between Puritanism and Mormonism are less definite than Davis proposes and that Mormonism can more aptly be described as a religious movement of the nineteenth century rather than the seventeenth century. “The New England Origins of Mormonism Revisited,” *Journal of Mormon History* 15 (1989): 15–25. Likewise, John L. Brooke

Despite the numerous similarities between the two religions, however, scholars' comparisons of Puritans and Mormons have been limited to listings of similarities rather than substantive studies.⁵ An exception to this actuality is the work of Rex Eugene Cooper. In *Promises Made to the Fathers: Mormon Covenant Organization*, Cooper discusses the covenant organization of the Puritans and Mormons, respectively, and compares the approaches of the two groups. Stating that the intention of his work is not to depict Mormon covenant organization as originating from the Puritans, Cooper discusses the "structural similarities" of the two religions' covenant organization.⁶ Surprisingly, Cooper's book is the only significant comparison of Puritans and Mormons.

Scholars' lack of detailed comparative studies of Puritanism and Mormonism has left the door open for potentially numerous comparative analyses of the two religions. In my study, I examine the Puritans' and Mormons' proselytization efforts in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Southern Indian Mission. Specifically, I analyze a common motive and method of the two sects for bringing Christianity to the Indians. The Puritans and Mormons both sought to convert the natives due to their belief that they

denied that Mormonism resulted from New England Puritan culture and argued that Mormonism stemmed from the practices and traditions of radical religious sects of the Reformation (*The Refiner's Fire: The Making of Mormon Cosmology, 1644–1844* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994], xv).

⁵Cooper, *Promises Made to the Fathers*, 58.

⁶Cooper, *Promises Made to the Fathers*. Book reviews of *Promises Made to the Fathers* have, for the most part, been favorable. See the following reviews: Ken Driggs, *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59 (1991): 94–95; Kenneth H. Winn, *American Historical Review* 96 (1991): 1281–82; and Marianne Perciaccante, *Dialogue* 24 (1991): 145–47. Cooper's publication is based on his dissertation, "The Promises Made to the Fathers: A Diachronic Analysis of Mormon Covenant Organization with Reference to Puritan Federal Theology" (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1985).

were the progeny of the House of Israel. Because the conversion of the House of Israel was an event prophesied to take place prior to the second coming of Christ, the two denominations attempted to Christianize the Indians. In their efforts to convert the natives, the Puritans and Mormons used analogous methods. The two sects preached to the Indians, tried to educate them, invited them to live in their homes, and taught them new agricultural approaches. Significantly, the Puritans and Mormons also implemented the association and example of their missionaries and congregational members as a primary conversion tool and applied this tool in an equivalent manner.

Because a study of this nature has not previously been undertaken, secondary sources comparing the motivations and methods of Puritans and Mormons for doing missionary work among the Indians do not exist. However, secondary sources discussing Puritan motivations and methods are available; the same applies for Mormon motivations and methods. Because the issue of motivations—and not methods—has provoked debate among historians, the present review of the secondary literature will focus on the motivations of the two religious groups, beginning with the Puritans.

Whether in the form of articles or books, historians' views on the motivations of the Massachusetts Bay Puritans for engaging in missionary work among the Indians have been rather polarized. Scholars have tended to describe Puritan motives as being either shameful or commendable. The most significant interpretations of the Puritans' motivations are those of Alden T. Vaughan, Francis Jennings, Dane Morrison, and Richard L. Cogley, each of whose respective arguments follows.

New England Frontier, written by Alden T. Vaughan and published in 1965, was a defense of the Puritans, not only in religious matters, but in politics. Vaughan argued

that the Puritans, in general, dealt fairly and humanely with the Indians and were highly respectful of their interests, even though Puritan attempts to civilize, convert, and educate the Indians failed. Stated Vaughan, “The Puritan is entitled to a more favorable judgment than he has often been accorded.”⁷

Ten years after the publication of *New England Frontier*, Francis Jennings published his work, *The Invasion of America*, which took a highly critical view of the Puritans’ motivations for missionary work. Jennings interpreted the Puritans’ motives as wholly self-serving, claiming that the Puritans engaged in missionary work primarily to boost their faltering image in Parliament. Jennings further asserted that the Puritans established missions in Massachusetts in order to possess the land west of the Narragansett Bay. Once missions were set up, Jennings argued, praying Indians were sent out to overthrow independent Indian tribes.⁸ In response to Jennings’s argument, Vaughan, in his preface to the third edition of *New England Frontier*, published in 1995, complained of Jennings’s “distortion of missionary motives and achievements and his indifference to religion as a historical force.”⁹ Vaughan further explained that current scholars, such as Richard W. Cogley, are challenging and documenting Jennings’s distortions.¹⁰

⁷Alden Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620–1675* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), vii, viii.

⁸Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 232, 238, 248.

⁹Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620–1675*, 3rd ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995), lv.

¹⁰*Ibid.*

After the arrival of *The Invasion of America*, the next significant publication discussing Puritan missionary motives was that of Dane Morrison, who published his work in 1995. In *A Praying People: Massachusetts Acculturation and the Failure of the Puritan Mission, 1600–1690*, Morrison, like Jennings, took a negative view of Puritan missionary attempts, arguing that the Puritans performed missionary work for their own advantage. Morrison wrote that the Puritans succeeded in their missionary endeavors because disease had weakened Indian society, thus making the Indians receptive to adopting a religion and culture that had elements in them with which the Indians were already familiar.¹¹

A backlash to the scathing arguments of Jennings, in particular, seemed inevitable. A significant repudiation came in 1999, with the publication of *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War*, written by Richard L. Cogley. In direct opposition to the arguments of Jennings, Cogley declared that any personal gains the Puritans would have received from engaging in missionary work among the Indians never superseded their genuine desire to bring the gospel to the natives, due partly to John Eliot's refusal to allow this to happen. Moreover, Cogley argued, once Eliot became more familiar with the Indians and their problems, he employed the mission as a tool for protecting the Indians' land from settlers and "Indian marauders."¹² Cogley also refuted the idea that the Puritans engaged in missionary work as a means to possess the praying Indians' lands, stating that "the mission's role in English expansion is vastly

¹¹Dane Morrison, *A Praying People: Massachusetts Acculturation and the Failure of the Puritan Mission, 1600–1690* (New York: Peter Lang, 1995), 5, 7, 26.

¹²Richard W. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 4–5.

exaggerated.”¹³ Cogley believes that none of the contending historians have provided adequate evidence that the Puritan missionaries dispossessed the praying Indians of their land. Cogley then explains that the missions actually increased the praying Indians’ land holdings, backs up this assertion with evidence, and argues that the praying Indians were better off because of the missions.¹⁴

Secondary literature on Mormon motivations varies somewhat in its interpretations but is more consensual than are interpretations of the Puritans’ motives. Significant secondary sources discussing the motivations for establishing the Southern Indian Mission are composed of three studies written by Juanita Brooks, Charles S. Peterson, and Martha C. Knack.¹⁵ In “Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier,” published in 1944, Juanita Brooks argues that missionary work in the Southern Indian Mission was implemented for multiple reasons: to bring the gospel to the Indians, to improve their standard of living, and to find an ally in them should an invasion from the federal government occur.¹⁶ Brooks devotes much of her discussion to intermarriage of

¹³Ibid., 233.

¹⁴Ibid., 234–237.

¹⁵Leonard J. Arrington’s article “The Mormons and the Indians: A Review and Evaluation” is a general overview of Mormon relations and missionary work with the Indians. In this article, Arrington lists the Southern Indian Mission as one of eight missions founded in 1854 and 1855 and explains that all eight missions were established to teach Christianity and farming techniques to “potentially hostile tribes” on the outskirts of Mormon territory. Beyond this, the little that Arrington discusses of the Southern Indian Mission concerns its principal missionary, Jacob Hamblin (*The Record* 31 [1970]: 4–29).

¹⁶Juanita Brooks, “Indian Relations on the Mormon Frontier,” *Utah Historical Quarterly* 12 (1944): 1–48. Brooks makes the following assertions about the Southern Indian Mission: it was the “most important [mission] in Mormon history;” its accomplishments most likely led to the formation of other Indian missions in 1855; it is

Mormon missionaries and Indian women and the taking of Indian children into white homes of the Southern Indian Mission.¹⁷

Another account of the motives of the Mormon missionaries serving in the Southern Indian Mission is found in an article written by Charles S. Peterson, entitled “Jacob Hamblin, Apostle to the Lamanites, and the Indian Mission,” published in 1975. In this essay, Peterson discusses the motives for the establishment of six Indian missions during the mid-1850s, of which the Southern Indian Mission was one. According to Peterson, these missions were not principally set up for redeeming the Lamanites; rather, they were inaugurated for reasons of self-defense. He argues that the push for missionary work began after the Walker War of 1853. After the Walker War, Peterson asserts, Brigham Young decided to turn to establishing missions to make the Mormons more favorable in the eyes of the Indians. In this way, Young could “tighten control over the Indians” and “reduce the influence of other whites.”¹⁸ Peterson contends that once the Indian frontier faded away, the Mormon mission impulse among the Indians fell away until the twentieth century. Concerning the Southern Indian Mission individually,

the only Indian mission, of those established at the time, that can be considered successful; it had more permanency than did the other missions (ibid., 10, 11).

¹⁷In his master’s thesis, Richard D. Kitchen discusses intermarriage of Mormon missionaries and Indian women in several missions of the time, including the Southern Indian Mission (“Interracial Marriages between LDS Missionaries and Native Americans, 1853 to 1877,” Brigham Young University, 1996).

¹⁸Charles S. Peterson. “Jacob Hamblin, Apostle to the Lamanites, and the Indian Mission,” *Journal of Mormon History* 2 (1975): 27.

Peterson writes that the Paiutes' desire for protection and education was a factor in their acceptance of the missionaries.¹⁹

In *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995*, published in 2001, Martha C. Knack further discusses the Mormons' motives for establishing the Southern Indian Mission. Knack claims that with the decline of Ute domination at the end of the Walker War, the Mormons sought to control the Paiutes. The Southern Indian Mission was founded due to its important location, the author contends. Knack also argues that the Mormons hoped that missionary work among the Paiutes would result in the latter providing military help for the Mormons in case of provocation by the federal government. The author asserts that missionary work that occurred in southern Utah was inaugurated for economic and political reasons rather than religious ones.²⁰

With the exception of Cogley's scholarship, the historiography on both Puritan and Mormon missionization has neglected the two religions' motive of converting the Indians due to their Israelite lineage. In my study, I address this motivation. Scholarly studies on both the Puritans' and Mormons' conversion method of association and example are non-existent; this study helps to fill that lack as well. By examining a motive and method of the Puritans and Mormons for Christianizing the Indians, I offer a needed comparative analysis of the two denominations.

¹⁹Ibid., 26, 34. Peterson additionally explains that the Southern Indian Mission came the closest, of all the missions, to being a proselyting mission.

²⁰Martha C. Knack, *Boundaries Between: The Southern Paiutes, 1775–1995* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 63, 71. Knack does not use the term "Southern Indian Mission" in her article; rather, she describes parts of the Southern Indian Mission: a settlement at Harmony, another at Santa Clara, and so on. Since these settlements are considered part of the Southern Indian Mission, I use the term "Southern Indian Mission" when discussing her argument.

In my study of the Puritans and Mormons, I focus on the missionary endeavors at the most famous and significant Indian mission of each denomination, which, for the Puritans, was among the Indians who would later inhabit the praying town of Natick, Massachusetts; and, for the Mormons, was among the Paiutes of the Southern Indian Mission. I organize my topic into three chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the two missions. Chapter two discusses the two religions' mutual motive of converting the Indians as a result of their belief that the natives were descendants of the House of Israel. In chapter three, the Puritans' and Mormons' use of the association and example of missionaries and congregational members as a conversion method is examined.

CHAPTER ONE

An Introduction to the Praying Town of Natick and the Southern Indian Mission

The Praying Town of Natick

The decision of the Bay Colony Puritans to initiate missionary work among the Massachusetts Indians²¹ originated during their pre-migration period in England. In fleeing the religious persecution inflicted upon them during the reign of Charles I, the future settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had several reasons to be dissatisfied with life in England. The imminent destruction of England's churches, vocational dishonesty, the corruption of children, and a shortage of land were each named as motives for establishing a colony on the northeastern coast of America. Although these reasons, independently, were compelling explanations for attempting a new settlement, the Puritans, in their quest for permission to colonize, had especially emphasized their intention to bring Christianity to the New England Indians. As stated in the charter granted to the Massachusetts Bay Company, "the principall ende" for colonization in America was to bring the gospel to the Indians. This emphasis on missionary fervor as a reason for colonization was embedded on the colony's seal, which depicted an Indian with arms extended, imploring, "Come over and help us."²²

²¹Although the Massachusetts were not the sole Indians of the Bay Colony to reside at Natick following the missionaries' proselyting, they were in the majority. For ease of reading, references to missionary work among the Massachusetts that resulted in their locating to Natick include missionary labors performed among the Nipmucks and Pawtucketts, the two additional tribes that inhabited Natick in smaller numbers (Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 138–139).

²²John Winthrop, "General Observations for the Plantation of New England," in *Winthrop Papers, 1498–1649* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1929–1947), 2:111, 112; Charter of MA Bay (1629); Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 2.

Underlying the Puritans' missionization among the Indians was a conviction that Christ's kingdom would be established in all parts of the earth; the preaching of Christianity worldwide would facilitate that process. Engaging in missionary work among the Indians of New England would establish Christ's kingdom in that particular "corner" of the Lord's vineyard.²³ Several years after initiating missionary endeavors among the Indians of the Bay Colony, Eliot—the principal laborer in the mission cause—discovered a fresh explanation for the missionaries' proselytization efforts. In his work with the Indians, Eliot saw sufficient evidence to conjecture that they were the descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel. Eliot bolstered his conclusion with scholarly evidence. Since the Indians of the region were the progeny of the House of Israel, Eliot believed, their conversion was necessary, as the conversion of the House of Israel was one of the prophesied events that would precede Christ's second coming.

