

**SIN, SICKNESS, AND SALVATION:
THE PURITAN VENTURE IN NEW ENGLAND AND
THE HEALTH OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG ADULTS**

BY

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Roberta I. Woods

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
Master of Arts**

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For

Robin

Nicola and Kei

Bernard and Zonibel

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ABSTRACT

Much of the medical historiography of colonial New England bears the imprint of the whig interpretation of the past. Recourse to whig principles combined with subscription to the notion that emigration to New England meant isolation from the ideas which had previously sustained Puritan thought has left largely unexplored the nature of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century medical thought. Working on the assumption that human sickness is universal but individual societies assign particular meanings derived from prevailing ideas and local circumstances, I have approached references to sickness in the Puritan sources as evidence worthy of evaluation on its own terms. In order to discern the origins of the ideas on which the Puritans relied for their understanding of sickness, I adopted the Puritan practice of looking to the past to inform the present. The sources revealed that the same early Christian and Reformation ideas which structured Puritan theology also gave meaning to sickness; that the Puritans subsumed contemporary medical theories under their religious ideas; that children and young adults took on an important role in the interpretative scheme; and that the Puritan venture in New England lent an experiential dimension to the configuration of the meaning of sickness. Because they understood sickness as an aid to salvation, a witness to election, a signal of God's wrath, and a remedy for backsliding, leading Puritans interpreted sickness as integral to the realization of their quest to establish the true church in New England.

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INTRODUCTION

The Reverend Cotton Mather (1663-1728), the minister at Boston's Second Church, believed that human sickness had originated with Adam's Fall in the Garden of Eden. "First, Remember," Mather exhorted, "That the *Sin* of our *First Parents*, was the *First Parent* of all our *Sickness*."¹ Mather's words imply a time when sickness was unknown, but equally, his biblically-based theory corresponds with tangible evidence showing that all known human beings have always suffered from sickness. The remains of bones and soft tissues demonstrate that prehistoric people suffered from diseases understood, today, as cancer, infections, injuries, degenerative diseases, endocrine deficiencies, and congenital malformations. Artifacts such as grave goods, art forms, and manuscripts indicate that ancient, literate communities were no more free of disease than prehistoric people had been.² But even though human disease is universal, different societies have understood its significance in widely differing ways. For example, Cotton Mather's overall explanation for disease draws for the most part on religious ideas. In contrast, modern medical thought privileges scientific principles to the virtual exclusion of religious ideas. These two poles of interpretation demonstrate that the meaning a particular society assigns to sickness varies in accordance with prevailing ideas and local circumstances. In turn, the meaning sickness acquires reflects the particular practices and precepts valued by that society.

In order to explain the role of disease and medicine in seventeenth-century colonial New England, most medical historians have subscribed to the whig assumption that, throughout the ages, medical thought and practice have progressed steadily to culminate in

a peak of perfection in the twentieth century. In this scheme of thought, modern medicine represents the standard against which to measure past practice. A major disadvantage of the whig approach to the past is that it leads, inexorably, to interpretations of inferiority or omission. James H. Cassedy, for example, argued in *Medicine In America: A Short History* (1991), that “for a long portion of the colonial period...[medicine] was almost totally lacking in the usual landmarks of formal medical organisation and progress.”³ But because the idea that modern medicine stands as the model for an evaluation of past practice is so difficult to relinquish Cassedy still claimed to be attempting “to avoid the whiggish glorification of American medical successes....”⁴ Another drawback of the whig approach, taking its cue from modern medicine, is the extreme emphasis it places on the physician and physician-related activities. Innumerable studies mention a dearth of university-educated English physicians in New England. Also, many medical historians lament the lack of colonial medical schools; the absence of modern medical writing; and the failure to identify and classify human diseases.⁵ The most serious of the drawbacks of the whig approach, however, is that such a methodology does not easily lend itself to an inquiry into the nature of the ideas and practices which did inform medical thought. Commonly, accounts of colonial medicine are rounded out with a description of prevailing diseases despite the caveat voiced by at least two medical historians that “any attempt to classify the diseases of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries involves hazards for the historian because diagnosis was often imprecise.”⁶

Until fairly recently another hindrance standing in the way of deciphering the colonial New England approach to sickness has been the perception, among certain scholars,

