

Ma-re-Mount. Upon this Island hee stayed a moneth at least, and was releev'd by Salvages that tooke notice that mine Host was a Sachem of Passonagessit, and would bringe bottles of strong liquor to him, and unite themselves into a league of brotherhood with mine Host; so full of humanity are these infidels before those Christians.

From this place for England sailed mine Host in a Plimouth shipp, (that came into the Land to fish upon the Coast,) that landed him safe in England at Plimouth: and hee stayed in England untill the ordinary time for shipping to set forth for these parts, and then returned: Noe man being able to taxe him of any thinge.

But the Worthies, (in the meane time,) hoped they had bin ridd of him.

1637
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John Winthrop 1588–1649

At the time of John Winthrop's birth in Groton, England, the *Mayflower* had not yet departed for the New World, but the economic and religious upheavals of the coming years would spawn a large emigration of people (not all Puritans) to New England. At the age of fourteen, Winthrop entered Trinity College, and within only two years he married the first of four wives. By eighteen, he was a justice of the peace and shortly thereafter a steward for the manor on which he had been raised—a job that provided him with the administrative skills that would serve him well in New England. His “wild and dissolute” boyhood, as he would later describe it, soon gave way to austere self-abasement and “an insatiable thirst” to know God, a thirst that would shape not only his own private life but his conception of civil government. As governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony for twelve of the nineteen years during which he lived there, Winthrop was integral in influencing—and recording—the social, political, and religious growth of the colony.

Although he was not personally oppressed by the economic hardships that had befallen England by the 1620s (he was one of a few thousand wealthy men in

England), he was nonetheless distressed at the economic and religious conditions around him. As early as 1622 Winthrop had referred to England as “this sinfull land,” plagued by poverty, unemployment, inequitable taxation, and a bureaucratic legal system. Later he would write that “this Land grows weary of her Inhabitants,” and continue with a blistering attack against the religious and educational systems of England. Furthermore, the monarchy in England was becoming increasingly hostile to Puritanism, favoring instead Catholicism, which resulted in the silencing of many ministers who refused to conform.

However, it seems as if Winthrop's decision to depart for the New World was rather sudden. Only in the Cambridge Agreement of 1629, made less than a year before the *Arbella* set sail, did the Congregationalist Puritans officially decide to plant a colony in New England. The charter, which granted the Massachusetts Bay Company the right to settle in New England, is unique in that no provision was made for a designated meeting place for the administration of the company, thus freeing it to establish a government in New England. The company was lucky to have been granted such a liberal charter, since

only six days after it was officially granted, King Charles dissolved Parliament. Winthrop was elected governor of the company in 1629, and he left, with nearly four hundred other people, for New England aboard the *Arbella* the following year.

Winthrop envisioned “a city of God” as the Utopian foundation for the new society that he and his fellow Puritans would be building, and he fully expected that the hardships they would face in the wilderness would test their sainthood. This new land would be an opportunity for the Puritans, according to Winthrop, to *practice* what had only been *professed* in England. He longed for the transformation of abstract Christian ideals into concrete gestures that would pervade daily living. Yet this new land, however fertile for spiritual rejuvenation, was also a wellspring of new temptations. Although wealth was certainly one indicator of status in the Puritan community, it was also a source of conflict for the Puritans in New England, who struggled to reconcile God, commerce, and individualism. Although the new society would extol charity and a strong sense of community, Winthrop did not hesitate to note that God designated that “some must be rich some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignitie; others mean and in subjection.” This conflict between the physical and incorporeal reflects the paradoxical Puritan conception of freedom and authority. In 1645, responding to charges that he had exceeded the powers of his office, Winthrop delivered in his own defense a speech that epitomizes this struggle in Puritan religious and political thought. In it, he deftly distinguished between natural and civil liberties, designating the former as the ability to do evil as well as good—a trait he felt the colonists had in common with “the beasts”—and the latter as the liberty to do what is “good, just, and honest.” He argued that this second form of liberty cannot exist without authority. Having chosen to live under this authority (of either Christ or the magis-

trates in the colony), the colonists must obey.