The Puritans' decision to bring Christianity to the New England natives exceeded their eschatological beliefs, however. Proponents of missionary work in the Bay Colony additionally sought to proselytize among the natives in order to raise the glory of England. "To be engaged in so pious and charitable a work" would bring honor to England, Eliot penned. As England's honor grew, that of France and Spain would conversely be undermined. John Winthrop wrote that missionary work among the Indians would not only thwart the Jesuits in their worldwide attempts at missionary work, it would clear the "scandal to our religion that we show not as much zeal in seeking the

²³Henry Whitfield, ed., *The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect Day* (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3:4), 120–121.

conversion of the heathen that the papists do.” As Winthrop’s declaration demonstrated, the Puritans viewed missionary work as a source of competition between the colonial superpowers of England, France, and Spain. In particular, the Puritans prided themselves in providing a thorough knowledge of Christian doctrine to the Indians prior to baptism, which they did not perceive in Spanish conversion methods.²⁴

After disembarking at a choice location in New England—Massachusetts Bay—the Puritans encountered the native inhabitants of the region, including the Massachusetts, among whom they would later initiate their missionary labors. The Massachusetts were one of the major Algonquian Indian tribes inhabiting New England that shared a similar language and culture. The Algonquian tribes engaged in hunting and gathering, which they supplemented with fishing and farming. To facilitate their mobile lifestyle, they housed themselves in wigwams, a group of which composed a village, each led by a sachem, or chief. The Massachusetts’ villages occupied the coast and tributaries of Massachusetts Bay. The tribe had been “a numerous and great people” prior to contact with the Europeans, having an estimated population of twelve thousand. The 1616–1619 and 1633–1634 regional epidemics, however, reduced the population of the Massachusetts considerably.²⁵

²⁴Edward Winslow, ed., *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England* (London: 1649), 131 (Early English books online); John Winthrop, quoted in Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission*, 3–4; [Thomas Shepard?], *The Day-Breaking, If Not the Sun-Rising of the Gospell with the Indians in New-England* (London: 1647), 15 (Early English books online).

²⁵Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, 28, 29–30; Bert Salwen, “Indians of Southern New England and Long Island: Early Period,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, ed. William C. Sturtevant, 17 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1978),

The religious beliefs and practices of the Algonquian Indians were seemingly as remote from those of the Puritans as was the distance between the two societies' continents of origin. The Algonquian worshiped multiple gods, including a number of animals, water, and the sun and moon, but acknowledged a principal god among the pantheon. The Algonquian believed these gods influenced human affairs and accordingly attempted to call upon their powers by participating in rituals aimed at plentiful harvests and by implementing medicine men, or powwows, to restore the sick. The use of powwows was a practice that the Puritans particularly disapproved of in their interactions with the Massachusetts, considering it devilish.²⁶

The praying town of Natick was the result of Puritan missionary labors among the Massachusetts Indians that began several years previously. The key figure in this undertaking was John Eliot, widely known as “the Apostle to the Indians.” Serving as minister to the English at the church at Roxbury, Eliot divided his time between his ministry and missionary work to the natives. A number of those assisting him in missionary work among the Massachusetts were similarly pastors of English churches in Massachusetts Bay: Thomas Shepard was a pastor at Cambridge; John Wilson served at

15:160, 162–163, 164, 166–167; William S. Simmons, *Spirit of the New England Tribes: Indian History and Folklore, 1620–1984* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1986), 15; Daniel Gookin, *Historical Collections of the Indians in New England* (n.p.: Towtaid, 1970), 9; Kathleen J. Bragdon, *Native People of Southern New England, 1500–1650* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 25; Charles M. Segal and David C. Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1977), 31.

²⁶Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, 36; Neal Salisbury, *Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500–1643* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), 35; [Shepard?], *Day-Breaking*, 21–22.

Boston; John Allin (Allen), at Dedham; and John Eliot, Jr., at Cambridge Village (later known as “Newton”). A noted exception was Daniel Gookin, who, though involved in the missionary effort with the Massachusetts, was not a minister but served as superintendent of the Indians of Massachusetts Bay Colony.²⁷

The Bay Colony’s most prominent missionary efforts among the Massachusetts commenced during 1644 and 1645, when the magistrates of the colony, in an effort to initiate missionary work among the Indians of the region, attempted to persuade colony ministers to preach to the Massachusetts. Failing in their endeavors, the magistrates, in 1646, successfully convinced Eliot to actualize their aims. After preaching to the Massachusetts at Neponset²⁸ and observing their lack of interest in the missionaries’ message, Eliot directed his efforts to the Massachusetts residing at Nonantum, a village situated approximately four or five miles from Eliot’s house. In October of 1646, four missionaries, including Eliot and Shepard, and their Indian interpreter,²⁹ preached to these Indians and others who had gathered from the vicinity to listen. The receptivity of their audience prompted the missionaries to return to the same location three additional times during the next two months, where they preached further doctrine and agreed, upon the

²⁷Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 114, 117; Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana; or, the Ecclesiastical History of New-England*, 2 vols. (Hartford, Conn.: Silas Andrus and Son, 1855), 1:79; Thomas Shepard, ed., *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians in New-England* (London: 1648), 9 (microfiche, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University); Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 49.

²⁸Neponset was located near Dorchester (Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission*, 40).

²⁹The identity of the two additional missionaries is uncertain. The Indian interpreter is believed to have been Cockenoe, a Pequot War captive (Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 131; Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission*, 50, 278 n. 47).

offer of the Indians, to raise several of their children in Puritan homes and educate all of their children at a school.³⁰

Soon after beginning missionary labors at Nonantum, Eliot again attempted to initiate proselytizing at Neponset, the site of the missionaries' previous rejection, this time achieving his aim. The Massachusetts of Neponset, like those at Nonantum, were willing to listen to the missionaries, resulting in Eliot preaching at both locations "for several years with good success." Although the majority of their preaching occurred at Nonantum and Neponset, the missionaries soon began proselyting to Indians who had gathered to hear them at additional designated sites around the Bay Colony. These meetings occurred at locations such as Concord, Watertown, Cambridge, and Pawtucket.³¹

When preaching to the Indians, the missionaries organized their meetings, known as "lectures," in a particular fashion and followed this pattern with few variances. Eliot and his fellow laborers began with a prayer, followed by the catechization of Indian children in simple Christian doctrine. In a "milk-before-meat" manner, the missionaries next explained basic points of Christian doctrine to the adults and answered their questions, which they encouraged. Periodically, between the preaching and the questions, the Indians confessed their sins and were admonished for them by the missionaries. The entire lecture typically lasted several hours. The missionaries' only essential change in

³⁰Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 25; Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 46; [Shepard?], *Day-Breaking*, 1-25; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 51.

³¹Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 46; Whitfield, *Light Appearing*, 14; Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 4, 15; Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 121.

this lecture pattern was to replace the discussions of basic doctrine, after the Massachusetts attained an understanding of such, with more-doctrinally-complex sermons based on given scriptural passages.³²

For the Bay Colony magistrates, a change in the Massachusetts' deportment and appearance was an essential component of their conversion to Christianity.

Consequently, the General Court directed the missionaries to establish a law code among the Massachusetts at Nonantum. In November of 1646—almost immediately following the initiation of missionary work among the Massachusetts—the converts at Nonantum instituted a law code to govern their behavior, according fines for idleness, fornication, unacceptable hairstyles, and so forth. During the same month, converted Indian sachems and other chief men of Concord formulated a similar law code for their town's converts. Abusing alcohol, employing powwows, lying, breaking the Sabbath, greasing the body, and adultery were among the punishable acts condemned. In 1647, the Massachusetts at Neponset adopted a law code similar to that of the converts at Nonantum.³³

After agreeing to honor these laws, the Massachusetts proselytes began to pray with their families, observe the Sabbath, and give up their practice of using powwows. Moreover, they adopted the dress of the English and cut their hair. Feeling encouraged about the progress of the mission, Eliot wrote of the converted Massachusetts of Nonantum, "They have forsaken their former Religion, and manner of worship." Eliot's

³²[Shepard?], *Day-Breaking*, 3, 7, 12, 13, 25; Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 30, 34.

³³[Shepard?], *Day-Breaking*, 22; Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 5–7; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 52, 54.

description of the Nonantum converts certainly applied to those of additional lecture locations. Wherever the location, those Indians who converted to Christianity and its concomitant lifestyle modifications were known as “Christian Indians” or “praying Indians,” the latter a reference to the expression “praying to God,” which denoted practicing a religion rather than simply praying.³⁴

At the request of the converted Indians to possess their own court system, in 1647, the General Court established an arrangement wherein once every three months, magistrates would hold a court for the Massachusetts to hear their criminal and civil cases, capital cases being excepted. The Massachusetts would also hold their own court on a monthly basis for small civil cases and minor criminal cases that the magistrates passed on to them. Sachems would appoint court officers and oversee and execute court orders and decisions. Desiring that the court be run according to Puritan principles, the General Court requested that the magistrates and missionaries overseeing the court teach the Massachusetts “our most usefull Lawes” and the precepts upon which they were based.³⁵

Correspondingly, the Massachusetts began presiding over their own Sabbath worship. The Massachusetts lacked their own preacher and did not understand the English spoken at Puritan churches in the vicinity; hence, in 1647, they began conducting their own Sabbath meetings. To make this feasible, Eliot instructed them to have their

³⁴Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 7, 15, 26–27; John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, Jr., *Tears of Repentance: Or, A further Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New-England* (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3:4), 215.

³⁵Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 22–23, 41.

“wisest and best men” pray and preach to them the doctrine these men had learned from Eliot’s lectures. The audience was to ask questions afterwards of the Indian lecturers, who could inquire of Eliot if they needed assistance answering them. The Massachusetts’ Sabbath meetings thus were conducted in a pattern highly similar to the missionaries’ lectures. Once the construction of Natick ensued, Eliot lectured at the location every two weeks and frequently spent the Sabbath there. The Indian lecturers preached on the days Eliot was not present.³⁶

Eliot believed it essential that the Christian Indians embrace civilization as a part of their conversion process, stating, “I finde it absolutely necessary to carry on civility with Religion.” When, after almost four years of Eliot’s preaching among the Massachusetts, the Christian Indians desired to be baptized and receive other ordinances accompanying church membership, Eliot determined that they were not prepared for this step. Describing their lifestyle as “unfixed, confused, and ungoverned,” Eliot told the Indians that before they could be trusted with having a church established among them and participating in its ordinances, they needed to be civilized. This would entail the Massachusetts “being brought from their scattered and wild course of life” to live together in a town, where they would have a fixed government and constant gospel instruction. Eliot believed founding a town for the Christian Indians would also provide a place where they could learn trades, thereby making a good living. Equally important, a settlement at Natick would teach the Indians how to labor, the latter a necessary part of

³⁶Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 27; Henry Whitfield, ed., *Strength out of Weaknesse; Or a Glorious Manifestation of the further Progresse of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England* (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3:4), 174, 177, 178.

being a church member and in which the English found the Indians lacking. Eliot promoted Natick as a location where the Indians could learn how to build, plant orchards, and fish.³⁷

While Eliot's vision for the role of Natick in the Massachusetts' conversion was intact, the means to realize it was not. Eliot understood that the building of Natick would be a costly undertaking, necessitating adequate means. Hence, he asked that provisions, clothing, and good tools be sent to the Bay Colony. These materials, in addition to funds, were furnished by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England, established by Parliament in 1649 to generate funds for the missionary work in New England. The Society raised revenue through purchasing and renting out real estate. Funds were also accumulated through donations in England, by means of door-to-door soliciting, and via contributions from the army, churchgoers, and other individuals. After its inception, the Society published five of the so-called Eliot tracts;³⁸ the purchases of these tracts by the people of England not only raised revenue for the Society, they convinced Englanders to donate to the missionary cause. In New England, the Commissioners of the United Colonies, an organization serving the interests of the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, distributed, as they saw fit, the funds and supplies received from the Society. Not until 1651, however, could the Society send

³⁷Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 128; John Eliot, *A Late and Further Manifestation of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England* (Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3:4), 269–270; Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 120, 130.

³⁸The Eliot tracts are a collection of missionary accounts that updated readers in England on the success of the missionary work among the New England Indians.

supplies to Massachusetts Bay. In the interim, the tools for initiating the venture at Natick were provided by private donors in England or bought in the Bay Colony on the Society's credit.³⁹

After deciding on the location of "the new Indian Towne," in 1650, construction commenced. Natick, located eighteen miles from Boston, was known as a "praying town." While principally Massachusetts from Nonantum inhabited the town, Massachusetts from Neponset, Nipmucks, and Pawtuckets also resided at the location. For the most part, Natick was fashioned after English settlements, yet it was the praying Indians, rather than the English, who built most of the town. During the decades of 1650 and 1660, the praying Indians steadily engaged in various labors to construct Natick. The Indians laid out the town in three streets, two north of the Charles River and one south. They further divided the land on each street into lots and planted fruit trees in many of them. More significantly, the Indians constructed several buildings at Natick. With only minimal assistance from the English, the Indians constructed a round, commodious, palisade fort out of whole logs. Located near the fort was a large English-style house that the Indians also built, receiving only two days' instruction from an English carpenter. The house contained a spacious room on the ground floor that, for a time, was used as a meetinghouse on Sundays and a schoolhouse for Indian children on weekdays; the upper level housed another large room that had a small room built into its corner for Eliot to

³⁹Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 120, 131; Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 114, 115; William Kellaway, *The New England Company, 1649–1776: Missionary Society to the American Indians* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1962), 30; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 107, 207, 210.

sleep in when visiting. The Indians also erected a schoolhouse and a sawmill. The capstone achievement of the Indians, however, was their construction of a fifty by twenty-five-foot meetinghouse, without the help of any Englishmen. Beyond these labors, the resident Indians built an eighty-foot-long footbridge over the Charles River, constructed a weir in the same river to catch fish, and broke and fenced in ground. The residents also grew crops and raised animals. Despite adopting these elements of English-town living, the praying Indians retained some of their traditional ways of life. For example, although they constructed some additional English houses, most of the praying Indians continued to live in wigwams. They also maintained their custom of hunting and fishing.⁴⁰

As the construction of the schoolhouse at Natick demonstrated, educating the children of the converted Massachusetts was a priority for the missionaries. Prior to the establishment of Natick, several schools were organized in the Massachusetts Bay vicinity. At Natick, the missionaries continued their educational efforts. Two Indians were employed to teach the children reading, writing, and spelling of the Massachusetts language. The children of Natick were not the sole beneficiaries of Eliot's educational plans, however; men of the town were taught to read and write, and women, to read, the Massachusetts language. Several of the Indian youth, after completing their primary education, enrolled at Harvard, where an Indian College was later erected in 1656 to further the education of the praying Indians. Efforts to educate the praying Indians were a reflection of Eliot's goal to have educated Indians well-versed in Christian doctrine travel

⁴⁰Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 138; Whitfield, *Strength out of Weakness*, 168, 177, 191; Eliot and Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance*, 224, 227; 256; Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 65, 66; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 106, 108, 138–139.

throughout the countryside to preach to other Indians, as he believed this would be “the most effectually and generally way of spreading the Gospel” among the Indians. According to Eliot’s plan, various educated Indians from Natick traveled and preached to Indians of different locations, achieving success.⁴¹

In planning for the “fixed government” that would occur at Natick, Eliot propounded that its residents be “wholly governed by the Scriptures in all things both in Church and State.” Such a course would fully establish the kingdom of Christ at Natick, Eliot asserted, in that Christ would rule over both church and state. In accordance with this decision, in 1651, the praying Indians of Natick chose rulers from among themselves, following the Mosaic pattern recorded in Exodus 18: One man was chosen to rule over one hundred, two over fifty, and ten over ten. Shortly thereafter, the residents covenanted to be the people of the Lord and to be governed by his word.⁴²

The type of government established at Natick illustrated the intent of the town’s residents and sponsors to “fly to the Scriptures, for every Law, Rule, Direction, [and] Form.” Despite this lofty aim, its impracticality was evident, as an Algonquian Bible did not exist. This would soon change, however. In 1650, Eliot began translating the Bible in the Indians’ native tongue, with a measure of aid from native assistants. The books of

⁴¹Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 144; Whitfield, *Strength out of Weaknesse*, 168, 169, 170; 171; John Eliot, *A further Account of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England*, in *The Eliot Tracts: With Letters from John Eliot to Thomas Thorowgood and Richard Baxter*, ed. Michael P. Clark (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2003), 396; Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission*, 71, 117, 219, 221.