that emigration from old England meant isolation from the ideas which had previously sustained the settlers' thought. This perception may have had its roots in the history William Bradford (1590-1657) wrote of the activities of the first colonists in Massachusetts Bay. In *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, Bradford wrote that on their arrival in New England, the colonists found themselves hemmed in on the one side by "a hideous and desolate wilderness," and on the other, by "the mighty ocean," the latter acting "as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world."⁷ Bradford's notion that emigration to New England entailed separation from civil society found expression, for example, in the introduction Charles Evans (1850-1935) wrote for his bibliography of all the materials printed in America from the time of the first printing press in 1639 until 1820. On the grounds that settlement in New England meant "being hemmed in by the mysterious wilderness inhabited by savages on the one hand, and by the ocean on the other," Evans concluded that the early American literary record represented "the voice of a people earnestly seeking a solution for life under new conditions without old world models."⁸ Yet recent studies, such as David Cressy's *Coming Over: migration and communication between England and New England in the seventeenth century* (1987), have demonstrated both the transfer of ideas and practices from old to New England, and the existence of a lively exchange of ideas between the settlers and their friends, colleagues, and family members left behind.⁹ That this transference included medical ideas has been recognised by medical historians such as Eric H. Christian and David H. Cassedy. But those studies bearing the whig imprint only explore to a limited extent the implications of this transfer of ideas. Cassedy, for example, did recognise that the colonists retained their medical ideas on

emigration, but he still concluded that “the colonial efforts to cope with disease involved a considerable amount of improvisation or ‘making do.’”¹⁰

In devising a methodology to avoid the pitfalls of the whig approach to medical history, I have been guided by two principles. First, I believe that rather than judging past societies and finding them wanting, historians should attempt to understand how those societies functioned. Second, I examined the sources on the assumption that since the Puritans themselves could not have foreseen the shape of modern medicine, they must have devised a body of thought and a system of practices to assist their understanding of sickness. I have attempted, therefore, to discard the notion that the seventeenth-century approach to sickness constituted a stage in medical thought, one which would be superseded by an improved mode of thinking and practice.

References to sickness occur in a wide variety of Puritan literature including poetry, letters, journals, sermons, histories, travel accounts, spiritual biographies, and the records of the Massachusetts Bay General Court. My approach to these sources has been to treat whatever the Puritans wrote about sickness as worthy of evaluation in its own right. As I expected, my research confirmed the finding, already noted by historians, that the New England Puritan interpretation of sickness was bound up with religious beliefs.¹¹ An attempt to decipher the Puritan understanding of sickness, therefore, depended on the identification of the doctrines and guiding principles that underlay the Puritan version of Christianity. Then, the Puritan practice of looking to the past to structure contemporary thought suggested that a similar approach on my part would yield evidence concerning the manner in which the Puritans interpreted sickness. Thus, many of the conclusions I have reached in this thesis

are the outcome of tracing in Puritan thought the retention of early Christian and other ideas.

Because Christian ideas controlled the configuration of the New England Puritan understanding of sickness, I set the stage, as it were, in Chapter One by identifying pertinent aspects of Puritan religious thought as it arose in Elizabethan England. In Chapter Two, I discuss the doctrinal and liturgical shortcomings that some Puritans found sufficiently distasteful to make emigration a desirable option. Chapter Two also explores how the prospect of emigration, the Atlantic voyages, and the early days of settlement framed the Puritan interpretation of sickness. Chapter Three deals with the role sickness played along the pathway to salvation, against the background of the Antinomian Controversy. Besides the threat of unorthodoxy, the Puritans had to cope with Satan's machinations, an aspect of the Puritan understanding of sickness I discuss in Chapter Four. In the last chapter, I examine how a sense of apostasy among leading Puritans coloured their interpretation of outbreaks of contagious disease.

In keeping with my approach to the study of history, I have retained the punctuation, spelling and capitalization as they appear in the primary sources, whether edited or not. The only exception in this regard had been to substitute a modern "s" for the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century long "s." Thus, I have retained "u" for "v" and "j" for "i" whenever these forms have occurred. Besides conveying a sense of contemporary printing, the retention of the original orthography obviates the use of *sic* to draw attention to spellings considered unconventional in the twentieth century. With regard to the dating of events and ideas, some comment is in order because two calendars were in use in Europe during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the period of this thesis. The New Style, or

Gregorian calendar was introduced in 1582, but England continued to use the Old Style, or Julian calendar until 1752. My approach has been to use the date as it appears in both the primary and the secondary sources.

Although religious ideas principally informed their understanding of sickness, the New England Puritans also admitted the ideas of two contemporary medical theories, of which the most enduring and influential was that formulated by Galen of Pergamum (A.D. 130-200). Galen taught that human health depended on an equilibrium of the four bodily humors, blood, black bile, yellow bile, and phlegm. Working in association with the humors were the four qualities, hot, cold, moist, and dry. In turn, the humors and the qualities came under the influence of the four primary and eternal elements, earth, air, fire, and water. An imbalance of the humors brought ill-health; good health returned with a correction of the humoral dyscrasia. To aid the restoration of humoral equilibrium, Galen recommended the use of purges, emetics, sudorifics, and blood-letting.¹²

Galen's humoral theory coloured New England Puritan thought throughout the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. For example, shortly after his arrival in Massachusetts Bay in 1629, the Reverend Francis Higginson (1586-1630) sent a letter, describing conditions in New England, to his parishioners left behind in Leicester. Using Galenic terminology, Higginson wrote that he expected his son to recover from "sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the king's evil...by the very wholesomeness of the air, altering, digesting, and drying up the cold and crude humors of the body...."¹³ The Reverend Michael Wigglesworth (1631-1705), one of the 126 New-England ministers known to have practised medicine and divinity, often used Galenic language. In *Meat out*

of the Eater: Or Afflictions Unto Gods Children (Cambridge, 1670), for example,

Wigglesworth wrote:

Much honey turns to Gall
And Cholerick excess;
And too-too-much Prosperity
Breeds Pride and Wantonness:
Afflictions purge them out,
Like bitter Aloe,
Which, though unpleasant to the taste,
Far wholsomer may be....¹⁴

A familiarity with Galen's ideas also extended to prominent lay Puritans such as Judge Samuel Sewall (1625-1730). On 10 May 1690, Sewall recorded in his diary that at the urging of her grandmother, his daughter, Hanah, took "a Vomit," that is, an emetic to ward off suspected smallpox.¹⁵

The second school of medical thought upon which New England Puritans drew for an explanation of illness in both adults and young people was that formulated by the Swiss physician, Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim (1493-1541), known as Paracelsus. Drawing on his earlier studies in alchemy, Paracelsus taught that human physiology was a series of chemical reactions controlled by a life force called the *archaeus*. When the body chemistry went awry, sickness ensued. Since disease was the outcome of faulty chemistry, Paracelsus recommended the use of chemical compounds based on lead, iron, copper, sulphur, and arsenic. In addition to his studies in alchemy, Paracelsus relied on astrological thought for the formulation of his medical theories. He believed, as did the Puritans, that the movements of the heavenly bodies had an impact on life on earth.¹⁶

In colonial New England Paracelsian and Galenic medicine existed side by side. One of the attractions of Paracelsian medicine for the minister-physicians was the religious

symbolism inherent in many of the ideas. For example, in 1696 the Reverend Thomas Palmer (c.1666-1743) recorded in his *vade mecum* that the *tria prima* (that is, the principle of salt, sulphur, and mercury) was “‘most perfect’ because it agreeth with the everlasting Trinity.” Dr Robert Childe, a Presbyterian, and John Winthrop Jr. (1606-1676), the son of Governor John Winthrop (1588-1647), and himself a governor of Connecticut colony, were both well-known practitioners of alchemical medicine.¹⁷ Like Galenic medicine, alchemical medicine remained popular throughout the seventeenth century and its therapeutics were considered suitable for children. In *The Angel of Bethesda*, a medical compendium completed in 1724 but not published in its entirety until 1972, Cotton Mather included an alchemical prescription, based on the use of alum, for the treatment of thrush in children.¹⁸ Like that of Galen, the Paracelsian idiom became a feature of Puritan religious literature such as poetry and sermons. Although the Puritan preparedness to embrace new medical theories seemingly stands at odds with the Puritan propensity to seek models for their version of the church in early Christian and Reformation thought, this willingness had its basis in the belief that God’s revelation of new forms of medicine would be, eventually, the means of restoring human nature to the state of perfection originally created by God.¹⁹

Since I discovered that many Puritans referred specifically to children and young adults when they wrote about sickness, I decided to focus the research on these two cohorts even though, initially, the significance of the Puritan practice was not readily apparent. However, since Philippe Ariès published his seminal work on children, *Centuries Of Childhood* (1960), access to children in history has been considerably eased. Ariès raised the question of whether childhood was a concept of historical relevance and, in so doing,

demonstrated that the history of children and childhood was of fundamental importance to our understanding of the past. The enormous impact Ariès' work has had on historical thought prompted David Stannard, in *The Puritan Way of Death* (1977), to argue "that throughout the past decade historians of family life have conducted their work in its shadow."²⁰

Ariès argued that the concept of life as a series of stages named according to age, the so-called "ages of man," or the "ages of life"--a motif characteristic of Puritan thought--originated with sixth-century B.C.E. Ionian philosophers whose ideas persisted into medieval times. To illustrate the continuity of the idea, Ariès cited passages from *Le Grand Propriétaire de toutes choses* (1556), a compilation of medieval texts. According to one of the authors, childhood and youth lasted from birth until the age of forty or fifty. "The first age is childhood when the teeth are planted, and this age begins when the child is born and lasts until seven, and in this age that which is born is called an infant...." This age was followed by a second seven-year stage. "After infancy comes the second age,...it is called *pueritia*...and this age lasts till fourteen." The same author then defined the following third stage "which is called adolescence, which ends according to Constantine...in the twenty-first year, but according to Isodore it lasts till twenty-eight...and it can go on until thirty or thirty-five...." This author then defined youth: "afterwards follows youth, which occupies the central position among the ages...and this age lasts until forty-five according to Isodore, or until fifty according to others...."²¹ One example of the Puritan expression of a lifespan divided into stages based on age occurs in the poetry of Anne Bradstreet (1612/13-1672). She divided her poem, *Of The Four Ages Of Man*, into "Childhood," "Youth," "Middle

