

# THE NORTHERN COLONIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1601–1700

Puritans and Puritanism made an indelible impression on New England in the seventeenth century. Puritans built churches and towns, distributed land, raised families, passed laws, and rendered verdicts. In all of their activities, Puritans aspired to live according to God's law. At least once a week ministers gave sermons that proclaimed God's way as set forth in the Bible. Although many New Englanders were not church members, those who were governed the society both in principle and in practice. White colonists recognized, however, that most native Americans adhered neither to Puritanism nor Christianity, providing a durable reminder of the limited scope of religious orthodoxy. The following documents exhibit the Puritans' high standards and illustrate some of the difficulties they had in disciplining themselves and others to live up to those aspirations.

## DOCUMENT 4-1

### *The Arbella Sermon*

*John Winthrop, Puritan leader of the great migration to New England and first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, delivered perhaps the most famous sermon in American history in 1630 while crossing the Atlantic with his fellow Puritans aboard the Arbella. Although Winthrop was not a minister, Puritan doctrines suffused his sermon. He put into words the Puritans' understanding of their migration to New England — the goals they hoped to achieve and the responsibilities they assumed. The sermon, the source of the following selection, bore the title "A Model of Christian Charity."*

## John Winthrop

### *A Model of Christian Charity, 1630*

#### A Model Hereof

God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity, others mean and in subjection.

#### The Reason Hereof

First, to hold conformity with the rest of his works, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures; and the glory of his power, in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole; and the glory of his greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, so this great king will have many stewards, counting himself more honored in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his own immediate hands.

Secondly, that he might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his spirit: first upon the wicked in moderating and restraining them, so that the rich and mighty should not eat up the poor, nor the poor and despised rise up against their superiors and shake off their yoke; secondly in the regenerate, in exercising his graces in them, as in the great ones, their love, mercy, gentleness, temperance, etc.; in the poor and inferior sort, their faith, patience, obedience, etc.

Thirdly, that every man might have need of other, and from hence they might be all knit more nearly together in the bonds of brotherly affection. From hence it appears plainly that no man is made more honorable than another or more wealthy, etc., out of any particular and singular respect to himself, but for the glory of his creator and the common good of the creature, man. . . . All men being thus (by divine providence) ranked into two sorts, rich and poor, under the first are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their own means duly improved; and all others are poor according to the former distribution.

There are two rules whereby we are to walk one towards another: justice and mercy. . . .

There is likewise a double law by which we are regulated in our conversation one towards another in both the former respects: the law of nature and the law of grace, or the moral law or the law of the gospel. . . . By the first of these laws man as he was enabled so withal [is] commanded to love his neighbor as himself. Upon this ground stands all the precepts of the moral law, which concerns our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy, this law requires two things. First, that every man afford his help to another in every want or distress. Secondly, that he performed this out of the same affection which makes him careful of his own goods, according to that of our Savior, Matthew: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you. . . ."

This law of the gospel propounds . . . [that] there is a time when a Christian must sell all and give to the poor, as they did in the Apostles' times. There is a time also when a Christian (though they give not all yet) must give beyond their ability. . . . Likewise community of perils calls for extraordinary liberality, and so doth community in some special service for the church. Lastly, when there is no

other means whereby our Christian brother may be relieved in his distress, we must help him beyond our ability, rather than tempt God in putting him upon help by miraculous or extraordinary means. . . .

Having already set forth the practice of mercy according to the rule of God's law, it will be useful to lay open the grounds of it also, . . . 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 law. . . . The way to draw men to works of mercy is not by force of argument from the goodness or necessity of the work; for though this course may enforce a rational mind to some present act of mercy, as is frequent in experience, yet it cannot work such a habit in a soul, as shall make it prompt upon all occasions to produce the same effect, but by framing these affections of love in the heart which will as natively bring forth the other, as any cause doth produce effect.