⁴²Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 127, 131; Whitfield, *Strength out of Weaknesse*, 171, 172, 174.

Genesis and Matthew were the first to be published. In 1658, Eliot and additional Bay Colony ministers pressed for the publication of Eliot's translation of the entire Bible, believing it would be "a principall means of promoting Religion" among the Indians. To facilitate the publication of the whole Bible, Eliot and John Endicott, president of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, asked the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England to send a printer's assistant, typeface, paper, and other printing supplies to the Bay Colony. At the Bay Colony's very own press at the Indian College at Harvard, an Algonquian version of the entire Bible was printed for the first time in 1663. Those involved and interested in the missionary effort considered the publication of the Algonquian Bible a great source of pride for both Old England and New, as shown in Cotton Mather's statement, "We have given them the whole Bible in their own language."⁴³

By 1651, the Massachusetts had altered their appearance, behavior, religion, and government. Collectively, such changes translated into an entirely different way of life for those participating. The Puritans firmly believed, nonetheless, that an outward reflection of religious conversion did not necessarily reflect an inward transformation. As in the case of Puritans seeking church membership, the Massachusetts would have to provide verbal evidence that spiritual conversion had taken place. If enough

⁴³Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 131; John Eliot, *A further Accompt of the Progresse of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England*, in *The Eliot Tracts*, 329, 330, 331; Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 58; Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, 572; Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, 277; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 119, 121.

Massachusetts were found to have achieved true conversion, a church, called “church-estate,” could be formed at Natick.

The missionaries accordingly planned a meeting in which the Indians would publicly relate their accounts of conversion. However, what initially was meant to take one day instead ended up requiring approximately eight years to complete, spanning the years of 1652 to 1660. On the planned examination day in 1652, a shortage of time and interpreters prevented the forming of a church. The process was additionally extended due to Eliot’s desire to further prepare those applying for church membership and to use care in the establishment of what would be the first Indian church of the colony and would thus serve as a pattern for the founding of other Indian churches. Above all, Eliot stated, some of those applying for church membership needed training in order to govern the church at Natick. Yet Eliot’s careful approach to church membership was not the sole reason for the delays in forming a church at Natick. The fear of some Massachusetts Bay colonists that the praying Indians were allying with the Dutch and Mohawks to harm the English further delayed the process. These factors and others resulted in a slow institution of a church at Natick. During the ensuing eight years or so, eight Christian Indians were publicly examined four times in meetings attended by magistrates, ministers, missionaries, and church members, with the most noted meeting occurring in 1654 at Roxbury. In the proceedings of these meetings, the prospective church members confessed their past sins; spoke of their belief in and reliance upon Christ; and explained the process of their conversion, including the example of Puritan missionaries and church

members in that process. For their part, the ministers asked the Indians questions to ascertain their understanding of gospel doctrine and depth of religious commitment.⁴⁴

Toward the end of this lengthy process, magistrates, ministers, and other church members determined that if the eight applicants were found acceptable for church membership, they should attend some of their Sabbath meetings at Roxbury, where they would be “seasoned” in church membership and would receive ordinances such as baptism and the sacrament. The remainder of their Sabbath meetings would be spent at Natick. Eventually, the new church members would form their own church at Natick, the proponents of the idea argued. The Roxbury church members agreed to this arrangement, and plans for the applicants’ church membership proceeded. In 1659, after hearing the confessions of the eight Indians and implementing other procedures toward their church membership, a panel of Puritans from the surrounding churches admitted the eight into full church membership at Roxbury. In 1660, however, an Indian church was organized at Natick; if the eight members attended the Roxbury church after receiving baptism and communion, it was for a short time only. After its founding, the church at Natick grew in membership. By 1670, between forty to fifty praying Indians were members, while others were preparing for membership or were simply participating in all aspects of religious worship that did not require membership.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Eliot and Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance*, 228, 229–259; Eliot, *A Late and Further Manifestation*, 271, 272, 276–284, 285; John Eliot, *A further Account*, 361–376, 377–392, 395; Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission*, 130, 137, table 1.

⁴⁵Eliot, *A further Account*, 360–361, 376, 377, 395; John Eliot, *A Brief Narrative of the Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England, in the Year 1670*, in *The Eliot Tracts*, 403; Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 69; Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission*,

While the fashioning of a town and preparations for church membership were continuing at Natick, a second praying town, Punkapog, was already undergoing construction in 1653. Further praying towns were successively built and were distinguished as either “old praying towns” or “new praying towns,” the latter designation given to those towns built in Nipmuck territory. In 1674, Gookin reported that fourteen praying towns had been established, the combined population of which totaled 1,100. The founding of the thirteen additional praying towns was a fulfillment of Eliot’s belief that Natick would serve as an example for future English endeavors to convert and civilize the Indians of the Bay Colony. Similar to the residents of Natick, the inhabitants of the thirteen other praying towns participated, in varying degrees, in church worship, civil government and order, and education. Like the Natick Indians, they grew crops, raised animals, fished, and hunted.⁴⁶

With the onset of King Philip’s War⁴⁷ in 1675, the relatively stable life of the Natick praying Indians would soon change dramatically, due to suspicions toward them by many of the English colonists. The latter did not believe a differentiation existed

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⁴⁶Cogley, *John Eliot’s Mission*, 140; Gookin, *Historical Collections*, 71–87; Whitfield, *Strength out of Weakness*, 171.

⁴⁷King Philip’s War, also known as Metacom’s War, began in 1675, when Wampanoag Indians under the leadership of King Philip attacked a settlement in Plymouth Colony. Philip enlisted the help of other Indian tribes, and the war soon spread throughout New England. The war concluded in 1676, after a number of English towns and Indian villages were destroyed and several thousand Indians and colonists were killed (Clark, *The Eliot Tracts*, 22; Segal and Stineback, *Puritans, Indians, and Manifest Destiny*, 184).

between Christian Indians and the enemy. During the war, the Natick residents served as guides, offered well-founded advice, and even engaged in warfare against the enemy. Despite the praying Indians' loyalty to the English, many of the colonists suspected them of treachery. The Christian Indians of the other praying towns in the Bay Colony were additionally the recipients of suspicion, resulting in the entire population of praying Indians being sent to five praying towns, of which Natick was one. In response to false accusations against the praying Indians of Natick, toward the end of 1675, the General Court ordered that the Natick residents be shipped to Deer Island, in Boston Bay. At Deer Island, the two hundred Natick Indians, who were later joined by other praying Indians, suffered from cold, poor clothing and shelter, and a meager food supply. After the war, upon returning in 1677 to Natick, one of only four praying towns reopened after hostilities ceased, the praying Indians established themselves once again. Nonetheless, the residents of Natick were treated with suspicion and discrimination. Moreover, following the war, both missionary labors and the number of church members at Natick would decrease.⁴⁸ The unredeemable state of Natick was thus a reflection of the general decline of the praying town experiment in the aftermath of King Philip's War.

The Southern Indian Mission

⁴⁸Daniel Gookin, *An Historical Account of the Doings and Sufferings of the Christian Indians in New England, in the Years 1675, 1676, 1677* (New York: Arno Press, 1972), 441, 445, 446, 449–450, 451, 472, 473, 474, 485, 518–519; Kellaway, *The New England Company*, 117; Clark, *The Eliot Tracts*, 23; Jean M. O'Brien, *Dispossession by Degrees: Indian Land and Identity in Natick, Massachusetts, 1650–1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 68.

Founded in the dry, dusty climate of southern Utah, the Southern Indian Mission had two fundamental motives in its founding: safety from potentially hostile Indian tribes in southern Utah and missionary fervor. In their settlements in central Utah, the Mormons had experienced ongoing hostilities with the Utes, resulting, for the former, in lost lives, stolen livestock, and threats. Hostilities between the Mormons and Utes had reached a highpoint in the Walker War, lasting from 1853 to 1854, which resulted in lives lost on both sides and debt for the Mormons. Although the Walker War occurred principally in central Utah, Ute wartime depredations also occurred in counties southward, closer to the budding settlements of southern Utah. In Sanpete County, Utes massacred parties of Mormons in at least two different incidents, burned a sawmill, and completely burned Spring City, a Mormon settlement previously abandoned due to Ute disturbances. The southern Utah settlers were particularly unsettled when a band of Pahvante Utes massacred a group of non-Mormons, known as the Gunnison party, who were exploring for the United States near the Sevier River. In response to the hostilities occurring during the Walker War, the settlers of southern Utah, like those of central Utah, were gathered into forts. Furthermore, those living in small settlements were asked to temporarily move to larger settlements for protection.⁴⁹

⁴⁹Peter Gottfredson, ed. and comp., *History of Indian Depredations in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Skelton Publishing, 1919), 22–36, 42–43, 59–74, 76–77, 82, 83; James G. Bleak, “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission,” L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1928, 13; Eugene E. Campbell, *Establishing Zion: The Mormon Church in the American West, 1847–1869* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1988), 110.

Although the Utes did not reside in southern Utah, bands of them frequently roamed the area during the Walker War, demonstrating hostile behavior toward the Mormon settlers on several occasions. In one instance, a band of Utes camping at Parowan came close to attacking the settlers at Parowan after the Mormons corralled the Utes' horses to stop them from trampling on their wheat. In other cases, the Utes were reported as being "saucy" to the settlers and wanting to attack settlers or herds.⁵⁰

Prior to the establishment of the Southern Indian Mission, the Mormons of southern Utah had also experienced some troubles with the Paiutes of the region. In 1852, settlers reported that at or near Parowan, the Paiutes had stolen sheep and horses, killed an ox, and tried to shoot the herdsman. When the Mormons killed and wounded two Paiutes involved in the fracas, who were attempting to escape, the Paiute tribe reacted with hostility, killing a sheep and a horse with poisoned arrows and shooting at a young settler who was herding. Following this incident, the settlers feared to leave their fort, at least for a time, unless in well-armed parties. The following year, the commander of a detachment was sent to speak with southern Utah Indian chiefs to ascertain the dispositions of the tribes toward the Mormons.⁵¹

In planning to settle southern Utah, Mormon church leaders understood the potential for tension between Mormons intent on settling and the Indians inhabiting the region, as the hostilities leading to the Walker War had so clearly demonstrated.

⁵⁰*Deseret News*, February 5, 1853; *Deseret News*, February 28, 1853; *Deseret News*, January 24, 1854.

⁵¹*Deseret News*, March 13, 1852; *Journal History of the Church*, March 14, 1852; *Deseret News*, May 11, 1853.

Moreover, the Utes had committed a number of depredations against the Mormons in the region directly north of southern Utah and had manifested ill will toward the settlers of southern Utah. Finally, the Paiutes of southern Utah had also, at times, demonstrated hostility toward the Mormons. Desiring peaceful relations between the Mormon settlers and the Utes and Paiutes, Mormon church leaders established an Indian mission in southern Utah in 1854 to promote a peaceful coexistence between Indians and Mormons.

An additional rationale for doing missionary work among the Indians of southern Utah lay in the Mormon doctrine of preaching the gospel to all inhabitants of the earth. Since the founding of Mormonism in 1830, missionary work has been a key objective of the Mormon religion. While the Mormon doctrine of proselytizing to all applied to the Indians as it did all unconverted peoples, it exceeded this in that the Mormons felt it their particular duty to convert the Indians. This sentiment resulted from the Mormons' belief in the doctrine on the Indians contained in the Book of Mormon. The Book of Mormon, ancient scripture that formed the basis of the Mormon religion, taught that the Indians of the American continents, termed "Lamanites," descended from the House of Israel and had been brought from Jerusalem to the Americas by the hand of God. After arriving in the Americas, the Lamanites shunned the Christianity they had been taught; as a result, God cursed them with dark skins. Because of this curse, the Book of Mormon explained, the Lamanites became "an idle people, full of mischief and subtlety."⁵²

Despite their departure from Christianity, however, the Lamanites had been promised blessings by God's hand, to come forth at a future point. Through the efforts of

⁵²1 Nephi 2, 15, 18; 2 Nephi 5.

the Gentiles, the Book of Mormon taught, the Lamanites would one day be taught the Christianity of their forefathers and the Lord's covenants with them as members of the House of Israel. As non-literal descendants of the House of Israel, the Mormons believed they were the Gentiles spoken of in the Book of Mormon who would accomplish this task.⁵³ Mormon church leaders, in speaking to the Mormons on the need to do missionary work among the Indians of Utah Territory, reiterated the teachings of the Book of Mormon concerning the Indians of the Americas. Once the Southern Indian Mission was established, leaders of both the Mormon church and the Southern Indian Mission exhorted the missionaries of the Southern Indian Mission to fulfill their missionary tasks among the Indians. These leaders reminded the missionaries of the prophecies in the Book of Mormon, the duty of the Mormons toward the Indians, and the design of God in placing the Mormons in Utah among the Indians. Desiring that the Mormons successfully fulfill their duties toward the natives, the same leaders encouraged both missionaries and members living in southern Utah to be good examples to the Indians in all their undertakings with them.⁵⁴

⁵³1 Nephi 15; Wilford Woodruff, in *Journal of Discourses*, 26 vols. (1854–86; repr., Los Angeles: Gartner Printing & Litho, 1956), 2:200. Mormon doctrine allows for varied interpretations of the lineage of Mormons. A Mormon may be either a literal descendant of the House of Israel or a literal descendant of Gentiles; either way, once individuals are baptized into the Mormon church, they are assigned to one of the twelve tribes. Nineteenth-century Mormons, originating from Europe, were typically of Gentile descent, even though they were adopted into the House of Israel upon baptism into the Mormon church. Thus, the Mormons understood themselves to be the Gentiles spoken of in the Book of Mormon who would bring Christianity to the Indians.

⁵⁴Brigham Young, in *Journal of Discourses*, 1:106–107, 2:143; Wilford Woodruff, in *Journal of Discourses*, 9:223–224; Thomas D. Brown, *Journal of the Southern Indian Mission: Diary of Thomas D. Brown*, ed. Juanita Brooks (Logan: Utah

With a combination of safety and missionary zeal motivating them, the Mormon missionaries would travel to southern Utah to begin missionary work among a people who differed vastly from them in way of life and religion. The Paiutes of southern Utah were part of a larger group of Southern Paiutes inhabiting the region of southern Utah, northern Arizona, southeastern California, and southern Nevada. A Numic-speaking people, the Southern Paiutes (hereafter referred to as Paiutes) typically lived in camps of ten to fifteen individuals; each camp was led by a chief. Larger bands lived in the more fertile areas of the region, such as the Muddy River Valley, in eastern Nevada, and the Santa Clara River, in southwestern Utah, along which river lived Utah's largest concentration of Paiutes. Upon the arrival of the Mormons in southern Utah, at least eighteen bands of Paiutes, it is estimated, lived in the region.⁵⁵

The Paiutes sustained themselves by moving from area to area to hunt animals and gather foodstuffs, although those living along the Muddy, Santa Clara, and Virgin Rivers supplemented their hunting and gathering by growing crops. The Paiutes' food source was closely connected to their religious beliefs, both in their belief that spirits existed in both animals and works of nature and in their attempts to reap bounteous harvests by participating in a dance to a supreme being, "the father." Additional religious beliefs and

State University Press, 1972), 29, 34, 35; James A. Little, *Jacob Hamblin: A Narrative of His Personal Experience, as a Frontiersman, Missionary to the Indians and Explorer*, 2nd ed. (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1909), 55–56.