Perhaps the most formidable challenge that Winthrop, as well as the entire Puritan oligarchy, would face was the threat posed by Anne Hutchinson, whom Winthrop described in his journal as “a woman of ready wit and bold spirit.” In what would later become known as the Antinomian controversy, Hutchinson, who had been influenced by John Cotton, argued that good works were no indication of God's favor. And since the elect were guaranteed salvation, the church's mediating role between God and man was obsolete. In her home she held religious meetings, which were quite popular. Her interpretation of the Covenant of Grace threatened the religious and patriarchal hierarchy since it could have led to the collapse of distinctions of birth, education, and wealth. For a while little was done to stop Hutchinson, and a plurality of openly expressed ideas abounded in Boston. Along with her compatriots, she was soon censured, however, and banished from Boston.

A Modell of Christian Charity, a sermon delivered aboard the *Arbella*, is perhaps one of Winthrop's more famous writings—important because it eloquently forwards a spiritual blueprint of sorts for the “city upon a Hill.” Written as a series of questions, answers, and objections, a rhetorical maneuver that reflects Winthrop's legal training, the sermon was, in part, a plea for a real *community* in which “the care of the public must oversway all private respects” and in which its inhabitants must “bear one another's burthens.” In a more immediate sense, however, it also served to assuage tensions among the tired, water-bound passengers of the *Arbella*.

Although Winthrop's journal, which he began aboard the *Arbella*, is historically significant because it charts the Puritans' progress in the New World, it is perhaps even more significant because it charts Puritan thought. Much of what we know

about the colony's social, political, and religious strata comes from Winthrop's journal. And America's first flirtations with democracy, indeed America's eventual conception of liberty itself, are rooted in

the conflicts and contradictions of Puritan thinking, reflected in the writings of John Winthrop.

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PRIMARY WORKS

A. Forbes, ed., *The Winthrop Papers*, 1929–45; Richard S. Dunn and Laetitia Yeandle, eds., *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630–1649*, 1996.

from A Modell of Christian Charity¹

Christian Charitie

A Modell Hereof

God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence hath soe disposed of the Condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich some poore, some highe and eminent in power and dignitie: others meane and in subjection.

The Reason Hereof

1. REAS: *First*, to hold conformity with the rest of his workes, being delighted to shewe forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and differance of the Creatures and the glory of his power, in ordering all these differences for the preservacion and good of the whole, and the glory of his greatnes that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, soe this great King will have many Stewards counting himselfe more honoured in dispencing his guifts to man by man, then if hee did it by his owne immediate hand.

2. REAS: *Secondly*, That he might have the more occasion to manifest the worke of his Spirit: first, upon the wicked in moderateing and restraining them: soe that the riche and mighty should not eate upp the poore, nor the poore, and dispised rise upp against their superiours, and shake off their yoake; 2ly in the regenerate in exercising his graces in them, as in the greate ones, their love mercy, gentleness, temperance etc., in the poore and inferiour sorte, their fairthe patience, obedience etc.

3. REAS: *Thirdly*, That every man might have need of other, and from hence they might be all knitt more nearly together in the Bond of brotherly affection: from hence it appears plainly that noe man is made more honourable then another or

more wealthy etc., ont of any perticuler and singuler respect to himselfe but for the glory of his Creator and the Common good of the Creature, Man; Therefore God still reserves the property of these guifts to himselfe as Ezck: 16. 17. he there calls wealth his gold and his silver etc.² Prov: 3. 9. he claimes their service as his due honour the Lord with thy riches etc.³ All men being thus (by divine providence) ranked into two sortes, riche and poore; under the first, are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their owne means duly improved; and all others are poore according to the former distribution. There are two rules whereby wee are to walke one towards another: JUSTICE and MERCY. These are allwayes distinguished in their Act and in their object, yet may they both concur in the same Subject in each respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of shewing mercy to a rich man, in some sudden danger of distresse, and alsoe doing of meere Justice to a poor man in regard of some perticuler contract etc. There is likewise a double Lawe by which wee are regulated in our conversacion one towards another: in both the former respects, the lawe of nature and the lawe of grace, or the morrall lawe or the lawe of the gospell, to omitt the rule of Justice as not properly belonging to this purpose otherwise then it may fall into consideracion in some perticuler Cases: By the first of these lawes man as he was enabled soe withall [is] commaunded to love his neighbour as himselfe;⁴ upon this ground stands all the precepts of the morrall lawe, which concernes our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy this lawe requires two things first that every man afford his help to another in every want or distresse. Secondly, That hee performe this out of the same affection, which makes him carefull of his owne good according to that of our Saviour Math: [7.12] Whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you.⁵ This was practised by Abraham and Lott in entertaineing the Angells and the old man of Gilbea.⁶