Age,” and “Old Age.”²²

In addition to ushering in new perspectives on the history of children, Ariès subsequently generated a flurry of scholarly activity over the principal finding of his work. On the basis of a similarity of dress in both adults and children in French art, Ariès concluded both that medieval children were treated as “miniature adults” and that the concept of childhood was unheard-of until the early modern period.²³ But Ariès was not the first to make this claim for there existed already in America, a long-held and widespread belief among historians that colonial New England children were treated as miniature adults, again on the basis of a similarity of dress in adults and children. Ross W. Beales Jr., in “In Search of the Historical Child...,” identified among others, Arthur W. Calhoun, Sanford Fleming, and John Demos, as proponents of the “miniature adult” theory. In *A Social History of the American Family...* (1917), Calhoun noted a “curtailment of infancy”; in *Children and Puritanism...* (1933), Fleming argued that “children were regarded simply as miniature adults....”²⁴ This idea persisted in American historical thought at least until 1970 when John Demos, in *A Little Commonwealth* (1970), argued that, “there was little sense that children might somehow be a special group, with their own needs and interests and capacities. Instead they were viewed largely as miniature adults....”²⁵ However, in *The Puritan Way Of Death*, Stannard questioned the veracity of this point of view. He argued that “Puritan journals, autobiographies, and histories are filled with specific references to the differences between children and adults.”²⁶ Beales Jr. followed up on Stannard’s claim; citing evidence from “the language New Englanders used to describe the ‘ages of man’, by legal distinctions among age groups, and particularly by religious thought and practice,” he

unequivocally established that New England Puritans did not regard their children as miniature adults.²⁷

An issue related to the theory of miniature adulthood, one relevant to this thesis, concerns the designation of a period in the “ages of man” corresponding to what, today, we would recognize as adolescence. The child as “miniature adult” theory claims that children pass directly from childhood to adulthood without an intervening transition period. According to Ariès, and to Virginia and John Demos, not until the nineteenth century when urbanization and industrialization favoured its emergence was adolescence recognized.²⁸ As part of his investigation into the claim of miniature adulthood, Beales Jr. also weighed the evidence for and against the existence of adolescence, or its equivalent, in colonial Massachusetts. In his attempt to verify the existence of the concept of adolescence, Beales Jr. drew on evidence from Massachusetts’ legislation that recognised the age of fourteen as the age of discretion in cases of slander. Beales Jr. also noted that the Reverend Thomas Shepard (1605-1649), in a letter to his son on his entry to Harvard College at age fourteen, indicated quite clearly that his childhood days were over. Shepard wrote: “remember...that tho’ you have spent your time in the vanity of Childhood; sports and mirth, little minding better things, yet that now, when come to this ripeness of Admission to the College, that now God and man expects you should putt away Childish things: now is the time come, wherein you are to be serious, and to learn sobriety, and wisdom in all your ways which concern God and man.”²⁹

Yet fourteen-year-old youths did not enter adulthood. Rather, as Beales Jr. convincingly argued, they entered an age that we would call adolescence but which colonial

New Englanders called “youth.” Moreover, political and economical evidence indicates that the transition from childhood to adulthood was prolonged. At sixteen years of age young women could marry; and, young people were liable to execution for striking a parent. But young people were not allowed to vote, to make bequests, or to testify before a court until they were twenty-one. Economically, many rural sons faced a long period of dependency before inheriting the family farm. And even those sons who moved away remained dependent upon the family both for the purchase of land and for assistance to make the farm a going concern. Thus, the economic and political evidence taken in conjunction with the age of fourteen demarking the line between childhood and youth, convinced Beales Jr. and many other historians of colonial America that “...in colonial New England, childhood was not succeeded by ‘miniature adulthood’ but by ‘youth’, a lengthy transitional period preceding adult status.”³⁰ That children were distinguished from adults is the position I take in this thesis.

However, the New England Puritans also identified a group of young adults they termed “the rising generation.” And again, Ariès’ discussion on the ages of man aids the identification of what the Puritans meant when they used this term. The expression, “the rising generation,” came into use after mid-century when young people became the target of the ministers’ castigations for having failed to follow in the footsteps of the founding generation. Increase Mather (1639-1723), for example, distinguished between “the rising generation” and children in a sermon published in Boston in 1678. Increase Mather addressed his remarks to “*The Rising Generation*” encouraging them as parents, “*To Pray And Believe For Their Children.*” The occasion of the sermon was a fast, the purpose of

which was to seek “*For A Spirit Of Converting Grace, To Be Poured Out Upon The Children And Rising Generation In New England.*”³¹ With regard to the age of the rising generation, Cotton Mather offered a clue in *A Perfect Recovery...* (Boston, 1714), a sermon published in response to a severe epidemic of contagious disease in the winter of 1713-1714. Although he did not use the term “the rising generation,” Cotton Mather singled out “the *Younger People* in the Auditory” as most deserving of his remarks, defining this group as “such as have not seen *Four Sevens* of Years in the World.”³² Here, Cotton Mather’s definition appears to be a variation on Isodore’s earlier claim that adolescence lasted until twenty-eight. But whether Cotton Mather’s age-definition of “the *Younger People*” was widely recognised as synonymous with the rising generation is difficult to discern.