⁵⁵Knack, *Boundaries Between*, 10, 14; Forrest S. Cuch, ed., *A History of Utah's American Indians* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Division of Indian Affairs / Utah State Division of History, 2000), 124; Ronald L. Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs: An Ethno-history of the Utah Paiutes* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1992), 8.

practices of the Paiutes included a belief in a pair of twin gods as creators of the world; supernatural beings, whose powers could cause illness in the human body; and the use of shamans to treat such infirmities.⁵⁶

The Southern Indian Mission was initiated in April of 1854, when LDS Church leaders called twenty-three Mormon men to serve as missionaries to the Paiutes in southern Utah Territory,⁵⁷ in a geographical area designated as “the Southern Utah Mission,”⁵⁸ where the Mormons had begun several small settlements. The newly called missionaries were instructed to teach the Paiutes improved farming techniques, build them houses, and teach them the gospel. They were also told to befriend the Paiutes and

⁵⁶Knack, *Boundaries Between*, 14, 15–16, 24; Holt, *Beneath These Red Cliffs*, 15, 16; Isabel T. Kelly and Catherine S. Fowler, “Southern Paiute,” and Ake Hultkrantz, “Mythology and Religious Concepts,” in *Handbook of North American Indians*, 11:384, 634.

⁵⁷Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 33; Brown, *Journal*, 2. At this time, Utah Territory was composed of the entire geographical area of the current states of Utah and Nevada (excepting the southern part near Las Vegas), a portion of western Colorado, and the southwest part of Wyoming (Campbell, *Establishing Zion*, 104). The idea of initiating Indian missions near new settlements was not singular to the Southern Indian Mission: During 1853 to 1855, the Mormons established a number of missions in the West, including the noted Green River Mission in Wyoming; the Elk Mountain Mission near Moab, Utah; and the Salmon River Mission, in Idaho (John A. Price, “Mormon Missions to the Indians,” *Handbook of North American Indians*, 4:461).

⁵⁸The Southern Utah Mission and the Southern Indian Mission were not synonymous. The Southern Utah Mission consisted of the geographical area of southern Utah Territory and pertained to current and potential settlements in that area, while the Southern Indian Mission referred to the missionary work among the Indians that would take place within the Southern Utah Mission. Thus, the Southern Indian Mission was a subset of the Southern Utah Mission.

learn their language. Finally, the missionaries were to help build a settlement at Harmony.⁵⁹

The company of twenty-three contained the most well-known missionaries of the Southern Indian Mission: Jacob Hamblin, Rufus C. Allen, Thales H. Haskell, Ira Hatch, and Thomas D. Brown. Prior to the missionaries' departure from Salt Lake City, Allen was chosen to be president of the mission.⁶⁰ In May of 1854, the company arrived at Harmony, a site located about twenty-two miles south of Cedar City that had been settled in the spring of 1852 by John D. Lee and a few other settlers, who, upon the arrival of the new missionaries, numbered twelve to fifteen families.⁶¹ The settlers at Harmony had already begun some missionary work among the Paiutes, having preached to and baptized

⁵⁹Jacob Hamblin, *Journals and Letters of Jacob Hamblin*, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 18; Albert E. Smith, *Thales Hastings Haskell: Pioneer—Scout—Explorer—Indian Missionary, 1847–1909* (Salt Lake City: n.p., 1963), 21; “Thales Haskell,” in *An Enduring Legacy* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1979), 2:328.

⁶⁰Parley P. Pratt, rather than Allen, was originally chosen to serve as president of the Southern Indian Mission. Allen's designation as president was intended to be only a temporary assignment, one in which he would serve as captain during the missionaries' journey to southern Utah. Pratt, who did not depart south with the initial group of missionaries, planned to follow the company. However, when Pratt was instead called on a mission to California, Allen was officially appointed to preside over the Southern Indian Mission (Brown, *Journal*, 2, 3, 4; Bleak, “Annals,” 16).

⁶¹Bleak, “Annals,” 12, 14–15. These settlers had moved to southern Utah as part of a number of families sent by Mormon church leaders to the region to strengthen nascent communities and settle additional ones. Explorers began exploring southern Utah at the end of 1849; in December of the following year, settlers began traveling to the area. The first settlement was begun in January of 1851, at Parowan (Bleak, “Annals,” 1, 2, 9).

some of them,⁶² and were educating neighboring Paiute children at a school they had opened in the fort. After arriving at Harmony, the missionaries, along with the original settlers, moved to a location four miles north that would provide more water. This new locale would also serve as the headquarters of the Southern Indian Mission. There the missionaries and settlers built a fort that would serve a dual purpose of providing internal housing and protection from Indians, in case a need for the latter arose. The group also constructed a canal to divert water for irrigating and began planting crops. Finally, the missionaries began learning the Paiute language.⁶³

By beginning a small settlement, the missionaries now had an effectual base from which they could undertake missionary excursions among the Paiutes and return home for rest, food, and supplies. Accordingly, the missionaries began their missionary work at this juncture by taking a trip to visit the Paiutes living in the vicinity. In June of 1854, eight to ten missionaries⁶⁴ headed south from Harmony for this purpose. Hamblin was

⁶²Brown, *Journal*, 21. While the settlers at Harmony had already begun missionary work among the Paiutes, they had not been formally called to be missionaries, as were the missionaries who had just arrived from Salt Lake City. The latter were called to undertake missionary work among the Indians, whereas the former had been called on missions to settle southern Utah. The settlers of southern Utah were asked to be missionaries to the Indians as part of their settlement duties; however, their duties were limited, general, and somewhat vague compared to those called to serve as Indian missionaries. A clear distinction existed between the two groups, as shown in the following accounts: Bleak, "Annals," 15, 19; Brown, *Journal*, 91; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 29.

⁶³Bleak, "Annals," 15, 16, 19; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 23; Brown, *Journal*, 31, 41.

⁶⁴Bleak explains that eight to ten men went on this first trip to visit the Paiutes, while Hamblin gives the number as being ten (Bleak, "Annals," 16; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 20).

among this group, as was Allen, who led the expedition. About twenty miles from Harmony, the missionaries visited a small band of Paiutes living along Ash Creek, governed by Chief Toquer. The missionaries then traveled along the Virgin and Santa Clara Rivers, meeting and speaking with camps of Paiutes, both large and small, that they encountered. Journeying down the Virgin River, the company first met a band of Paiutes whose timidity and dwindled population spoke of the perpetrations of the Utes and Mexicans in raiding Paiute bands for children for the slave market.⁶⁵ Upon reaching the Santa Clara River, the missionaries next encountered a large camp of Paiutes whose male population numbered two hundred and fifty.⁶⁶ The missionaries taught this camp principles of Mormon doctrine, including an explanation of the Book of Mormon as a record and history of the Paiutes' ancestors on the continent. Eleven Paiutes resultantly requested baptism. The missionaries then returned to Harmony, except for Hamblin and William Hennefer, who proceeded to visit a small camp of Paiutes living on the upper Santa Clara before returning home.⁶⁷

Soon after returning to Harmony, the missionaries undertook another trip to the Paiutes of the Santa Clara. This group likewise taught Mormon doctrine to the Paiutes

⁶⁵Settlers of southern Utah and missionaries of the Southern Indian Mission would soon begin adopting abducted Paiute children intended for the slave trade (Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 27, 44; Brown, *Journal*, 105, 135; Juanita Brooks, *John Doyle Lee: Zealot—Pioneer Builder—Scapegoat* [Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1973], 163–164, 172).

⁶⁶The numbers of women and children living in the camp was not given.

⁶⁷Bleak, "Annals," 16–17, 18; Brown, *Journal*, 43; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 20.

and showed them a Book of Mormon, upon which about fifty Paiutes asked to be baptized. This second excursion of missionaries subsequently returned to Harmony. Small groups of missionaries spent the rest of the summer of 1854 traveling to the Paiutes living in the vicinity, “visiting and instructing” them. During one of these excursions to the Paiutes, more than one hundred Santa Clara Paiutes requested that they be baptized. Those missionaries remaining at Harmony helped the settlers farm and build the fort. At least one visit to the Paiutes also occurred in the fall of the same year.⁶⁸

While on their excursions south, the missionaries noted the primitive farming methods of the Paiutes. The missionaries reported that the Paiutes engaged in laborious methods of planting, harvesting, and irrigation, using sharpened sticks as their predominant tools. On their journeys, the missionaries had additionally witnessed the Paiutes’ frequent hunger. Believing they could help them acquire more food through improved farming techniques, the missionaries told the large band of Paiutes on the Santa Clara River that they planned to return to teach them the gospel and better farming techniques, to which the Paiutes favorably responded.⁶⁹

As the summer of 1854 progressed, the settlers and missionaries at Harmony realized that inadequate amounts of water would allow only a limited number of individuals to inhabit their settlement. Consequently, in December of 1854, Jacob Hamblin, Thales Haskell, Ira Hatch, and a few other missionaries moved to the Santa Clara River to begin a new settlement, naming it “Santa Clara” after its adjacent river.

⁶⁸Bleak, “Annals,” 19; Brown, *Journal*, 74; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 25–26.

⁶⁹Bleak, “Annals,” 17, 18; Brown, *Journal*, 57.

After arriving at this new location, the missionaries began anew the process of a building a settlement, constructing a cabin and building a dam on the Santa Clara River, with the assistance of the Paiutes, to irrigate the one-hundred-acre farm the missionaries and Paiutes jointly cultivated. The newcomers even raised a little cotton, the first grown in Utah Territory. During the winter of 1856–1857, the missionaries, with the help of some Paiutes, constructed a stone fort, subsequently declared by Brigham Young to be the best in Utah Territory. At Santa Clara, the missionaries also continued their study of the Paiute language.⁷⁰

Founding a new settlement at Santa Clara not only created an outlet for settlers from water-stricken Harmony, it facilitated the fulfillment of the missionaries' promise to the Paiutes to teach them gospel principles and better farming techniques. Soon after arriving at Santa Clara, Hamblin, in speaking of his labors among the Paiutes, wrote, "I feel anxious to do much for this people to bring them from thare low degraded condicion." This sentiment resounded with that of the other missionaries at Santa Clara, and the group consequently began helping the Paiutes, as promised. As mentioned previously, the missionaries and Paiutes conjointly cultivated a large farm and constructed a dam for its irrigation, resulting in a large harvest that season, from which the Paiutes stored a surplus. Prior to arriving at Santa Clara, the missionaries had further determined to build houses for the Paiutes; consequently, soon after their arrival, the missionaries helped the Paiutes construct a house. The missionaries undoubtedly taught the Paiutes gospel principles in addition to the physical work they undertook among

⁷⁰Bleak, "Annals," 19, 20, 21, 23; "Thales Haskell," *An Enduring Legacy*, 329.

them, as indicated by Hamblin remarking, “We had many good talks with our read friends.”⁷¹

With some of its missionaries settled at Santa Clara and others on their way to other settlements or missionary assignments, the Harmony settlement diminished in importance. The missionaries at Harmony nonetheless continued to help the Paiutes with their farming for at least the season of 1855. Other changes in the mission were forthcoming. In August of 1857, Hamblin was designated president of the Southern Indian Mission.⁷² With the president of the mission and many of its missionaries at the new settlement of Santa Clara, and with plans to focus missionary work among the Paiutes living along the Santa Clara River,⁷³ the Santa Clara settlement became the headquarters for the Southern Indian Mission.

Despite the transfer of the mission headquarters to Santa Clara, however, missionary work among the Paiutes of the Santa Clara River was gravitating toward cessation, the consequence of a new focus on missionary efforts in areas outside of southern Utah. Less than four years after arriving at Harmony, the missionaries of the Southern Indian Mission began to concentrate their missionary work in other geographical areas, with new missions the result. The earliest and most important of

⁷¹Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 36, 41; Bleak, “Annals,” 21; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 40; Brown, *Journal*, 91, 103–104.

⁷²Bleak, “Annals,” 22, 23; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 46.

⁷³This fact is corroborated in the journal of Brown, who wrote that the missionaries’ efforts were concentrated on improving the circumstances of the Paiutes on the Santa Clara River, under the direction of Hamblin (Brown, *Journal*, 137).

these missions were the Las Vegas Mission and the Moqui Mission. In the beginning of 1858, Hatch and Haskell were sent from Santa Clara to the Muddy River Valley, located northeast of Las Vegas, to prevent Paiutes from attacking wagon trains traveling between southern Utah and California. After the two missionaries returned home, additional missionaries were sent to the area shortly thereafter, again to calm hostile Paiutes. Beginning in 1865, several Mormon settlements were formed in the Muddy River Valley.⁷⁴

Following the establishment of the Las Vegas Mission, outreaches of missionary work from the Southern Indian Mission continued. In 1858, under orders from Brigham Young, a company of missionaries, including Hamblin, Haskell, and Hatch, traveled from Santa Clara to northern Arizona to begin missionary work among the Hopi Indians, whom they called the “Moquis,” or “Moquitches.” The Moquis lived in seven towns, the conglomerate of which the Mormons called “the Moqui Mission.” Missionaries continued to journey between southern Utah and the Moqui nation several times between 1859 and 1865, endeavoring to convert the Moquis to Mormonism and convince them to move closer to the Mormons, where they would be safer from marauding Indian tribes. The Moquis had no desire to move, however. Additional trips to the Moquis resumed in

⁷⁴Smith, *Thales Hastings Haskell*, 26; 27–28; Bleak, “Annals,” 180; James G. Bleak, “Diary of James Godson Bleak,” L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah, 1960, 78. The “Diary of James Godson Bleak” is also known as volume 2 of “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission.”

the late 1860s and lasted into the 1870s. As in the case of the Las Vegas Mission, a Mormon settlement later arose near the Moqui Mission, at Moenkopi, in 1874.⁷⁵

Notwithstanding the commencement of missionary work into new geographical areas, however, missionary work among the Paiutes along the Santa Clara River continued for at least a short time. In 1858, after the Las Vegas Mission ensued, a company of missionaries from Santa Clara showed a small camp of Paiutes living near the Virgin River how to irrigate their farmland, constructing a dam and ditches in the process. Likewise in 1858, the Santa Clara missionaries spent part of their time helping the Santa Clara Paiutes plant crops.⁷⁶

Nevertheless, the emphasis on missionary work in southern Utah had been decidedly shifted to new geographical areas. The Southern Indian Mission appears to have officially ended in 1862, when Young informed Hamblin to “extend his labors among the Lamanites.” Immediately thereafter, a substantial number of men in southern Utah were called to serve in the Moqui Mission, a reflection of the ensuing concentration of missionary efforts with the Moqui. Furthermore, after Young’s injunction to Hamblin to extend his missionary endeavors, the Southern Indian Mission was no longer mentioned in the official record of the mission. In 1870, the same mission record listed Hamblin as president of a new mission, the Indian Missions East and South East of the

⁷⁵Bleak, “Annals,” 45, 46, 54, 57, 112, 126, 128, 151–152; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 96–97, 118, 149; Bleak, “Diary,” 10, 263.