The Lawe of Grace or the Gospell hath some differance from the former as in these respectes, first the lawe of nature was given to man in the estate of innocency; this of the gospell in the estate of regeneracy:⁷ 2ly, the former propounds one man to another, as the same fleshe and Image of god, this as a brother in Christ allsoe, and in the Communion of the same spirit and soe reacheth us to put a difference betwene Christians and others. Doe good to all especially to the household of faith; upon this ground the Israelites were to putt a difference betwene the brethren of

²Thou hast also taken thy fair jewels of my gold and my silver, which I had given thee, and madest to thyself images of men, and didst commit whoredom with them."

³"Honor the Lord with thy substance, and with the first fruits of all thine increase: so shall thy barns be filled with plenty, and thy presses burst out with new wine."

⁴Matthew 5:43; 19:19.

⁵"All things therefore whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you even so do ye also unto them: for this is the law of the prophets" (Matthew 7:12).

⁶Genesis 18:1–2 tells of Abraham's entertain-

ment of the angels. Lot, Abraham's nephew, defended two angels against a mob and thus escaped the destruction of the city of Sodom (Genesis 19:1–14). In Judges 19:16–21, an old citizen of Gibeah sheltered a Levite or traveling priest, defending him from enemies.

⁷In the Garden of Eden, mankind was naturally innocent; when Adam and Eve fell from innocence, they entered an unregenerate state. Mankind was redeemed from sin when Christ came, offering salvation to those who would believe. Those who believed in Christ became regenerate and were saved.

¹Winthrop preached his lay sermon aboard the *Arbella*, some time before the colonists set foot on America. The text is taken from *The*

Winthrop Papers, ed. A. Forbes. The manuscript of the sermon seems to have been circulated widely during Winthrop's lifetime.

such as were strangers though not of the Canaanites.⁸ 3ly. The Lawe of nature could give noe rules for dealing with enemies for all are to be considered as freinds in the estate of innocency, but the Gospell commaunds love to an enemy. prooffe. If thine Enemy hunger feede him; Love your Enemies doe good to them that hate you Math: 5.44.

This Lawe of the Gospell propoundes likewise a difference of seasons and occasions; there is a time when a christian must sell all and give to the poore as they did in the Apostles times.⁹ There is a tyme allsoe when a christian (though they give not all yet) must give beyond theire abilliry, as they of Macedonia. Cor:2.6. likewise community of perills calls for extraordinary liberality and soe doth Community in some speciall service for the Church. Lastly, when there is noe other meanes whereby our Christian brother may be releived in this distresse, wee must help him beyond our ability, rather then tempt God, in putting him upon help by miraculous or extraordinary meanes.

This duty of mercy is exercised in the kindes, Giving, lending, and forgiving. . . .

Havinge already sett forth the practise of mercy according to the rule of gods lawe, it will be usefull to lay open the groundes of it allsoe being the other parte of the Commaundement and that is the affection from which this exercise of mercy must arise, the Apostle tells us that this love is the fulfilling of the lawe,¹⁰ not that it is enough to love our brother and soe noe further; but in regard of the excellency of his partes givinge any motion to the other as the Soule to the body and the power it hath to sett all the faculties on worke in the outward exercise of this duty as when wee bid one make the clocke strike he doth not lay hand on the hammer which is the immediate instrument of the sound but sett on worke the first mover or maine wheele, knoweing that will certainly produce the sound which hee intends; soe the way to drawe men to the workes of mercy is not by force of Argument from the goodnes or necessity of the worke, for though this course may enforce a rationally minde to some present Act of mercy as is frequent in experience, yet it cannot worke such a habit in a Soule as shall make it prompt upon all occasions to produce the same effect but by framinge these affections of love in the hearte which will as native bringe forth the other, as any cause doth produce the effect.