Ariès’ work revealed that although the human life span had long been understood as a series of ages, the dimensions of those ages underwent revision from time to time. Similarly, perceptions of human nature, a concept central to Puritan thought, have changed in response to societal norms. How did the Puritans perceive the children and young adults who are the focus of this study? To situate the Puritan perception of human nature in an historical context, one may begin with the work of Michel de Montaigne (1533-1592) who held that there were two kinds of children, some good and some evil but with a preponderance of the former. John Locke (1632-1704) promoted the idea of the *tabula rasa*, that is, children were born devoid of innate ideas and acquired a personality and capabilities in response to environmental determinants. However, Locke did see fit to add a qualifier: “God has stamped certain characters upon men’s minds....” Francis Bacon (1561-1626) took a position midway between nature and nurture. “A man’s nature runs either to herbs or

weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one and destroy the other.” Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) believed that all humankind, including children, was intrinsically good. In this, Rousseau was attempting to refute the Puritan concept of the nature of children, a nature which, on account of the taint of original sin, was inherently wicked and in need of restraint and discipline.³³ Moreover, the taint of original sin, an awareness of which began in childhood, accompanied a Puritan throughout life. To familiarize a child with the concept of inherent sinfulness, parents and ministers used numerous catechisms, the most popular of which was that written by the Reverend John Cotton (1548-1652), *Milk for Babes. Drawn Out of the Breasts of both Testaments. Chiefly, for the spirituall nourishment of Boston Babes in either England: But may be of like use to any Children* (Boston, 1646). In answer to the question, “What is your birth-sin?” a Puritan child responded with: “Adam’s sin imputed to me and a corrupt nature dwelling in me.”³⁴

Given the wealth of scholarship on Puritan childhood, one might have expected childhood sickness to have attracted more attention than it has. In *The Puritan Family* (1966), Edmund S. Morgan did refer to childhood sickness but he restricted his comments to the context of Cotton Mather’s exhortation to parents to use occasions of sickness as opportunities for religious instruction.³⁵ Also, historians have investigated infant and child mortality rates. For example, Philip J. Greven Jr., in “Family Structure in Seventeenth-Century Andover, Massachusetts,” concluded that the death rate among Andover children was lower than might be expected, attributing this finding to the absence, in Andover, of epidemics of smallpox such as frequently devastated Boston in the mid-seventeenth century. The focus of Greven’s study, however, was not child mortality *per se*, but how the overall

demographics contributed to the emergence of extended families in Andover.³⁶ Alice Morse Earl (1853-1911), in *Child Life in Colonial Days* (1899), also discussed child mortality rates along with some of the illnesses from which children suffered. But she did so from the perspective of a modern observer deploring the absence of the benefits of modern medicine rather than attempting to understand how the Puritans themselves understood childhood sickness.³⁷ Stannard in *The Puritan Way Of Death*, and Peter G. Slater in “From The Cradle to The Coffin...” have investigated some aspects of the relationship between childhood sickness and religious belief, and produced complementary studies. Slater looked at the parental response to death in the light of the doctrine of original sin and the uncertainty of childhood election; Stannard considered how a child might have responded to the threat of hell, the destination for unregenerate children.³⁸

The limited attention accorded childhood sickness in the historiography of colonial New England extends, also, to histories of medicine; to studies dealing with the relationships between medicine and religion; and to histories of paediatrics. In a gratuitous description illustrating the deplorable state of children’s health in colonial America, John Duffy, in *The Healers. A History Of American Medicine* (1979), wrote that “parents watched their children, besmeared with blood and pus, gradually strangle to death from diphtheria, or be swept away with the flux, measles, and so forth.”³⁹ In “The Reformed Tradition”(1986), James H. Smylie dealt with the theme of “God the Physician.”⁴⁰ Patricia Ann Watson’s book, *The Angelical Conjunction* (1991), focused on the minister-physicians and, understandably, mentions children only in passing.⁴¹ In *Pediatrics Of The Past* (1925), John Ruhrah dealt with the period of colonial New England by reproducing a medical treatise

published in 1667 by the Reverend Thomas Thacher (1620-1678) in response to an epidemic of smallpox in Boston. But, as I argue in Chapter Five, Thacher's treatise reads as a general work rather than one dealing with children.⁴² This overall lack of mention of sickness in children also extends to general histories of medicine. For example, both Lois N. Magner's *A History of Medicine* (1992), and Erwin H. Ackerknecht's *A Short History Of Medicine* (1968) largely consider children's illnesses in the context of the nineteenth-century development of paediatrics as a sub-specialty of medicine.⁴³ The near-absence of discussions of childhood sickness in the secondary sources coupled with frequent mention in the primary sources suggested that this aspect of Puritan history would be worthy of investigation.