⁷⁶Smith, *Thales Hastings Haskell*, 27, 29.

Rio Virgen, formed to decrease Navajo raids on Mormon settlements.⁷⁷ This 1870 listing of a new mission indicates that had the Southern Indian Mission continued to exist after 1862, it likewise would have been recorded in the official mission records. Thus, the 1870 opening of the Indian Missions East and South East of the Rio Virgen, and no further mention of the Southern Indian Mission after 1862, are clear indications of the 1862 demise of the Southern Indian Mission.

⁷⁷Bleak, “Annals,” 111, 112, 126–128; Bleak, “Diary,” 10, 20, 45. For the final listing of the Southern Indian Mission in the “Annals of the Southern Utah Mission,” see page 101.

CHAPTER TWO

The Redemption of the House of Israel as a Reason for Conversion

Having established themselves in what was previously wilderness territory, the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay and the Mormons of Utah Territory each initiated missionary programs among the regional Indians in whose midst they had settled. The missions occurring in the Bay Colony and in southern Utah Territory were the result of those endeavors. The Puritans and Mormons engaged in, supporting, and overseeing the proselytization efforts of these two missions were both persuaded that the Indians they desired to Christianize were descendants of the House of Israel, a conclusion reached through scripture, scholarly findings, and personal observations. This conviction served as a major impetus for each religion's attempt to convert the natives, as they both understood the conversion of the House of Israel to be an important step in the cascade of events that were to precede the coming of Christ. As a result of this understanding, the missionaries perceived that the mission, and themselves, as laborers in the mission effort, were helping to fulfill the foreordained conversion of the House of Israel.

In keeping with traditional Christian theology, the Puritan and Mormon sects shared a number of common views concerning the phenomena that would occur prior to the second coming. The redemption and gathering of the House of Israel, in particular, was frequently prophesied of among Christian sects, including amid the Puritans and

Mormons, an attestation to its significant place in the world events foreshadowing Christ's return. Following the siege of the kingdom of Israel by the Assyrians, the ten tribes were taken northward and scattered worldwide. These lost ten tribes, Christian dogma decreed, would be introduced to, and would accept, the principles of Christianity practiced by their ancestors of old. The Puritans and Mormons of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, similar to today's Christians, frequently referred to the conversion of the House of Israel to Christianity as the "redemption" of the House of Israel. This term derived from the two denominations' belief that conversion would result in the Israelites being redeemed from their ignorance of the principles of Christianity. Following their acceptance of Christianity, the ten tribes would be gathered from their various dispersed locations to Israel—the land of their inheritance—and would rebuild the city of Jerusalem. The Puritans' and Mormons' views regarding the redemption and gathering of the House of Israel would help shape the missionary labors that took place in the Massachusetts Bay Colony and in southern Utah Territory.

During the course of the Bay Colony's proselytization efforts among the Indians, the reality of the long-awaited redemption of the House of Israel would become more apparent to Eliot and advocates of his endeavors. Such was the result of these individuals' determination that the New England Indians were of the blood of the House of Israel. Scriptures referring to the Indians, scholarly research, and the observations of Eliot and exponents of his work each played a part in convincing Eliot and his supporters of this fact. As a result of this belief, Eliot and those championing his cause were of the view that converting the natives to Christianity was a requisite endeavor.

Biblical passages and verses that appeared to designate the Indians as members of the House of Israel were one source of these Puritans' stance on the lineage of the region's natives. Eliot and persons maintaining the missionary cause arrived at this conclusion as a consequence of noting that the phenomena predicted in these scriptures seemed to correlate with the phenomena they observed in the Indians they were proselytizing among who were accepting Christianity. One passage John Dury, a proponent of proselytization among the New England indigenes, called his readers' attention to was that found in Ezekiel 37, in which the gathering of the House of Israel was compared to the bones of dead, decomposed bodies receiving flesh and regaining life. Dury pondered that this passage of scripture predicting the conversion of the ten tribes was discussed with the Indians during a lecture and professed that the verses "immediately concerned the persons to whom it was preached." Dury's reference to the Indians as the dry bones of Ezekiel 37 roused a response from Eliot. In his correspondence with Edward Winslow, a staunch supporter of the missionary activity occurring in New England, Eliot admitted to being intrigued with Dury's discussion of this passage and added circumstantial evidence that might confirm the validity of Dury's point of view. Eliot explained that he had heard of a report of the pirate Thomas Cromwell, in which Cromwell related that he had seen many circumcised Indians in an unspecified region south of Boston. Cromwell's statement, Eliot exclaimed, was "one of the most probable arguments" he had ever learned of that the Indians were of the ten tribes of Israel, that is, unless God himself would "please to clear it up" that the Indians were "some of those dry bones which Ezekiel speaketh of." Eliot's relating to Winslow

of Cromwell's report indicates that he was wondering himself if the Indians were part of the House of Israel described in Ezekiel 37.⁷⁸

Eliot came across additional scriptures that appeared to refer to the New England Indians and validated his opinion that the natives belonged to the House of Israel. When corresponding with Winslow on the theory of the Indians' Israelite ancestry, Eliot demonstrated a growing conviction that the Indians had indeed descended from the House of Israel. Eliot acknowledged that various scriptures prophesied that the promises of the Abrahamic covenant would spread as far as "the goings down of the Sunne." America could be included among the locations in which the covenant would be applied, Eliot argued. Furthermore, Eliot added, in God's renewal of the covenant with Jacob, Jacob had been promised that "a multitude of Nations" would descend from him. If the Israelites had migrated as far as America, this would help confirm the fulfillment of that promise. Such scriptural teachings "may be of help to our faith for these Indians," Eliot explained, particularly if it could be proven that the Israelites had indeed journeyed to America. Eliot's comment demonstrates his belief that these scriptures on the Abrahamic covenant might support his hunch that the Indians were of the House of Israel.⁷⁹

Scholarly studies on the ancestry of the American Indians further bolstered the conclusions of Eliot and his supporters that the native inhabitants of New England were the seed of the Israelites. The findings of Menasseh ben Israel and Thomas Thorowgood

⁷⁸Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 135; Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 128; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 86.

⁷⁹Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 119–120.

impacted the determination of Dury, Winslow, and Eliot that the Indians were of the House of Israel. Dury, for one, read a manuscript of Thorowgood arguing for the descent of the American Indians from the lost ten tribes. This reading prompted him to contact ben Israel to receive details of a report he had once heard of, a report in which some Israelites—presumably Indians—had been discovered in the mountains of Colombia. After obtaining these details, Dury related the account to Winslow. Like Dury, Winslow was persuaded that the New England Indians—and the American Indians at large—had descended from the House of Israel. Winslow endorsed this view in one of the Eliot tracts, explaining that ben Israel believed that the ten tribes of Israel had undoubtedly been transported to America and that “they had infallible tokens of their being there.” Aware of this theory on the Indians’ descent, Eliot corresponded with Winslow on the matter, as mentioned previously. Eliot asked Winslow to find out how ben Israel reached his decision that the ten tribes had come to America and to provide information as to when the migration occurred, the manner by which they were transported, the number that came over, and the locations they arrived at. Although ben Israel believed the American Indians were descendants of the Tartars rather than the lost tribes, his conviction that the lost tribes had immigrated to the Americas was significant in Eliot’s view. As Eliot explained to Winslow, he desired to research the origins of the Indians so as to “finde under what Covenant and Promise their fore-fathers have been.” Eliot then told

Winslow, as stated earlier, that he believed the American Indians probably were Israelites.⁸⁰

The studies of Thorowgood concerning the Israelite ancestry of the Indians of the Americas would play a pivotal role in Eliot's determination that the natives were part of the lost ten tribes. In *Iewes in America*, Thorowgood painstakingly detailed numerous findings showing the probability that the Indians under investigation had descended from the Israelites. Thorowgood amassed proof of the Indians' Israelite parentage from books, letters, and discussions with individuals who had traveled and resided in the American continents. From these sources, Thorowgood concluded, "The rites, fashions, ceremonies, and opinions of the Americans are in many things agreeable to the custome of the Jewes." The Indians' manner of dress, use of runners to convey messages, belief in a resurrection, and profuse weeping at burials are representative of the similarities Thorowgood noted between the American indigenes and the Israelites of old.⁸¹

Following the publication of Thorowgood's work proclaiming the likely Israelite lineage of the Indians of the Americas, Eliot wrote to Thorowgood, informing him of his own conclusions on the subject. After reading Thorowgood's study, Eliot explained, he

⁸⁰Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 110; Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 119; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 83–84.

⁸¹Thomas Thorowgood, *Iewes in America, or, Probabilities that the Americans are of that race* (London: W.H., 1650), 2, 6, 10, 13 (microfiche, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University). Thorowgood's reference in his quote to the American Indians as "Jewes" would seem to imply that he believed the natives to be descendants of the tribe of Judah. On the contrary, the use of the term "Jewes" to refer to the entire House of Israel was a common practice during this era.

searched the scriptures, “the best and surest record of all,” to ascertain whether the ancestral origins of the Indians were indeed Israelite. To this end, Eliot traced the settlement patterns of the descendants of Noah in order to demonstrate “how the world was first planted, and by whom the Easterne parts of the earth, and America were first peopled, and possessed.” As Eliot’s statement of his objectives indicates, the minister, at this point in time, considered America to be situated in the eastern hemisphere. Through his biblical investigation, Eliot apprehended that the first inhabitants of America had not only descended from the line of Shem, one of the three sons of Noah, but from Shem’s great-grandson Eber, whose offspring were the Ebrewes, or Hebrews. Eliot argued that since the ten tribes had been scattered to the East, they easily had been scattered to the farthest parts of the eastern hemisphere, including into America. “Hence therefore we may, not only with faith, but also with demonstration, say, that . . . these naked Americans are Hebrewes,” he declared.⁸² Eliot thus announced his belief in the Indians’ Israelite extraction.

Finally, the observations of Eliot and advocates of the missionary program concerning the New England Indians provided these individuals with substantiation that the Indians were the progeny of the Israelites. Eliot’s observance of the resemblance of the Indians’ language to Hebrew, to illustrate, further alerted him to the reality that the original inhabitants of America were the posterity of Eber, making them the offspring of the ten tribes of Israel. Eliot argued, “May it not be worth the searching after, whether all

⁸²John Eliot, “The learned Conjectures of Reverend Mr. John Eliot touching the Americans.” In *The Eliot Tracts*, 411, 417, 418–419, 420, 422.

the Easterne world, the posterity of Eber, have not more footsteps of the Hebrew language, at least in the gramatical frame of the language than the westerne world hath.” The minister continued, “It seemeth to me . . . that the gramatical frame of our Indian language cometh neerer to the Hebrew, than the Latine, or Greek do.”⁸³

Winslow similarly understood the Indians to be of the House of Israel, according to telltale signs he and others had seen manifested in their beliefs and practices. Winslow explained, for example, that he and numerous other individuals in New England had noted that the Indians were still adhering, on a daily basis, to a particular ceremony of the Law of Moses, namely, the alienation of women during menstruation. Winslow pointed out that this practice was no longer observed by any population yet was strictly observed by the New England Indians. Only the Israelites had practiced this ceremony as strictly as these Indians do, he remarked. Winslow added that the credence of the sober-minded Indians in a supreme being, the soul’s immortality, the flood, the existence of Moses, and “many other Circumstances well known to many” were all sound reasons for inferring that the natives belonged to the House of Israel. He concluded, “It is not lesse probable that these Indians should come from the Stock of Abraham, then any other Nation this day known in the world.”⁸⁴

The Israelite lineage of the indigenous population of New England was likewise propounded by Dury. This champion of the missionization endeavors authored a treatise validating the Indians’ Israelite ancestry; in his discourse, he observed that the New

⁸³Ibid., 421.

⁸⁴Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 110–111.

England Indians had some customs and religious beliefs that were peculiar solely to the Israelites. Dury wrote of the Indians' traditional belief in a principal God who created everything, despite the natives' mention of multiple gods; their genealogical practice of paying attention to who their relatives were and keeping track of their bloodlines; and a predilection of "the better and more sober sort of them" to speak in parables. Dury's interest was further grabbed by the Indians' persuasion that all things that befell them, whether good or ill, were determined by the will of God and were manifestations of his approbation or displeasure. Moreover, he was aware of the Indians' relation to the English of their ancestors having practiced, in the distant past, "some face of Religion, Wisdom, and manners," since lost. These manifestations and similar ones, the author stated, persuaded him that the Indians belonged to the House of Israel, particularly the lost ten tribes.⁸⁵

Eliot's position that the Indians were the posterity of the House of Israel constituted a principal reason for the minister's efforts to Christianize them, as he concurred with the Christian view that the conversion of the House of Israel comprised one of the major developments meant to presage Christ's return to earth. This same belief explains the support of proponents of the missionary endeavors occurring in New England.

In writing to Thorowgood, Eliot not only established his conclusion that the American Indians originated from the ten tribes of Israel, he demonstrated his conviction that the conversion of the natives was a fundamental part of the events to occur before the

⁸⁵Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 135–136.

coming of Christ. Eliot's argument on the descent of the American Indians was punctuated with discussions concerning the scattering and imminent gathering of the lost ten tribes. That Eliot combined a discussion of these two topics in his study attests to his faith in the inevitable gathering of the Indians due to their membership in the House of Israel. Eliot concurred with Christian doctrine that told of the gathering of the descendants of Israel prior to Christ's return; he depicted the gathering as a fixed, latter-day occurrence. "It is one of the great works of Christ in the last daies to finde up lost Israel, and bring them into his kingdom," Eliot wrote after arguing that the natives belonged to the House of Israel. Moreover, the gathering of the House of Israel was imminent, Eliot affirmed, a further indication of his expectation that the foretold gathering would take place previous to the coming of Christ. "The time is even at hand, wherein the people of God do waite for the accomplishment of that great work," he expressed. Prophecies regarding the noted event, along with a more recent "search, and inquiry" after the descendants of the House of Israel," Eliot explained, made it clear that the gathering was at the door. As the conversion of the Indians to Christianity was a prerequisite for their gathering, and as the gathering of the House of Israel would occur prior to the second coming, Eliot conclusively attempted to Christianize the Indians.⁸⁶

For those encouraging the missionary efforts in New England, the timing of the Indians' acceptance of Christianity indicated that the natives were in fact blood descendants of the Israelites. These missionary-minded individuals believed that because the conversion of the Indians was taking place close to the time that the conversion of the

⁸⁶Eliot, "The learned Conjectures," 410, 422.