The diffinition which the Scripture gives us of love is this Love is the bond of perfection.¹¹ First, it is a bond, or ligament. 2ly, it makes the worke perfect. There is noe body but consists of partes and that which knits these partes together gives the body its perfeccion, because it makes eache parte soe contiguous to other as thereby they doe mutually participate with eache other, both in strengthe and infirmity in pleasure and paine, to instance in the most perfect of all bodies, Christ and his church make one body: the severall partes of this body considered aparte before they were united were as disproportionate and as much disordering as soe many contrary

qualities or elements but when christ comes and by his spirit and love knitts all these partes to himselfe and each to other, it is become the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world, Eph: 4. 16. "Christ, by whome all the body being knitt together by every joynt for the furniture thereof, according to the effectuall power which is in the measure of every perfeccion of partes; a glorious body without spott or wrinkle the ligaments hereof being Christ or his love for Christ is love, I John: 4. 8." Soe this definition is right; Love is the bond of perfeccion.

From hence wee may frame these Conclusions.

1 first all true Christians are of one body in Christ I. Cor. 12. 12. 13. 17. [27.] Ye are the body of Christ and members of [your] parte.

2ly. The ligamentes of this body which knitt together are love.

3ly. Noe body can be perfect which wants its propper ligamentes.

4ly. All the partes of this body being thus united are made soe contiguous in a speciall relation as they must needes partake of each others strength and infirmity, joy, and sorrowe, weale and woe. I Cor: 12. 26. If one member suffers, all suffer with it; if one be in honour, all rejoyce with it.

5ly. This sensibleness and Synpathy of each others Condictions will necessarily infuse into each parte a native desire and endeavour, to strengthen, defend, preserve, and comfort the other.

To insist a little on this Conclusion being the product of all the former the truth hereof will appeare both by precept and patterne i. John 3. 10. yee ought to lay downe your lives for the brethren Gal: 6. 2. beare ye one anothers burthens and soe fulfill the lawe of Christ.

For patterns wee have that first of our Saviour whoe out of his good will in obedience to his farher, becomming a parte of this body, and being knitt with it in the bond of love, found such a native sensibleness of our infirmities and sorrowes as hee willingly yeilded himselfe to deathe to ease the infirmities of the rest of his body and soe heale their sorrowes: from the like Synpathy of partes did the Apostles and many thousands of the Saintes lay downe their lives for Christ againe, the like wee may see in the members of this body among themselves. 1 Rom. 9. Paule could have bene contented to have bene seperated from Christ that the Jewes might not be cutt off from the body: It is very observable which hee professeth of his affectionate part[ak]eing with every member: whoe is weake (saith hee) and I am not weake? whoe is offended and I burne not;¹² and againe. 2 Cor: 7. 13. therefore wee are comforted because yee were comforted. of Epaphroditus he speaketh Phil: 2. 30.¹³ that he regarded not his owne life to [do] him service soe Phebe, and others are called the servantes of the Church,¹⁴ now it is apparant that they served not for wages or by Constraint but out of love, the like wee shall finde in the histories of the church in all ages: the sweete Synpathic of affections which was in the members of this body one towards another, their cheerfullness in servinge and suffering together, how liberall they were without repineing, harbourers without grudgeing, and helpfull

⁸Canaan was the Israelites' promised land.

⁹Luke 18:22.

¹⁰Paul, in Romans 13:10; 9:31.

¹¹Colossians 3:14. Winthrop probably used the Geneva version of the Bible, which reads

"love, which is the bond of perfectnesse." Quotations in these notes are from the King James version of the Bible, which is more commonly available.

¹²2 Corinthians 11:29.

¹³In Philippians 2:25-30, Paul tells the Philippians he will send them Epaphroditus, "my brother and companion in labor."