The Puritans of old and New England recognised that their children had a crucial role to play in the establishment of the Puritan church. C. John Sommerville in "English Puritans and Children: A Social-Cultural Explanation," argued that English Puritans were the first to "show much interest in children," and that this interest while devoid neither of parental concern nor affection, actually had "instrumental ends." As members of a reform movement, English Puritans realized that their attempts to further the reformation of the Church of England in the absence of governmental and ecclesiastical sanction would most likely come to naught unless they could enlist the assistance of the succeeding generation. In recognition of the crucial role their children were expected to assume, English Puritans created a body of literature to arouse and retain their interest and sympathy. They wrote catechisms, stories from the Bible, and biographies of exemplary Puritan children, all at a level of language easily understood by children. They also warned their children of the evils of a corrupt

society. In one sense the Puritans were no different from conforming Protestants who also wrote special books for children. But whereas conforming Protestants attempted to foster appropriate manners in their children, the Puritans focused on spiritual matters. Sommerville strengthened his comparative study of Protestant and Puritan literature with additional material derived from an examination of works written for children by Quakers, Baptists, and Scottish Presbyterians. Like the Puritans, the Quakers and the Baptists were battling entrenched interests in an effort to gain recognition for their version of the true church. And like that of the Puritans, Quaker and Baptist literature for children emphasized spiritual matters. In contrast, in Scotland where the national church had successfully undergone a reformation along Presbyterian lines, there was an absence of literature designed to capture the religious interests and sympathies of the young.⁴⁴

Although Sommerville, like Ariès, was mistaken in his belief that little attention was paid to children until the Reformation, his conclusion that children were instrumental to the success of the Puritan movement in England paves the way to an assessment of the situation in Puritan New England. Like the Puritans who remained in England, those who opted for emigration recognised that the future of the Puritan church lay with their children. Emigration meant freedom from the encumbrances posed by the Church of England but it did not, on its own, ensure the perpetuation of the true church. New England Puritans, therefore, continued to pursue the same strategy of creating a body of literature aimed at instilling into their children the precepts of Puritan religion. In 1647, in recognition of the centrality of the Scriptures in the religious education of children, the Massachusetts Bay General Court ordered the appointment of a teacher in every town of fifty or more

householders to ensure that every child was taught to read and write. In 1639, Stephen Day set up the first printing press in Cambridge, Massachusetts; the first publication, in 1640, was the Bay Psalm Book. John Cotton's catechism, cited earlier, was first published in 1646 and went through nine printings in the seventeenth century. Other religious publications for children included *The Dutiful Child's Promises*, *An Alphabet of Lessons For Youth*, and the famous *New England Primer*, first printed in England but after the 1680s printed locally. Another popular book was James Janeway's *A Token For Children*, first published in England in 1671. With the exception of the Bible, Janeway's stories of the exemplary deaths of Puritan children was the book most often recommended for young readers.⁴⁵ These few examples of the measures taken to arouse a commitment to Puritan values show that New England Puritans regarded their children in much the same way as did English Puritans, in Sommerville's words, as "instruments" crucial to the successful completion of the Reformation of the church. Moreover, in so doing, the Puritans were continuing a practice the value of which had been recognized by all earlier Christian communities. In the words of Janet L. Nelson, "children were the blank sheet on which parents and churchmen inscribed needs and desires and strategies. They were the blue-print in which designs for the future were embodied."⁴⁶ But in the case of the Puritan venture, the age-old strategy of securing the church by means of the children was only partially successful. Hence, the move by the Puritan leaders to overcome the shortcomings of their strategy by investing the future of the church in "the rising generation." The endeavour to establish, and then to ensure the perpetuation of the true church in New England lent shape to the manner in which the New England Puritans understood sickness in children and young adults.

CHAPTER ONE

PURITANS

It cannot be unknown unto them that know anything, that those Christians in this realm which are called by the odious and vile name of Puritans, are accused by the prelates to the king's majesty and the state to maintain many absurd, erroneous, schismatical, and heretical opinions, concerning religion, church government and the civil magistracy.