House of Israel was predicted to occur, the natives' Israelite lineage could be inferred. Since the Indians were members of the House of Israel, their conversion to Christianity was bound to occur; that conversion, as in the case of the rest of the House of Israel, would predate the coming of Christ. Such views were set forth by Dury in his treatise concerning the Israelite descent of the New England Indians. Dury argued for a correlation between the receptivity of the Indians to Christianity and the prophesied redemption of the House of Israel, voicing his belief that the Indians undergoing conversion were indeed "the first fruits of the glorious harvest, of Israels redemption." The author additionally related his hope that the Israelite blood of the New England Indians meant that the missionary work occurring among them was a preparation for Christ's coming. Winslow conveyed sentiments similar to those of Dury. He expressed that it was especially probable that the Indians were descendants of Abraham because the time period in which "God hath opened their hearts to entertain the Gospel" was very close to the era that numerous divines, from scriptural evidence, had ascertained that the conversion of the House of Israel would occur.⁸⁷ Needless to say, Winslow undoubtedly also understood that the conversion of the natives of New England was to take place prior to Christ's return.

If the mission formed part of God's purposes for the Indians, the facilitators of the mission—the missionaries—had an important function in those aims. Eliot wrote numerous times that he believed he was doing God's work and that he had been wrought upon by God to initiate that work. After concluding that the Indians were descendants of

⁸⁷Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 111, 135, 136.

the House of Israel, Eliot continued to maintain that he was engaged in God's work. Eliot undoubtedly felt that he was participating in the preordained conversion of the House of Israel by attempting to Christianize the natives. Dury likely also believed the Bay Colony missionaries were playing a part in the same foretold event, as shown in his discussion concerning the Israelite ancestry of the New England Indians and the prophesied conversion of the House of Israel. In that treatise, Dury explained that although the Puritans initially fled to America to escape persecution from the leadership of the Anglican Church, they "doe now appeare to be carried there by a sacred and sweet providence of Christ" to teach the Indians about Christ.⁸⁸

Analogous to the Puritans, the Mormons' conviction that the Paiutes were descendants of the House of Israel constituted a major reason for their attempt to convert them. The Mormons did not rely on scholarly research to support their persuasion that the natives they sought to convert belonged to the House of Israel, as did the Puritans. However, they, like the Puritans, depended on scripture in forming their view of the Indians' ancestry. While the Puritans' scriptural basis for the Indians' Israelite origins was the Bible, the Mormons' scriptural foundation for the same beliefs was the Book of Mormon.

Doctrine found in the Book of Mormon regarding the Indians of North and South America served as the principal source of the southern Utah Mormons' assurance that the Paiutes of southern Utah had the blood of the House of Israel coursing through them. The Book of Mormon taught that the Indians of the American continents were descendants of

⁸⁸Eliot, *A Late and Further Manifestation*, 287; Winslow, *Glorious Progress*, 25.

the House of Israel by virtue of originating from two families who were of Israelite descent. The history of the North and South American Indians, according to the Book of Mormon, unfolded in approximately 600 B.C., when Lehi, a prophet residing in Jerusalem, was divinely instructed to leave Jerusalem to escape the wrath of fellow Jews who sought to take his life. Lehi accordingly took his family and journeyed into the Arabian Desert. Upon commencing their journey, a portion of the family returned to Jerusalem and persuaded one Ishmael, and his family, to also leave Jerusalem and go with them into the desert. Both families were descendants of the House of Israel, through the tribe of Joseph, as Lehi had descended from the tribe of Manasseh and Ishmael, Ephraim. While traveling in the desert, the children of Lehi and Ishmael intermarried and began producing offspring. The group eventually built a ship and sailed, under divine guidance, to the Americas, disembarking at an indeterminate location.⁸⁹

Approximately twenty years after arriving in the Americas, the group, as a result of discord, split into two factions, termed “Nephites” and “Lamanites.” Because the Lamanites had already begun to disregard the Christian precepts taught to them, the Book of Mormon explained, God cursed the Lamanites with dark skin to discourage the Nephites, who had continued to practice Christianity, from intermixing with them. Within time, the Nephite and Lamanite populations grew and spread over both American continents. After roughly one thousand years of dwelling in the Americas, the Lamanites

⁸⁹1 Nephi 1, 2, 7, 16, 17, 18; Alma 10.

annihilated the Nephite population, leaving themselves the sole occupants of the American continents.⁹⁰

Comparable to their Puritan predecessors whose observations about the Indians offered proof of the Indians' Israelite descent, the Mormon missionaries proselytizing among the Paiutes relied on their own impressions of the natives to further strengthen their understanding that the Paiutes belonged to the House of Israel. The extent to which the Mormon missionaries depended on their own observations of the Paiutes in forming this view is difficult to determine from the sources on missionary work in the Southern Indian Mission. However, the practice did occur. In describing the physical appearance of Chief Toquer, for example, Brown depicted him as having "the long straight black hair of Israel's race."⁹¹

Missionaries of the Southern Indian Mission, comparable to Eliot and those supporting his exertions, were of the opinion that their missionary work among the regional natives composed an integral step in the succession of happenings predating Christ's coming. In accordance with Christian teachings concerning the events that would precede the coming of Christ—doctrine also espoused by the Mormons—the members of the House of Israel would be taught the principles of Christianity prior to their being gathered in from their scattered locations. Mormon dogma—again, deriving from the Book of Mormon—contended that the Abrahamic covenant applied to the Indians of the North and South American continents as a result of their Israelite lineage,

⁹⁰2 Nephi 5; Jacob 1; Mormon 8.

⁹¹Brown, *Journal*, 44.

designating them a covenant people. Despite their long-standing rejection of Christianity, therefore, the Indians were to receive the blessings promised them, the materialization of which would occur at a future juncture. Under the terms of those blessings, the natives would be taught the principles of Christianity and would learn of the covenants that applied to them as members of the House of Israel. The predicted return of the Indians to Christianity was frequently referred to in the Book of Mormon as the Indians' acceptance of the Christianity practiced by their original forefathers, defined as those who had immigrated from the Near East to the Americas. The phenomenon of the Indians' acceptance of Christianity was an event promised by God to these forefathers.

The Gentiles, considered by the Mormons and other Christian sects to be the antithesis of the House of Israel, had a specific, preordained role in the accomplishment of the conversion of the Indians to Christianity, in that they had been set apart to teach Christianity to the Indians. The Book of Mormon established this doctrine concerning the Gentiles' duty toward the Indians. The Mormons were persuaded that they were the Gentiles mentioned in the Book of Mormon who would accomplish these tasks. This conclusion resulted from the Mormons' knowledge that, due to their European ancestry, they were non-literal descendants of the House of Israel. Hence, the Mormons felt that they had a particular obligation to perform missionary work among the Indians.

The Mormons' encompassing belief that the Indians of North and South America were the progeny of the House of Israel, of course, applied more narrowly to the Indians of a given locale in which the Mormons were congregated, including the Paiutes of southern Utah Territory. The region's missionaries, seeking to fulfill their missionary

duties, took it for granted that the forefathers of the Paiutes were the Children of Israel. The missionaries' references to the Paiutes as descendants of the House of Israel, found in their accounts of the mission, demonstrates this conviction. When reporting that the missionaries would be leaving the following day to visit the Paiutes, Brown used the name "Israel" as a synonym for the Paiutes, explaining that they wanted to see how "Israel lies scattered in the south." Brown's allusion to the Paiutes belonging to the particular tribe of Ephraim additionally illustrates the missionaries' certainty that they were working with the lineage of the Children of Israel. "Oh how Ephraim has fallen!" exclaimed Brown. These participants in the missionary cause were also the recipients of church leaders' speeches focusing on the missionaries' duty to convert the Paiutes. Such addresses took place during church leaders' tours of the mission that occurred during the course of its existence. Church leaders, in these discourses to the missionaries, applied to the Paiutes the Mormon credence that the Indians of the Americas were the progeniture of the House of Israel. As a case in point, Young, during a lecture of this type in which he encouraged the mission laborers to perform the tasks they had been sent to accomplish, depicted the indigenous people as the posterity of the Israelites. "You are to save the remnants of Israel in these mountains," he directed the assemblage. Parley P. Pratt, another church leader who advised the missionaries regarding their missionary responsibilities among the Paiutes, also spoke of the Paiutes' Israelite ancestry, nominating them "the descendants of the ancient prophets" who had come from "a royal race."⁹²

⁹²Brown, *Journal*, 29, 34, 37, 45.

As discussed previously, Eliot and supporters desiring to convert the Massachusetts two centuries earlier perceived the mission as effecting a consequential part of the events foretelling Christ's coming—specifically, the conversion of the House of Israel—and understood that the missionaries played a role in the materialization of that occurrence. The missionaries of the Southern Indian Mission, along with Mormon church leaders overseeing their proselytization efforts, viewed the mission and themselves, as laborers in the proselytization efforts, in a corresponding manner. Brown, for example, recorded the purpose of the mission to the Paiutes as being one of civilization and instruction for the natives so that they might receive the blessings due to them as a result of the good works of, and promises given to, their forefathers. While Brown was likely referring to the Paiutes' forefathers specified in the Book of Mormon, he may have also been alluding to the Paiutes' Biblical forefathers, namely, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, who likewise engaged in good deeds and to whom promises had been extended. Whichever group of forefathers Brown was speaking of—if not both sets—his explanation of the mission's purpose reveals an understanding that the mission would assist in fulfilling a notable event in the series of occurrences that foretold the return of Christ, specifically, the return of the House of Israel to Christianity. In another instance, Hamblin described himself rejoicing that God's work among "his people" had begun and added that he felt he was a "yousefull instrument" in God's hand for the gathering of Israel. Missionaries of the Southern Indian Mission, in at least one instance, preached to congregational members in southern Utah concerning the gathering of the Indians. To illustrate, Hamblin and fellow proselytizers David Lewis and Samuel F. Atwood spoke to

members in Cedar City in 1854 on the gathering of the Lamanites.⁹³ Although Hamblin did not specify whether the missionaries spoke about the gathering of the Paiutes, their talk most likely covered the gathering of the Paiutes, considering that the southern Utah Mormons resided among the Paiute population and missionary work among the Paiutes was emphasized. The missionaries' address to congregational members on this subject further attests to the missionaries' confidence that the mission, and they, as assistants in it, were playing a role in the gathering by seeking to convert the Paiutes.

Church leaders directing the affairs of the Southern Indian Mission were also convinced that the missionaries were implementing a significant component of the happenings to take place in anticipation of Christ's coming. Young, for one, manifested this conviction during an address to the missionaries, in which he expressed his belief that the Mormons were brought to Utah Territory in order to perform missionary work among the Indians. To the crowd, Young proclaimed, "God planted us here in the vallies of Ephraim, our business is to save Israel, we are brought to these vallies for a good purpose. . . . our duty is to be diligent in saving Israel, if we are not faithful, we will be removed, and others placed in our stead." As the church leader's utterance makes clear, Young believed that the Mormons' decision to settle in Utah was not simply due to an availability of land. Pratt was additionally convinced that the missionaries were aides in the conversion of the House of Israel. In a speech given to the missionaries soon after their arrival in southern Utah, Pratt told the assemblage that they were meant to lead "the Covenant"—meaning, the covenant people—to salvation. "We are the people to do this,

⁹³Brown, *Journal*, 3; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 26–27, 34.

and fulfil the sayings of the Prophets,” Pratt enunciated. “Save the remnants of the house of Israel,” Pratt urged the audience.⁹⁴

The Puritans and Mormons shared a persuasion that the Indians they desired to convert were the progeny of the Israelites. Scriptures, scholarly findings, and firsthand observations pointed these enthusiasts to this determination. Acknowledging that the conversion of the House of Israel composed one of the prophesied events meant to transpire previous to Christ’s second coming, the two sects each endeavored to Christianize the natives. To achieve this aim, the Puritans and Mormons would dually utilize the association and example of their missionaries and congregational members as a primary conversion method.

⁹⁴Brown, *Journal*, 29, 34.

CHAPTER THREE

Association and Example as a Means to Conversion

The Puritans and Mormons shared a common ideology concerning the ancestry of the Indians, believing the natives to be direct descendants of the House of Israel. This credence motivated the two denominations to attempt to convert the natives. For generations, the Puritans and Mormons were convinced, the Indians had lacked a knowledge of Christianity; a restoration of this knowledge would occur as an important part of the events that would take place before the return of Christ, specifically, the conversion of the House of Israel. The Puritans and Mormons understood that they were meant to play a role in this restoration of knowledge and consequently placed upon their own shoulders the burden of proselytization of Christianity to the Indians. Determining to fulfill their duty toward the Israelite descendants living in their midst, the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay and the Mormons of southern Utah each employed, as a principal method of converting the natives, the association and example of their missionaries and congregational members (the latter of whom, for the most part, will be termed “colonists” in the ensuing discussion of the Puritans and “settlers” in the corresponding treatment of the Mormons). The Puritans and Mormons of these two locales not only used the association and example of their missionaries and congregational members as a method of converting the Indians, they applied this technique in a parallel manner. To forward

conversion through association and example, the Puritans and Mormons engaged in efforts to control the caliber of colonists (or settlers) and missionaries arriving at the Massachusetts Bay and southern Utah settlements. The two denominations further attempted to convert the natives through association and example by reminding colony leaders, colonists (or settlers), and missionaries of the need for these latter two groups to behave commendably in their interactions with the Indians and to act as prototypes of desired Indian behavior. Finally, the two religious groups advanced conversion by means of association and example through the proximity of the residences of their congregational members and missionaries to the abodes of the Indians among whom they were proselytizing. This adjacency of habitations allowed for frequent interactions between the Puritans and Mormons and the respective Indian tribes among whom they were missionizing, giving the two religious sects the ability to influence the Indians to convert to Christianity or to at least adopt elements of Christian behavior and lifestyle. A discussion of the Puritans' application of these three methods, followed by an analysis of the Mormons' use of the same means, demonstrates the two religions' employment of the conversion technique of association and example and their corresponding implementation of that technique.