¹⁴Romans 16:1.

without reproacheing, and all from hence they had fervent love amongst them, which onely make[s] the practise of mercy constant and easie.

The next consideracion is how this love comes to be wrought; Adam in his first estate was a perfect modell of mankinde in all their generacions, and in him this love was perfected in regard of the habit, but Adam Rent in himselfe from his Creator, rent all his posterity allsoe one from another, whence it comes that every man is borne with this principle in him, to love and seeke himselfe onely and thus a man continueth till Christ comes and takes possession of the soule, and infuseth another principle, love to God and our brother. And this latter having continuall supply from Christ, as the head and roote by which hee is united get the predominancy in the soule, soe by little and little expells the former I John 4. 7. love cometh of god and every one that loveth is borne of god, soe that this love is the fruite of the new birthe, and none can have it but the new Creature, now when this quality is thus formed in the soules of men it workes like the Spirit upon the drie bones Ezek. 37. 17] bone came to bone, it gathers together the scattered bones of perfect old man Adam and knitts them into one body againe in Christ whereby a man is become againe a liveing soule.

The third Consideracion is concerning the exercise of this love, which is twofold, inward or outward, the outward hath beene handled in the former preface of this discourse, for unfolding the other wee must take in our way that maxime of philosophy, Simile simili gaudet or like will to like; for as it is things which are carved with disaffection to eache other, the ground of it is from a dissimilitude or [blank] arising from the contrary or different nature of the things themselves, soe the ground of love is an apprehension of some resemblance in the things loved to that which affectes it. This is the cause why the Lord loves the Creature, soe farre as it hath any of his Image in it, he loves his elect because they are like himselfe, he beholds them in his beloved sonne: soe a mother loves her childe, because shee throughly conceives a resemblance of herselfe in it. Thus it is betweene the members of Christ, each discernes by the worke of the spirit his owne Image and resemblance in another, and therefore cannot but love him as he loves himselfe: Now when the soule which is of a sociable nature findes any thing like to it selfe, it is like Adam when Eve was brought to him, shee must have it one with herselfe this is fleshe of my fleshe (saith shee) and bone of my bone shee conceives a greate delighe in it, therefore shee desires nearenes and familiarity with it: shee hath a greate propensity to doe it good and receives such content in it, as feareing the miscarriage of her beloved shee bestowes it in the inmost closett of her heart, shee will not endure that it shall want any good which shee can give it, if by occasion shee be withdrawne from the Company of it, shee is still lookeing towards the place where shee left her beloved, if shee heare it groane shee is with it presently, if shee finde it sadd and disconsolate shee sighes and mounes with it, shee hath noe such joy, as to see her beloved merry and thriveing, if shee see it wronged, shee cannot beare it without passion, she setts noe boundes of her affections, nor hath any thought of reward, shee findes recompence enoughe in the exercise of her love towards it, wee may see this Acted to life in Jonathan and David.¹⁵ Jonathan a valiant man endued with the spirit of Christ, soe soone as hee

Discovers the same spirit in David had presently his hearte knitt to him by this lineament of love, soe that it is said he loved him as his owne soule, he takes soc great pleasure in him that hee stripps himselfe to adorne his beloved, his fathers kingdome was not soe precious to him as his heloved David, David shall have it with all his hearte, himselfe desires noe more but that hee may be neare to him to rejoyce in his good hee chooseth to converse with him in the wilderness even to the hazzard of his owne life, rather then with the greate Courtiers in his fathers Pallace; when hee sees danger towards him, hee spares neither care paines, nor perill to divert it, when Injury was offered his beloved David, hee could not beare it, though from his owne father, and when they must partre for a Season onely, they thought their heartes would have broake for sorrowe, had not their affections found vent by abundance of Teares: other instances might be brought to shewe the nature of this affection as of Ruthe and Naomi¹⁶ and many others, but this truthe is cleared enough. If any shall object that it is not possible that love should be bred or upheld without hope of requittall, it is graunted but that is not our cause, for this love is allwayes under reward it never gives, but it allwayes receives with advantage: first, in regard that among the members of the same body, love and affection are reciprocally in a most equall and sweete kinde of Commerce. 2ly [3ly], in regard of the pleasure and content that the exercise of love carries with it as wee may see in the naturall body the mouth is at all the paines to receive, and mince the foode which serves for the nourishment of all the other partes of the body, yet it hath noe cause to complaine; for first, the other partes send backe by secret passages a due proporcion of the same nourishment in a better forme for the strengthening and comforting the mouthe. 2ly the labour of the mouthe is accompanied with such pleasure and content as farre exceeds the paines it takes: soe is it in all the labour of love, among christians, the partie loveing, reapes love againe as was shewed before, which the soule covetts more then all the wealth in the world. 2ly [4ly]. noething yeildes more pleasure and content to the soule then when it findes that which it may love fervently, for to love and live beloved is the soules paradice, both heare and in heaven: In the State of Wedlock there be many comfortes to beare out the troubles of that Conditcion; but let such as have tryed the most, say if there be any sweetnes in that Conditcion comparable to the exercise of mutuall love.