The definition which the scripture gives us of love is this: "Love is the bond of perfection." First, it is a bond or ligament. Secondly, it makes the work perfect. There is no body but consists of parts and that which knits these parts together gives the body its perfection, because it makes each part so contiguous to others as thereby they do mutually participate with each other, both in strength and firmity, in pleasure and pain. To instance in the most perfect of all bodies: Christ and his church make one body. The several parts of this body, considered apart before they were united, were as disproportionate and as much disordering as so many contrary qualities or elements, but when Christ comes and by his spirit and love knits all these parts to himself and each to other, it is become the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world. . . .

The next consideration is how this love comes to be wrought. Adam in his first estate was a perfect model of mankind in all their generations, and in him this love was perfected in regard of habit. But Adam rent himself from his creator, rent all his posterity also one from another; whence it comes that every man is born with this principle in him, to love and seek himself only, and thus a man continueth till Christ comes and takes possession of the soul and infuseth another principle, love to God and our brother. And this latter having continual supply from Christ, as the head and root by which he is united, gets the predominance in the soul, so by little and little expels the former. . . . [T]his love is the fruit of the new birth, and none can have it but the new creature. Now when this quality is thus formed in the souls of men, it works like the spirit upon the dry bones. . . . It gathers together the scattered bones, or perfect old man Adam, and knits them into one body again in Christ, whereby a man is become again a living soul.

The third consideration is concerning the exercise of this love. . . . We must take in our way that maxim of philosophy . . . , like will to like. . . . This is the cause why the Lord loves the creature, so far as it hath any of his image in it; he loves his elect because they are like himself, he beholds them in his beloved son. So a mother loves her child, because she thoroughly conceives a resemblance of herself in it. Thus it is between the members of Christ. Each discerns, by the work of the spirit, his own image and resemblance in another, and therefore cannot but love him as he loves himself. . . .

So is it in all the labor of love among Christians. The party loving, reaps love again. . . . , which the soul covets more than all the wealth in the world. Thirdly, nothing yields more pleasure and content to the soul than when it finds that which it may love fervently, for to love and live beloved is the soul's paradise, both here and in heaven. In the state of wedlock there be many comforts to bear

out the troubles of that condition; but let such as have tried the most, say if there be any sweetness in that condition comparable to the exercise of mutual love.

It rests now to make some application of this discourse. . . . Herein are four things to be propounded: first, the persons; secondly, the work; thirdly, the end; fourthly, the means.

First for the persons. We are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, in which respect only though we were absent from each other many miles, and had our employments as far distant, yet we ought to account ourselves knit together by this bond of love, and live in the exercise of it, if we would have comfort of our being in Christ. . . .

Secondly for the work we have in hand. It is by a mutual consent, through a special overvaluing providence and a more than an ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seek out a place of cohabitation and consortship under a due form of government both civil and ecclesiastical. In such cases as this, the care of the public must overshadow all private respects, by which not only conscience but mere civil policy doth bind us. For it is a true rule that particular estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the public.

Thirdly, the end is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord; the comfort and increase of the body of Christ whereof we are members; that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world, to serve the Lord and work out our salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances.

Fourthly, for the means whereby this must be effected. They are twofold, a conformity with the work and end we aim at. These we see are extraordinary, therefore we must not content ourselves with usual ordinary means. Whatsoever we did or ought to have done when we lived in England, the same must we do, and more also, where we go. That which the most in their churches maintain as a truth in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practice, as in this duty of love. We must love brotherly without dissimulation; we must love one another with a pure heart fervently. We must bear one another's burthens. We must not look only on our own things, but also on the things of our brethren, neither must we think that the Lord will bear with such failings at our hands as he doth from those among whom we have lived; and that for three reasons:

First, in regard of the more near bond of marriage between him and us, wherein he hath taken us to be his after a most strict and peculiar manner, which will make him the more jealous of our love and obedience. So he tells the people of Israel, "You only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore will I punish you for your transgressions." Secondly, because the Lord will be sanctified in them that come near him. We know that there were many that corrupted the service of the Lord, some setting up altars before his own, others offering both strange fire and strange sacrifices also. . . . Thirdly, when God gives a special commission he looks to have it strictly observed in every article. . . .

Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into covenant with him for this work. We have taken out a commission, the Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles. We have professed to enterprize these actions, upon these and those ends, we have hereupon besought him of favor and blessing. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath he ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, [and] will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it. But if we shall neglect the observation of these articles which are the ends we have propounded and,

dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal intentions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break out in wrath against us, be revenged of such a perjured people, and make us know the price of the breach of such a covenant.

Now the only way to avoid this shipwrack, and to provide for our posterity, is to follow the counsel of Micah, to do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, we must be knit together in this work as one man. We must entertain each other in brotherly affection, we must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of others' necessities. We must uphold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience, and liberality. We must delight in each other, make others' conditions our own, rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, our community as members of the same body. So shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us as his own people, and will command a blessing upon us in all our ways, so that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness, and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when he shall make us a praise 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. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. We shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God, and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curses upon us till we be consumed out of the good land whither we are going.

And to shut up this discourse with that exhortation of Moses, that faithful servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israel, Deuteronomy 30: Beloved, there is now set before us life and good, death and evil, in that we are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another, to walk in his ways and to keep his commandments and his ordinance and his laws, and that the Lord our covenant with him, that we may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it. But if our hearts shall turn away, so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship other gods, our pleasures and profits, and serve them; it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over this vast sea to possess it.

Therefore let us choose life, that we and our seed may live by obeying his voice and cleaving to him, for he is our life and our prosperity.

#### QUESTIONS FOR READING AND DISCUSSION

1. What goals did Winthrop set for the migrants to New England? How did Puritan faith shape those goals? What was the significance of the "covenant" between God and Puritans?
2. Why, according to Winthrop, was migration to New England important? What was at stake for the migrants, for the new colony, for England, and for Christianity? What did he mean that New England "shall be as a city upon a hill"?

3. Did Winthrop envision a society dedicated to human equality or inequality? How should people demonstrate that "Love is the bond of perfection"?
4. How were Puritans different from other people, according to Winthrop? How did he think they should manifest their distinctive responsibilities? How did he think they should act toward people who were not Puritans or Christians?

## DOCUMENT 4-2

### *Temptations and God's Providence*

*Puritans believed that human beings were born sinners and had to struggle mightily to overcome temptations and lead godly lives. John Dane, a tailor born in England in 1612, joined the great Puritan migration to New England. Dane recalled the temptations he experienced both before and after he moved to Ipswich, Massachusetts, where he died in 1684. Dane's memoir, excerpted below, recounts how the conflict between human impulses and God's design played out in his own life, which Dane offered as a template for others. Dane's memoir illustrates Puritans' sense that cosmic forces of good and evil, sin and salvation, infused every feature of daily life.*

**John Dane**

*Memoir, ca. 1670*

When I was but a little boy, being educated under godly parents, my conscience was very apt to tell me of evils that I should not do. Being now about eight years old, I was given much to play and to run out without my father's consent and against his command. One . . . time, I having gone out [for] most part of the day, when my father saw me come home he took me and basted me. I then kept home and followed my business two or three days. My father and mother commended me, and told me that God would bless me if I obeyed my parents, and what the contrary would issue in. I then thought in my heart, oh, that my father would beat me more when I did amiss. I feared, if he did not, I should not be good. . . .

I did think myself in a good condition. I was convinced that I should pray and dared do no other, and read and hear sermons and dared do no other; yet I was given to pastime and to dancing, and that I thought lawful. . . . When I was . . . eighteen years of age or thereabouts, I went to a dancing school to learn to dance. My father, hearing of it, when I came home told me, if I went again he would baste me. I told him if he did he should never baste me again. With that my father took a stick and basted me. I took it patiently and said nothing for a day or [two], but one morning betimes I rose and took two shirts on my back and the best suit I had and a Bible in my pocket, and set the doors open and went to my father's chamber door and said, "good-bye father, good-bye mother." "Why, whither are you going?" "To seek my fortune," I answered. Then said my mother, "go where you will, God he will find you out." This word, the point of it, stuck in my breast; and afterwards God struck it home to its head. . . .

---

John Dane, "A Declaration of Remarkable Providences in the Course of My Life," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 8 (April 1854), 149-56.