The Puritans utilized the association and example of colonists and missionaries as a way to convert the Indians by attempting to monitor the quality of colonists and missionaries journeying to the Bay Colony. This endeavor was made evident in the Puritans' request that colonists and missionaries intending to reside in the Bay Colony have particular, noteworthy qualities, a request that was manifested in a two-step

approach. The first step occurred previous to both settlement in the Bay Colony and the initiation of missionary work there, when the Puritans asked that only individuals having ingrained, meritorious characteristics choose the Bay Colony as their new residence. The Puritans hoped that praiseworthy qualities emanating from the Colony's residents would persuade the Indians of the region to convert to Christianity. Proponents of settlement in New England planned that the colonists' example would perform a principal role in the conversion of the Indians. The Bay Colony charter, which urged the future colonists to "win and incite the natives to . . . the Christian faith" through their "good life and orderly conversation," was evidence of this fact. So were the statements of settlement advocates. In 1629, Matthew Cradock, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company prior to Winthrop, encouraged leaders of the settlement at Salem, one of several English settlements already operating within the Bay Colony, to draw the Indians to Christianity through their favorable example. "Their doctrine will hardly be well esteemed whose persons are not revered," Cradock added. The following year, John White, a clergyman who heavily promoted establishing the Bay Colony, wrote in *The Planters Plea* that the way of life of the English would facilitate religion amid the Indians. White, undoubtedly understanding that the very success of the missionary cause depended on the quality of the associations between the Puritans and Indians, requested that those English planning to migrate to the colony have specific, meritable attributes. He explained, "Men nourished up in idleness, unconstant, and affecting novelties, unwilling, stubborn, inclined to faction, covetous, luxurious, prodigal, and generally . . . habituated to any gross evil, are not fit members of a colony." Only those individuals who were notably

pious, frugal, industrious, constant, sober, honest, and austere could be examples to the Indians, he expounded.⁹⁵

The second part of the Puritans' two-step approach to requesting that colonists and missionaries seeking to live in the Bay Colony have certain commendable traits occurred after the Puritans had formed settlements in the Bay Colony and initiated missionary labors among the Indians of the area. At this juncture, Eliot asked that individuals coming to join the missionary force possess and exhibit good characteristics so as to support, rather than undermine, the cause of converting the natives. In soliciting laborers and craftsmen to advance the missionary effort, Eliot asked for individuals with upstanding characters. The minister, when appealing to the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England to send either one carpenter or two male servants to help the praying Indians build Natick, specified that if the Society approved of his request, the assistants be godly and "of a good spirit." As these workers would be employed among the Indians, they might cause a lot of harm if they had ill dispositions, Eliot avowed. Conversely, he hypothesized, if they were meek and honest and possessed good temperaments, they might be able to greatly forward the work. When again petitioning the Society for an individual to assist at Natick, Eliot explained that if the mission was able to afford "a discreet diligent man" who could toil alongside the Indians and direct them in their work, it would significantly further the missionary labors. In both appeals

⁹⁵Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 1, 5; Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, 3rd ed., 94.

to the Society, Eliot requested that the individuals sent to the Colony possess specific laudable qualities.⁹⁶

Eliot's comments to the Society illustrate his understanding that poor examples of the Puritans could have a detrimental effect on the Massachusetts' desire to learn more about Christianity. During the course of his missionary endeavors among the natives, Eliot expressed frustration with some of the individuals sent to the Bay Colony to assist in the missionary work. Eliot believed these persons fell short of the types required for the work, and he certainly did not consider such "subcandidates" individuals the Indians should emulate. In explaining one of the reasons why he was training Christian Indians at Natick to serve as church officers rather than making use of Englishmen for the task, Eliot declared, "What comes from England is liable to hazard and uncertainties." Eliot voiced his dissatisfaction with the missionary laborers sent by the Anglican Church, stating, "It is a reproach to our Religion that when we professe an Intention of Convertinge those Indians we send nott persons meett for such worke but such only as wee cann well spare and most Commonly those that are a burden to our selves."⁹⁷

Shepard additionally realized that Puritans lacking admirable qualities could undermine the missionaries' attempts to convert the Indians. Shepard believed that an incident in which Roger Williams's breaking of the Sabbath in Rhode Island affected some Narragansetts' interest in Christianity was evidence enough of the effect

⁹⁶Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 128, 143.

⁹⁷Eliot, *A Brief Narrative*, 401–402; John Eliot, "Sir John Eliot's Copy of the New England Tracts," in *Winthrop Papers*, 2:148.

unsatisfactory Puritan examples could have on potential Indian converts. Shepard reported that Eliot, in a conversation with a Narragansett sachem,⁹⁸ asked him why his people never learned about Christianity from Williams, since he lived among the Narragansetts for a number of years. The sachem soberly stated that his people were not interested in investigating the Christian religion from Williams because they did not consider him a good person, as he worked on the Sabbath. Shepard mentioned this particular example, he wrote, “to shew what the ill example of English may doe.”⁹⁹ The comments of Eliot and Shepard demonstrate their desire that the attempt to use the examples of the Puritans as a conversion tool not be sabotaged.

Similar to the Puritans missionizing among the Indians, the Mormons proselytizing amidst the Paiutes made use of the association and example of both missionaries and settlers as a method for converting the Indians residing in the vicinity by endeavoring to control the type of settlers and missionaries inhabiting southern Utah Territory. A speech given by George A. Smith in 1867 reveals this to be the case. While addressing Salt Lake City Mormons on the prosperity of the settlements of southern Utah, Smith related that the majority of the southern Utah inhabitants had been sent to the area as missionaries. In his use of the word “missionaries,” the church leader most likely was referring to both settlers and proselytizing missionaries, as both of these groups of individuals were asked by church leaders to serve missions in southern Utah. For the

⁹⁸The sachem is unidentified; Cogley asserts that he was probably Auquontis (Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 187).

⁹⁹Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 45.

former group, these were settlement missions, while for the latter cohort, they were proselytizing missions. Smith continued, “The people who were sent on that mission, and who have remained in the country, are those who are willing to do what is required of them, and determined to fulfil the laws and commandments of God.”¹⁰⁰ Smith’s address clearly manifests that residents of southern Utah had been hand-picked to live in the arid region.

Like their Puritan predecessors, the Mormons additionally determined, as part of the technique of converting the natives through association and example, to remind missionaries and settlers to treat the Paiutes in a commendable manner and to serve as good examples to them. The frequent injunction given to missionaries and settlers to perform these dual duties came from individuals at various levels of responsibility and involvement in the Southern Indian Mission. Church leaders, mission leaders, and missionaries, working jointly to secure a successful outcome for the mission, continually reminded missionaries and settlers of their responsibilities in this regard. Supervising the affairs of the mission was Young, who described, in his letters to the missionaries, the manner in which the latter were to treat the Paiutes. In a letter composed in 1854, Young advised the Harmony missionaries, when working among the Paiute tribes during their visits to them, to demonstrate their interest in the natives and to spend enough time with them. Young explained that “constant attention” was required “to improve them, and to improve ourselves in our intercourse with them.” In additional letters to the missionaries, Young further delineated the quality of interactions the missionaries should have with the

¹⁰⁰George A. Smith, in *Journal of Discourses*, 12:385.

Paiutes. In a letter addressed in 1857 to Allen and the other missionaries, he wrote, “I desire a continuance of the same policy you have practiced among the Indians, viz forbearance and kindness.” Young further informed Allen that he wanted the missionaries to visit the Paiutes during the summer and fall and, in so doing, continue to “manifest to them, that we are their friends, and seek to do them good.” In a letter he penned several months later, in which he informed Hamblin that he would be replacing Allen as president of the mission, Young wrote, “Continue the conciliatory policy towards the Indians which I have ever commended, and seek by works of righteousness, to obtain their love and confidence.” In a final example, Young, in a letter written in 1858, specifically informed Hamblin that those missionaries sent to teach the Paiutes how to raise livestock and grain should not “eat it up for them.”¹⁰¹ As these letters demonstrate, Young consistently and plainly informed the missionaries to treat the Paiutes with attentiveness, forbearance, kindness, conciliation, and honesty, all of which translated into favorable behavior toward the Paiutes.

Young not only intended that the missionaries act commendably toward the Paiutes, he additionally desired that they set an example for the Paiutes of the same conduct. This approach is manifested in a letter Young wrote to Hamblin in 1858, wherein he informed him of his wish that the missionaries combine example with instruction in particular principles when engaged in missionary labors among the Paiutes. Young told Hamblin that the missionaries should not only carefully respect the rights of

¹⁰¹Brown, *Journal*, 85; Brigham Young to Elder Rufus C. Allen and the Indian Mission South (March 1, 1857), Salt Lake City; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 47, 55.

the Paiutes, but also persuasively teach the Paiutes to do the same in their interactions with others, “thus cultivating honor and good principles in their midst by example as well as precept.”¹⁰²

Pratt also urged the missionaries and settlers to behave considerately toward the Paiutes and serve as praiseworthy examples to them. This church leader exhorted the missionaries and settlers to treat the Paiutes with kindness. “If you cannot yet talk with them,” Pratt articulated, “there is one language that all can understand and feel—kindness, sympathy, this they can feel.” Pratt explained that if the missionaries and settlers fed, clothed, and instructed the Paiutes, in a year’s time, the Paiutes would “more than repay” them for their expenditure. Pratt not only urged the missionaries and settlers to treat the Paiutes kindly, he asked them to be patient with them. Finally, Pratt requested that the missionaries and settlers set commendable examples for the Paiutes “in all matters.” When serving as president of the mission, Allen also specified the manner in which the Mormons should treat the Paiutes. “We were sent to be the Indian’s friend,” Allen succinctly told the Harmony missionaries and settlers assembled before him.¹⁰³

Missionaries likewise attempted to persuade each other, along with the settlers living amongst them, to be mindful of the manner in which they treated the Paiutes and to act as models of the demeanor they hoped to instill in them. The frequent mission meetings the missionaries held, at times in the company of settlers, were a typical scene for such reminders. During one gathering of missionaries and settlers that occurred

¹⁰²Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 55–56.

¹⁰³Brown, *Journal*, 20, 34–35.

following the missionaries' arrival in Harmony, missionary Robert Ritchie encouraged all present to set exemplary examples for the Indians. At another meeting at Harmony, this time likely attended solely by missionaries, Brown and Lewis convinced the missionaries to accept Toquer's offer to cultivate his land. The two missionaries told the group that cultivating Toquer's land would be a sermon to him of their friendship and would "fulfill a promise," which indicates that the missionaries had previously made an agreement with the chief to cultivate his land.¹⁰⁴ The fact that the argument of Brown and Lewis included a mention of friendship and fulfillment of a promise attests to these missionaries' intent to treat the Paiutes properly, as advised by their leaders.

At times, the reminders given to missionaries and settlers to behave thoughtfully toward the Paiutes and serve as patterns of desired behavior came as the result of wrongdoings on the part of these two groups of individuals. During his discourse to the missionaries and settlers, Pratt, for instance, told the crowd that their wrestling, gambling, and "jumping"¹⁰⁵ in the presence of the Paiutes was setting a poor example—an example of idleness—for these Indians. This was the opposite of what the group ought to teach the Paiutes, Pratt argued. Pratt then asked the assemblage to avoid these activities. Pratt subsequently ordered the group to "cease making game" of the Paiutes, which indicates that one or more persons listening to him had teased the natives. Pratt explained that the

¹⁰⁴Brown, *Journal*, 27, 37–38.

¹⁰⁵The "jumping" mentioned here probably refers to jumping contests.

Paiutes had already suffered greatly for ages due to the disobedience of their fathers,¹⁰⁶ undoubtedly referring to their Lamanite ancestors described in the Book of Mormon.

For the Pine Valley missionaries, their reminder to treat the Paiutes well came in the form of a chastisement. Pine Valley, located at the source of the Santa Clara River, had been settled by missionaries from Santa Clara. The Pine Valley missionaries were constructing a sawmill and had been using water from the Santa Clara to saw pine logs. However, insufficient rain had fallen that season, resulting in the Santa Clara being nearly dried up. The missionaries at Pine Valley resultantly dammed up, for their own use, the water that normally flowed to the Santa Clara settlement, an action initially unbeknownst to the Mormons and Paiutes at Santa Clara. What *was* evident was that the drying riverbed threatened to ruin the crops of both the Paiutes and missionaries at the settlement. In response to this problem, Chief Tutsegavits, head chief of the Santa Clara Paiutes, complained to Hamblin about the matter, informing him that the missionaries at Pine Valley were using up the water from the Santa Clara. The chief reminded Hamblin that he had told him the Pine Valley missionaries would only use the water to saw logs. Explaining that his corn was dying from lack of water, the chief asked Hamblin what he would feed his children when winter approached. After listening to the chief's concerns, Hamblin told the missionaries at Santa Clara to let the Paiutes use the remaining water from the Santa Clara to water their corn, which they readily agreed to do. Hamblin then chastised the Pine Valley missionaries for their stinginess with the water. In his relation of this account, Hamblin expressed surprise at the actions of the missionaries at Pine

¹⁰⁶Brown, *Journal*, 35.

Valley, stating that they had been sent to the Paiutes to teach them how to farm, yet had taken their water.¹⁰⁷

An additional means by which the Puritans and Mormons employed the use of association and example of their missionaries and congregational members to convert the Indians occurred through the proximity of the residences of the missionaries and congregational members to the Indians among whom the missionaries were proselytizing. The nearness of the Puritan and Mormon communities to these Indians permitted the Puritans and Mormons to readily associate with the Indians. These associations materialized into opportunities whereby these two religious groups could serve as praiseworthy examples to the Indians with the hope that such would impact their conversion. Such associations also provided chances for the Puritans and Mormons to directly urge the Indians to convert to Christianity or, at a minimum, embrace the lifestyle and behavior of Christians.

The Puritans advanced conversion by way of association and example through the proximity of the residences of the Indian proselytes and the English colonists and missionaries. The Indians' close residence to English towns created conditions for intermingling between the two peoples, providing an added method by which the Puritans made use of example and association to convert the natives. Interactions between the Indian proselytes and English colonists and missionaries began soon after the missionaries began preaching to the Massachusetts, Pawtuckets, and

¹⁰⁷Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 43, 44; Richard Ira Elkins, *Ira Hatch: Indian Missionary, 1835–1909* (Bountiful, Utah: n.p., 1984), 33–34.

Nipmucks interacted with the English at various English towns in the Bay Colony, prior to and following the founding of Natick, as a result of residing close to those towns. Association between the Indian proselytes and the English missionaries and colonists took place at towns such as Cambridge, Roxbury, Concord, Sudbury, and Dorchester, as well as the praying town of Natick.

The Indians' habitation in towns near the English provided a direct mechanism by which the English could influence the Indians through association and example, thereby assisting their conversion. Shepard plainly explained, one year following the initiation of preaching among the Massachusetts, the benefits of having the Indians reside in such towns, in close proximity to the English. By living in towns near the English, he wrote, the Indians would be "neare unto good examples"—the English—who could teach the Indians principles of Christianity, an action he described as "dropping into them of the things of God," and continually incite them to live those principles. The most good for the Indians could be accomplished by having them reside in towns near the English, Shepard argued.¹⁰⁸ Shepard's ideas on the potential results of proximate habitation would materialize during the course of the colony's missionization efforts among the Indians, as the close habitation of the two civilizations resulted in opportunities for interaction that were determining factors in the conversion of the Indians. These episodes of fraternizing occurred through three major means: Indians' visits to colonists' homes, a myriad of miscellaneous interactions between colonists and Indians, and associations between missionaries and Indians. Each of these types of associations played a role in the natives'

¹⁰⁸Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 4.

conversion to Christianity or the lifestyle and behavior expected of constituents of the same religion.