From the former Consideracions ariseth these Conclusions.

1 First, This love among Christians is a reall thing not Imaginarie.

2ly. This love is as absolutely necessary to the being of the body of Christ, as the sinewes and other ligaments of a naturall body are to the being of that body.

3ly. This love is a divine, spirituall nature, free, active, strong, Couragious, permanent, under valuing all things beneath its proper object, and of all the graces this makes us nearer to resemble the virtues of our heavenly father.

4ly. It restes in the love and welfare of its beloved, for the full and certaine knowledge of these truthe concerning the nature use, [and] excellency of this grace, that which the holy ghost hath left recorded 1. Cor. 13. may give full satisfaccion which is needfull for every rruue member of this lovely body of the Lord Jesus, to

¹⁵David and Jonathan appear in 1 Samuel 19ff.

¹⁶Ruthe refused to leave her mother-in-law, Naomi, during a time of trouble: "For whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge" (Ruth 1:16).

worke upon their heartes, by prayer, meditation, continuall exercise at least of the speciall [power] of this grace till Christ be formed in them and they in him all in eache other knitt together by this bond of love.

It rests now to make some applicacion of this discourse by the present designe which gave the occasion of writing of it. Herein are 4 things to be proponnded: first the persons, 2ly, the worke, 3ly, the end, 4ly the meanes.

1. For the persons, wee are a Company professing our selves fellow members of Christ, In which respect onely though wee were absent from eache other many miles, and had our imploymentes as farre distant, yet wee ought to account our selves knitt together by this bond of love, and live in the exercise of it, if wee would have comferte of our being in Christ, this was notorious in the practise of the Christians in former times, as is testified of the Waldenses¹⁷ from the mouth of one of the adversaries Aeneas Sylvius,¹⁸ *mutuo [solent amare] penè antequam norint*, they use to love any of their owne religion even before they were acquainted with them.

2ly. for the worke wee have in hand, it is by a mutuall consent through a speciall overruling providence, and a more then an ordinary approbation of the Churches of Christ to seeke out a place of Cohabitation and Consorteshipp under a due forme of Government both civill and ecclesiasticall. In such cases as this the care of the publike must oversway all private respects, by which not onely conscience, but meare Civill pollicy doth binde us; for it is a true rule that perticuler estates cannot subsist in the ruine of the publike.

3ly. The end is to improve our lives to doe more service to the Lord the comferte and increase of the body of christe whereof wee are members that our selves and posterity may be the better preserved from the Common corrupcions of this evill world to serve the Lord and worke out our Salvation under the power and purity of his holy Ordinances.

4ly for the meanes whereby this must bee effected, they are 2fold, a Conformity with the worke and end wee aime at; these wee see are extraordinary, therefore wee must not content our selves with usuall ordinary meanes; whatsoever wee did or ought to have done when wee lived in England, the same must wee doe and more allsoe where wee goc: That which the most in their Churches maineteine as a truth in profession onely, wee must bring into familiar and constant practise, as in this duty of love wee must love, brotherly, without dissimulation; wee must love one another with a pure hearte fervently; wee must beare one anothers burthens; wee must not looke onely on our owne things, but allsoe on the things of our brethren; neither must wee think that the lord will beare with such faileings at our hands as hee dothe from those among whome wee have lived, and that for 3 Reasons.