William Bradshaw. *English Puritanisme: Containeing the Mainie Opinions of the Rigidest Sort of those that are Called Puritanes in the Realme of England* (Amsterdam? 1605).¹

In 1630, as he was writing his history, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, Governor William Bradford remembered the sting of the epithet "Puritan." "And to cast contempt the more upon the sincere servants of God," he wrote, "they opprobriously and most injuriously gave unto and imposed upon them that name of Puritans...."² The first of the "sincere servants of God" were Elizabethan Protestants, men and women critical of the monarch's Religious Settlement. "The godly," "the scripture men," and those "such as run to hear preaching,"³ that is, a minority of non-conforming Protestants, pressed for the re-institution of the "church of purity," the apostolic church they believed to have existed between the death of Christ and the death of the last of his apostles.⁴ John Bale, in 1556, was the first to speak of a "church of purity." The earliest recorded use of the word "puritan" occurs in John Stow's writings of 1557 where he described the activities of a congregation of non-conformists worshipping in the church of Minories Without Aldgate. Stow claimed that these people "called themselves Puritans or unspotted lambs of the Lord...." But contrary to Stow's assertion, as Bradford's words indicate, the term "Puritan"--in common use by the late 1560s--was actually one of opprobrium levelled at non-conformists by their detractors.⁵

Elizabethan Puritans believed that the Church of England was an aberration; that the true church lay buried beneath centuries of Catholic accretions.⁶ Yet they also believed that

Elizabeth (r.1558-1603) would be amenable to a furtherance of the Reformation. In order to secure their vision of a church constituted along the lines of the early Christian model, English Puritans moved against the established church with a critique that both identified elements deemed offensive and urged their replacement with Puritan practices and precepts. Certain of the ideas and circumstances which were part of the Puritan religious experience in Elizabethan England, and which I discuss in this chapter, had a bearing on how New England Puritans interpreted sickness.

Perhaps the most influential of the ideas was the notion that, as God's new election, the Puritans had a mission, or, in the words of Governor John Winthrop (1585-1648), "a speciall Commission,"⁷ to establish the true church on earth. Moreover, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, Protestant sympathisers, and especially those living in exile in Geneva to escape religious persecution under Mary I (r.1553-1558), expected that the English church would be reformed according to the model established at Geneva by John Calvin (1509-1564). But these more radically-minded Protestants had reckoned without the religious situation which confronted the monarch. In 1558 the English church was officially reconciled with Rome, the work of the monarch's Catholic half-sister, Mary. Unlike Mary, Elizabeth was Protestant and determined to re-establish in England an autonomous Protestant church. To do this, Elizabeth had to take into account two opposing constituencies of religious belief. On the one hand, there was a considerable Catholic constituency since both the House of Lords and Convocation were heavily weighted with Marian Catholic appointees. Elizabeth's retention of power depended on the Catholic acceptance of a church once more severed from Rome. On the other hand, Elizabeth was dependent on the expertise

of Protestant scholars and theologians and, the more so, on those who had had first hand experience of continental Protestantism.⁸ In order to reconcile the two factions and to quell religious dissension, Elizabeth engineered a religious compromise, or *via media*, between Rome and Geneva. Consequently, the Church of England was constituted as a syncretism of Catholic and Protestant elements. The Church of England retained the same type of Catholic hierarchical government, albeit with one important difference: instead of the pope at its head, Elizabeth assumed supremacy following the practice established by Henry VIII (r. 1509-1547). The Church of England continued the practice of investing the episcopacy with the authority to govern and administer the Church; and it retained the traditional Catholic liturgy. Like its predecessor, also, the Church of England claimed universality; stipulated compulsory church attendance; and insisted on clerical subscription to the official prayer book. The Church of England's principal Protestant component was its foundational theology expressed in the Thirty-Nine Articles of 1559, the Church of England's official doctrinal statement.⁹ Thus, the Puritans had good reason to criticize the Elizabethan Religious Settlement for the established church had indeed retained many "popish" practices.

The Puritans grounded their critique of the established church and sought models for the constitution of the true church in the evidence of the Bible, esteeming above all others the Geneva version.¹⁰ In common with continental and other English Protestants, the Puritans upheld the principle of *sola scriptura*, "by Scripture alone."¹¹ Calvin, whose ideas informed many aspects of Puritan theology, asserted: "I approve only of those human institutions which are founded upon the authority of God and derived from Scripture."¹² William Perkins (1558-1602), the most influential and able of the English Puritan

theologians,¹³ insisted that the divinely-inspired nature of the biblical writings accounted for their scriptural authority. Perkins did concede that mere men had written the Bible but he insisted that they had done so only at times of “the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost.”¹⁴ William Tyndale, one of the first English Protestants to undertake a translation of the New Testament, reasoned that since the Bible had been inspired by God then no one could challenge its meaning. In *Obedience of a Christian Man* (1528), Tyndale wrote that “the Scripture hath but one sense, which is the literal sense, and that literal sense is the root and ground of all....”¹⁵ English Puritans claimed that a diligent study of the Bible, aided solely by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, was sufficient to reveal the truth. Furthermore, there was a sense, articulated by John Hooper (d.1555), the Protestant Bishop of Gloucester during the reign of Edward VI (r.1547-1553), that an understanding of the Bible was within the reach of all mankind whether learned or not.¹⁶ Hooper’s optimism, however, proved ethereal since, in practice, many biblical passages taxed even the comprehension of educated Puritan theologians. Nevertheless, Perkins taught that the Bible was the sole authority for the true church; that the Scriptures were “the only foundation of our faith and the rule and canon of all truth.”¹⁷ According to the Puritan preachers the Bible had a two-fold function: it furnished the ammunition for the Puritan critique of the Church of England; and it contained the blueprint for the construction of the true, apostolic church. And just as the Bible lent shape to Puritan thought, so did biblical evidence influence the ways in which New England Puritans understood sickness.