Much of the association that influenced the Indians' conversion happened at the homes of the English colonists. Whether living at or visiting Nonantum, Neponset, Concord, or Natick, the Indians' proximity to the English provided convenient opportunities for the Indians to visit the English at their homes. These visits furnished the English with ready occasions to further the Indians' conversion to Christianity through religious discussions, whichever stage of conversion the given Indian was at. In their confessions, numerous Indians stated that they had visited the residences of the English and that their visits resulted in religious conversations. Based on the confessions of the Indians, three types of religious discussions occurred at the homes of the English: the teaching of Christian principles, an appraisal of the visiting Indian's current spiritual state, and the suggestion that the Indian convert to Christianity.¹⁰⁹

The colonists regularly taught the Indians Christian precepts during their visits.¹¹⁰ This instruction furthered the natives' knowledge of Christian doctrine, a knowledge that was considered a necessary part of the conversion process. Waban, William of Sudbury, Poquanum, and Wutásakómpauin each explained that they were taught Christian doctrine

¹⁰⁹Eliot and Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance*, 229, 231, 232, 253, 256; Eliot, *A further Account*, 373, 389, 393, 394.

¹¹⁰The sources on Puritan missionary activity occurring in the Bay Colony often do not specify whether the colonists the Indians were visiting were missionaries or congregational members. When such sources do not indicate that these colonists were missionaries, I have assumed they were congregational members. However, some of these visits may have taken place in the homes of missionaries.

while visiting the English. The existence and nature of God was one topic known to have frequently arisen in the conversations between the colonists and Indians. Assessments of the visiting Indian's spirituality, within the framework of Christian expectations, also took place during these visits. Waban stated that when he went to the homes of the English, the English told him he "loved the Devil," a declaration that indicates they deemed him far from the spiritual state they desired him to be at. The English uttered a similar expression to William of Sudbury; he recounted, "They said the Devil was my god." Lastly, during the Indians' visits, the English suggested that the Indians convert to Christianity. Totherswamp and Anthony both explained that during their visits to English homes, the English encouraged them to become practicing Christians.¹¹¹

Beyond the association that occurred between the Indians and English during visits to English homes, a variety of other interactions took place between the two groups. Work-based interactions were one type of association that transpired between the two societies. At Nonantum, the Indians assisted the English in harvesting crops and hay. At Cambridge, Waban tended livestock for the English. Local church members, such as Isaac Heath and William Parke, Edward Jackson, and Simon Willard—from the respective towns of Roxbury, Cambridge, and Concord—taught the Christian Indians how to perform tasks such as husbandry and carpentry.¹¹² As the Indians and English worked for and with each other, opportunities existed for the Indians to observe the

¹¹¹Eliot and Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance*, 229, 231, 232, 234, 253, 256; Eliot, *A further Account*, 373, 389, 393, 394; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 20, 71.

¹¹²Shepard, *Clear Sunshine*, 42; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 71.

English manner and way of life. Religious conversations may also have transpired during these engagements. Therefore, the association between the Indians and English that occurred due to work projects likely were an influencing factor in the progression of the Indians' conversion.

The establishment of the praying town of Natick provided an additional opportunity for the Indians to live near and associate with the English. As stated formerly, Massachusetts, Nipmuck, and Pawtucket proselytes resided at the location. With at least two hundred Indians dwelling at Natick by 1654, the year the noted Roxbury confessions took place, likely some, if not many, of the Natick inhabitants visited the English at nearby towns. The English colonists likewise visited the Indians at Natick. As mentioned previously, during the construction of the praying town, a few Englishmen helped the natives build the palisade fort and house. In 1651, thirty English, including the governor of the colony, came to Natick to view the progress of the town's construction. The confessions occurring at Natick in 1652 presented the English with an additional motive to travel to the town; magistrates, ministers (including those who were missionaries), and other Christians appeared at Natick for this event. Many other English visits to Natick most likely occurred beyond these named.¹¹³ Due to the traffic of Indians and English between Natick and surrounding English towns, the founding of Natick undoubtedly affected the town's residents in their various stages of conversion in the same ways as did the work-related associations that took place between the two societies.

¹¹³Whitfield, *Strength out of Weaknesse*, 174; Eliot and Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance*, 244; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 111, 126–127.

Other accounts of interaction between Indian proselytes and colonists do not always specify the towns or scenes at which the interplay transpired. Nonetheless, these associations additionally influenced those Indians treading the path of Christian conversion, either through the Indians' adoption of aspects of the English lifestyle—if not behavior, as well—or by an increased desire on the part of the Indians to convert. Waban stated in one of his confessions that he adopted the work ethic of the English, which indicates that he had observed their work habits and found them admirable. However, he did not enumerate the towns or scenes at which he had seen the English working. In another incident, again involving Waban, the native engaged in a religious conversation with Jackson, resulting in Jackson expressing to Waban that he should convert to Christianity. This suggestion thereafter prompted Waban to consider doing exactly that. As in the case of the previous example involving Waban, in his account of this conversation, Waban did not name the town or scene at which he spoke with Jackson.¹¹⁴

The missionaries' association with the Indians, beyond the immediate sphere of their lectures, was likewise made possible by their proximity to the Indians and similarly furthered the natives' conversion to Christianity. Fraternizing between the missionaries and Indian proselytes occurred at various locations. The missionaries' conversations with Indians at the homes of the missionaries were one means by which such interaction took place. As in the case of the colonists, these discussions occurred during the Indians' visits to the missionaries' homes. Instances of such conversations transpired at the home

¹¹⁴Eliot and Mayhew, *Tears of Repentance*, 231, 232; Eliot, *A further Account*, 394; Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission*, 71.

of Edmund Brown, a minister at Sudbury who additionally preached to the Indians. During a visit of William of Sudbury, Brown told the Indian that he wasn't sincere when he stated he would remain a Christian all of his life. Wutásakómpauin stated that Brown told him to convert to Christianity while he was visiting him. Brown even asked William of Sudbury, during a visit to his house, to cut his hair, a change in appearance that the Puritans considered a necessary part of the conversion process. Eliot also cited instances where the Indian proselytes were visiting him at his house.¹¹⁵

The building of Natick similarly provided chances for the missionaries and Indians to affiliate with one another, likely affecting the Indians' conversion. Eliot frequently met with the praying Indians to inform them to take the next step in constructing Natick, directing them to cut grass for feed, cut timber for the house, and measure and divide lots, for example. At times, the preacher instructed them how to perform these tasks and worked alongside the Indians to accomplish them; Eliot, for instance, mentioned teaching the Indians how to measure and divide the lots and also recorded carrying timber for the house and helping to build the footbridge. Religious meetings or discussions transpired during at least one of these instances of joint work projects. After helping the Indians construct the footbridge, for example, Eliot gathered the Christian Indians together, prayed with them, and lectured from scripture, all on site.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵*Glorious Progress*, 123; *Clear Sunshine*, 17.

¹¹⁶Whitfield, *Light appearing*, 138, 139; Whitfield, *Strength out of Weaknesse*, 168.

Through their associations with the Massachusetts, the missionaries helped them progress in their obedience to and acceptance of Christian principles. An instance in which this assistance occurred took place in a conversation between two young Indian men and an unnamed minister—who was almost certainly also a missionary—at the minister’s house one Sabbath evening. During the conversation, one of the young men admitted to the minister “how wickedly he had lived” and confessed that he had committed sexual transgressions with a number of Indian women. After this, God would never approve of him, he insisted. The minister reassured him that while his was a serious sin, if he confessed, repented, and petitioned God to forgive him on behalf of Christ, mercy would be granted him. The minister proceeded to relate the account, found in John 4, of Christ’s forgiveness of the Samaritan woman, who, the minister explained, likewise had “lived in that sinne of filthinesse.” Upon hearing this, the young man wept and lamented bitterly for his sin. The young Indian accompanying him then admitted having engaged in the same sin and also wept with regret.¹¹⁷ The reaction of these two young men serves as an example of how the Indians’ interactions with missionaries resulted in a furtherance of the Indians’ acceptance of Christianity.

Similar to the Puritans laboring among the Massachusetts, the Mormons proselytizing among the Paiutes implemented the association and example of their congregational members and missionaries for the purpose of converting the natives, through the close residences of these individuals to the Paiutes. The interactions resulting from this proximity directly facilitated both the Paiutes’ conversion to Christianity and

¹¹⁷[Shepard?], *Day-Breaking*, 19–20.

their decision to modify facets of their behavior and lifestyle to reflect that of Christians. As in the case of the Massachusetts Bay colonists, the Mormon settlers of southern Utah lived near the Paiutes of the region and consequently were able to influence their conversion. The settlers at Harmony, for example, lived close to the Paiutes, allowing for frequent interactions between them and the Paiutes. The members of Harmony employed the Paiutes to help build their settlements. The settlers of southern Utah further employed Paiutes as guides during at least one exploring expedition. The Indians also spent time at the Mormons' homes; Lee mentioned several instances of visits from the Paiutes and also recorded that the settlers baptized some of the Paiutes who had visited them.¹¹⁸

As in the case of the southern Utah settlers, the missionaries' residence at Harmony and Santa Clara afforded them close proximity to the Paiutes, and thus plenty of opportunities for interaction. Frequent association resulted between the two peoples in various forms. The Paiutes' visits to Harmony and Santa Clara constituted one way by which the Paiutes and missionaries had contact with each other. In addition, the Paiutes residing near Harmony and Santa Clara were hired by the missionaries to help build the settlements at these two locations. For instance, at Harmony, the Paiutes cleared land and assisted in various aspects of fence building, while at Santa Clara, the Paiutes helped the

¹¹⁸John Steele, "Diary of John Steele," L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; John D. Lee, *A Mormon Chronicle: The Diaries of John D. Lee, 1848–1876*, eds. and annots. Cleland and Brooks, vol. 1, Salt Lake City, 1983; Brown, *Journal*, 21.

missionaries clear land, construct the fort and dam, and cultivate the one-hundred-acre farm.¹¹⁹

The missionaries rendered assistance to the Paiutes in various facets of farming, giving the two peoples additional circumstances to associate with one another. As mentioned earlier, the missionaries taught improved farming techniques to various bands of southern Utah Paiutes and helped them build irrigation canals to water their crops. The missionaries engaged in additional activities designed to help the Paiutes grow and utilize more crops: They gave seeds to the Paiutes, taught them how to store crops, and monitored the progress of their farming. These activities offered further chances for fraternizing between the two groups. Whichever the cause for association, the missionaries had ample chances to intermix with the Paiutes. The interactions between Hamblin and the Paiutes, for instance, were so frequent that Hamblin recorded feeling very privileged when he could go off somewhere alone, where no Paiutes could see him.¹²⁰

Evidence exists that the association and example of the missionaries influenced the Paiutes to change aspects of their behavior. James G. Bleak's account of the missionary work occurring in southern Utah shows that the missionaries' example influenced the Paiutes' behavior. He wrote, "The longer the natives watched the praying and praise and cleanliness of the missionaries the more they realized their own low estate

¹¹⁹Elkins, *Ira Hatch*, 23, 30; Brown, *Journal*, 41, 123, 125; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 37; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 39; Bleak, "Annals," 21.

¹²⁰Brown, *Journal*, 24, 37; Hamblin, *Journals and Letters*, 37, 38; Elkins, *Ira Hatch*, 30.

saying to Jacob Hamblin and his companions, when urged to improve their mode of life: ‘We cannot be good, we must be Paiutes.’ ” Hamblin’s account of the mission states that these Paiutes tried for some time to live their lives in such a manner before giving up.¹²¹

Perceiving the Indians surrounding them to be the lineage of the House of Israel, the Puritans and Mormons both strove to convert them. The two religious groups each chose, as a chief method of conversion, the association and example of their missionaries and congregational members. They implemented this technique by monitoring the types of individuals coming to their settlements, by reminding the missionaries and congregational members to behave well among the Indians and serve as examples of good behavior toward them, and by making use of the proximity of their settlements to those of the Indians.

¹²¹Bleak, “Annals,” 23; Little, *Jacob Hamblin*, 47.

CONCLUSION

Massachusetts Bay Colony and southern Utah Territory were each sites of concentrated missionary efforts among the Indians. The Puritans and Mormons of these two regions shared a common motive for proselytizing among the natives and each implemented a corresponding method to achieve that objective.

The two religions sought to convert the Indians due to their understanding that they were descendants of the House of Israel. The Puritans and Mormons came to this belief through analogous means. Scriptures pertaining to the Indians, scholarly findings, and the observations of missionaries and other individuals offered evidence, for the two sects, of the natives' Israelite ancestry. Due to their conclusion that the native populations they desired to convert belonged to the House of Israel, the Puritans and Mormons subsequently sought to Christianize the Indians, believing their conversion to be a necessary eventuality that would predate the foretold return of Christ.

As the conversion of the House of Israel composed a consequential event in the phenomena prefacing the coming of Christ, Puritan and Mormon missionaries viewed the mission, and themselves, as participants in the mission cause, as having an essential role in the predicted redemption of the Israelites. This persuasion was held in common with, for the Puritans, advocates of the missionary labors occurring in New England and, for the Mormons, church leaders directing their work.

The two religions not only manifested an identical motive for converting the Indians, they utilized a parallel conversion technique. The Puritan and Mormon sects both employed the association and example of their missionaries and congregational members as a primary method for converting the natives. Moreover, the two denominations applied that method in a corresponding manner. Understanding that the interactions between the Indians and missionaries and congregational members would exert either a salutary or detrimental influence on the missionary endeavors, the Puritans and Mormons monitored the caliber of individuals arriving at the settlements of Massachusetts Bay and southern Utah. Moreover, the two religious groups reminded the missionaries and congregational members to behave in a praiseworthy manner toward the indigenous inhabitants when interacting with them and to serve as standards of the deportment they wished to ingrain in the Indians. Finally, the two sects made use of the adjacency of their settlements to those of the natives.

A comparative analysis of the Puritans' and Mormons' missionary labors among the Indians has previously been missing in historical scholarship; my thesis addresses this important subject. Furthermore, by examining a common motive and method of the Puritans and Mormons for proselytizing among the Indians, I provide a comparative study of the two religions. In so doing, I help fill the lack in historiography of substantive comparative studies of Mormonism and Puritanism. By comparing the Puritans' and Mormons' motive of converting the natives as a result of their Israelite descent, I simultaneously offer an analysis of this motive of proselytization for each of the two sects. Apart from Cogley's research, scholarly studies on either the Puritans' or

Mormons' missionary endeavors have failed to examine this motive. The same scholarly studies have not addressed either of the two religions' independent use of the conversion method of association and example. This thesis fills a need for such discussion as well.

Future studies comparing the Puritan and Mormon missionary labors occurring in the two missions under discussion might compare the two denominations' use of additional equivalent methods for proselyting among the Indians. The Puritan and Mormon missionaries of these two locales preached to the natives, attempted to educate them, invited them to reside in their homes, and introduced them to new ways of farming. Scholars desiring to compare the two missions might examine any of these parallel conversion means. Other studies could analyze Puritan and Mormon missionary labors in greater New England and the Great Basin for a broader comparative view of Puritan and Mormon proselytization among the Indians.

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