1. In regard of the more neare bond of marriage, betweene him and us, wherein he hath taken us to be his after a most strickt and peculiar manner which will make him the more Jealous of our love and obedience soe he tells the people of Israel, you onely have I knowne of all the families of the Earthe therefore will I punishe you for your Transgressions.

2ly, because the lord will be sanctified in them that come neare him. Wee know that there were many that corrupted the service of the Lord some setting upp Alters before his owne, others offering both strange fire and strange Sacrifices allsoe; yet there came noe fire from heaven, or other sudden Judgement upon them as did upon Nadab and Abihu¹⁹ whoe yet wee may thinke did not sinne presumptuously.

3ly When God gives a speciall Commission he lookes to have it stricktly observed in every Article, when hee gave Saule a Commission to desstroy Amaleck hee indented with him upon certaine Articles and because hee failed in one of the least, and that upon a faire pretence, it lost him the kingdome, which should have beene his reward, if hee had observed his Commission.²⁰ Thus stands the cause betweene God and us, wee are entered into Covenant with him for this worke,²¹ wee have taken out a Commission, the Lord hath given us leave to drawe our owne Articles wee have professed to enterprise these Accions upon these and these ends, wee have hereupon besought him of favour and blessing; Now if the Lord shall please to heare us, and bring us in peace to the place wee desire, then hath hee ratified this Covenant and sealed our Commission, [and] will expect a stricker performance of the Articles contained in it, but if wee shall neglect the observacion of these Articles which are the ends wee have propounded, and dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnall intencions, seeeking greate things for our selves and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrathe against us, be revenged of such a perjured people, and make us knowe the price of the breache of such a Covenant.

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke and to provide for our posterity is to followe the Counsell of Micah, to doe Justly, to love mercy, to walke humbly with our God.²² For this end, wee must be knitt together in this worke as one man, wee must entertaine each other in brotherly Affeccion, wee must be willing to abridge our selves of our superfluities, for the supply of others necessities, wee must uphold a familiar Commerce together in all meekenes, gentlenes, patience and liberallity, wee must delight in eache other, make others Conditions our owne, rejoyce together, mourne together, labour, and suffer together, alwayes having before our eyes our Commission and Community in the worke, our Community as members of the same body, soe shall wee keepe the unities of the spirit in the bond of peace,²³ the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among us, as his owne people and will commaund a blessing upon us in all our wayes, soe that wee shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodnes, and truth then formerly wee have beene acquainted with, wee shall finde that the God of Israel is among us, when tenn of us shall be able to resist a

¹⁷The Waldenses were followers of Pater Valdes, an early French reformer.

¹⁸Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), Pope Pius II, scholar and historian.

¹⁹And Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took either of them his censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not. And there went out fire from the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord" (Leviticus 10:1–2). To Winthrop, punishment is greater for the chosen people than for unbelievers.

²⁰Saul agreed to destroy the Amalekites and their possessions, yet he spared their sheep and oxen. Because Saul disobeyed, he was rejected as king (1 Samuel 15:1–34).

²¹A covenant is like a legal contract. God promised to protect the Israelites if they were faithful and followed His word.

²²Micah 6:8; 7:9.

²³Ephesians 4:4.

thousand of our enemies, when he shall make us a praye and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantations: the lord make it like that of New England: for we must consider that we shall be as a City upon a Hill,²⁴ the eyes of all people are upon us; soe that if we shall deale falsly with our god in this worke we have undertaken and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world, we shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evill of the ways of god and all professors for Gods sake; we shall shame the faces of many of gods worthy servants, and cause their prayets to be turned into Curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whether we are going: And to Shutt upp this discourse with that exhortacion of Moses that faithfull servant of the Lord in his last farewell to Israel Deut. 30.²⁵ Beloved there is now sett before us life, and good, deathe and evill in that we are Commaunded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another to walke in his wayes and to keepe his Commaundements and his Ordinance, and his lawes, and the Articles of our Covenant with him that we may live and be multiplyed, and that the Lord our God may blesse us in the land whether we goe to possesse it: But if our hartes shall turne away soe that we will not obey, but shall be seduced and worshipping other Gods our pleasures, and proffitts, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perishe out of the good Land whether we passe over this vast Sea to possesse it;

Therefore lett us choose life,
that wee, and our Seede,
may live; by obeyeing his
voyce, and cleaveing to him,
for hee is our life, and
our prosperity.

1838

from The Journal of John Winthrop

[July 5, 1632] At Watertown there was (in the view of divers witnesses) a great combat between a mouse and a snake; and, after a long fight, the mouse prevailed and killed the snake. The pastor of Boston, Mr. Wilson, a very sincere, holy man, hearing of it, gave this interpretation: That the snake was the devil; the mouse was a poor

²⁴Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house" (Matthew 5:14-15).

²⁵"And it shall come to pass, when all these things are come upon thee, the blessing and the curse, which I have set before thee, and thou shalt call them to mind among all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath

driven thee, and shalt return unto the Lord thy God, and shalt obey his voice according to all that I command thee this day, thou and thy children, with all thine heart, and with all thy soul; that then the Lord thy God will turn thy captivity, and have compassion upon thee, and will return and gather thee from all the nations, whither the Lord thy God hath scattered thee" (Deuteronomy 30:1-3).

contemptible people, which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom. Upon the same occasion, he told the governor,¹ that, before he was resolved to come into this country, he dreamed he was bere, and that he saw a church arise out of the earth, which grew up and became a marvellous goodly church.

[December 27, 1633] The governor and assistants met at Boston, and took into consideration a treatise, which Mr. Williams² (then of Salem) had sent to them, and which he had formerly written to the goveruor and council of Plymouth, whetein, among other things, he disputes their right to the Lands they possessed here, and concluded that, claiming by the king's grant, they could have no title, nor otherwise, except they compounded with the natives. For this, taking advice with some of the most judicious ministers, (who much condemned Mr. Williams's error and presumption,) they gave order, that he should be convented³ at the next court, to be censured, etc. There were three passages chiefly whereat they were much offended: 1, for that he chargeth King James to have told a solemn public lie, because in his patent he blessed God that he was the first Christian prince that had discovered this land; 2, for that he chargeth him and others with blasphemy for calling Europe Christendom, or the Christian world; 3, for that he did personally apply to our present king, Charles, these three places in the Revelations, viz., [blank].

Mr. Endicott being absent, the governor wrote to him to let him know what was done, and withal added divers arguments to confute the said errors, wishing him to deal with Mr. Williams to retract the same, etc. Whereto he returned a very modest and discreet answer. Mr. Williams also wrote to the governot,⁴ and also to him and the rest of the council, very submissively, professing his intent to have been only to have written for the private satisfaction of the governor, etc., of Plymouth, without any purpose to have stirred any further in it, if the governor here had not required a copy of him; withal offering his book, or any part of it, to be burnt.

At the next court he appeared penitently, and gave satisfaction of his intention and loyalty. So it was left, and nothing done in it.

[January 20, 1634] Hall and the two others, who went to Connecticut November 3, came now home, having lost themselves and endured much misery. They informed us that the small pox was gone as far as any Indian plantation was known to the west, and much people dead of it, by reason wheteof they could have no trade.

At Naragansett, by the Indians' report, there died seven hundred; but, beyond Pascataquack, none to the eastward.

[January 24, 1634] The governor and council met again at Boston, to consider of Mr. Williams's letter, etc., when, with the advice of Mr. Cotton⁵ and Mr. Wilson, and weighing his letter, and further considering of the aforesaid offensive passages in his book, (which, being written in very obscure and implicative phrascs, might well admit of doubtful interpretation,) they found the matters not to be so evil as at first

¹Winthrop himself.

²Roger Williams (c. 1603-1683) was called to the First Church of Boston but refused the post because the Congregationalist Puritans would not separate from the Anglican Church.

³Summoned to appear.

⁴Edward Winslow was governor in 1633.

⁵John Cotton (1584-1652), an influential preacher in the colony, was pastor of the First Church of Boston.

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