Obviously, the Puritans did not wholly abide by the doctrine of *sola scriptura* either to structure their thought in general, or to inform their understanding of sickness. However,

the biblical teachings on the existence of a covenant between God and His new elect nation, a central motif of Puritan theology, helped to frame the interpretations New England Puritans assigned to sickness. In formulating their covenantal theology, English Puritans relied, in part, on Martin Luther (1483-1546), whose teaching found a receptive audience in England. Luther argued that “it is for this reason that we are saved: God has made a testament and a covenant with us, so that whoever believes and is baptised will be saved. In this covenant God is truthful and faithful, and is bound by what he has promised.”¹⁸ The implication in Luther’s teaching is that it is an action on the part of humankind, in this case baptism, which activates the covenant. Sinful mankind recognises his need for redemption and calls upon God. Luther’s own religious experience influenced his understanding of man’s relationship with God. Although he attempted to earn salvation through good works, Luther felt that whatever he did was insufficient to merit God’s grace. At the same time, Luther pondered the meaning of Paul’s words on the righteousness of God and, at first, concluded that they meant God justly punished the wicked and rewarded the righteous. But Luther’s religious experience, *Turmerlebnis*, or “tower experience,” convinced him that Paul’s words, “the just shall live by faith,” meant that faith came as a gift from God; faith was not something mankind earned by doing good works. Luther then argued that since mankind was incapable of meeting the precondition of the covenant--good works--then God graciously bestowed faith upon man. Thus, Luther shifted the onus for meeting the terms of the covenant from man to God.¹⁹

In turn, Luther’s ideas were taken up by Calvin whose theology relied, foremost, on the doctrine of the omnipotence of God. Calvin held that God gave the covenant to man, not

because he was under any obligation to do so but because God recognised the frailty of man and chose graciously to indulge it. Calvin recognised the existence of two covenants, the one God made with the Old Testament patriarchs, and the one which existed from the time of Christ onwards. In both these covenants salvation depended on Christ acting as God's mediator. Yet Calvin contributed only modestly to the development of covenant theology. Of the several theologians who took an interest in covenant theology, William Perkins did most to ensure its permanency in Puritan thought.²⁰

In general, Perkins defined God's covenant as a "contract" the terms of which stipulated God's promise of eternal life in exchange for man's promise to swear allegiance to God and "to perform the condition." More specifically, Perkins took the idea of the existence of two covenants and labelled the earlier one a covenant of works where the condition was one of "perfect obedience" to the Ten Commandments, themselves "an abridgement of the whole law and the covenant of works."²¹ Perkins taught that the later covenant of grace was God's promise of "salvation and life everlasting" granted by Him in exchange for repentance of sin and faith in Christ. Unlike the covenant of works which enabled recognition of sin and acted as a lifetime behavioural guide, the terms of the covenant of grace were only fulfilled at death.²²

Perkins confined the membership of the covenant to "all the seed of Abraham, or the seed of the faithful." This restriction on the membership of the covenant was entirely in keeping with the biblical foundations of Puritan theology since the Old Testament covenants enacted between God and the patriarchs had included only Israelites. But when Israel rejected Jesus Christ as the long-prophesied Messiah, that nation relinquished its claim to

the New Testament covenant. Then, as a consequence of the emphasis Reformed theologians accorded the Scriptures, Protestants recognized the centrality of the covenant and themselves as members of it. Calvin believed that “the calling of the Gentiles” constituted “a notable mark of the excellence of the New Testament over the old.” And although Calvin ventured that “...it seemed completely unreasonable that the Lord, who for so many ages had singled out Israel from all other nations...,” God’s action was to be expected since the Old Testament had foretold such an eventuality.²³

The fullest expression of Puritan covenant theology came with the formulation of the Westminster Confession of Faith, drawn up in 1647 under the aegis of Parliament and adopted by the New England Cambridge Synod of 1646-8 as a veritable statement of Puritan faith.²⁴ Like Calvin before them, the English theologians who drew up the Confession held that in the bestowal of the covenant God took the initiative. Also, the Westminster Confession postulated the existence of two covenants. God had enacted the first covenant, a covenant of works, with a promise to Adam that he and his posterity would enjoy eternal life on the condition of perfect obedience. But because Adam proved incapable of keeping the terms of the covenant of works, God graciously chose to make a second covenant, the covenant of grace. In this covenant, God offers salvation, mediated by Christ, in exchange for faith.²⁵

Besides furnishing the evidence for the concept of the covenant, the Bible also informed Puritan thought regarding the meaning and function of the sacraments. And again this was an aspect of Puritan thought which had implications for the ways in which New England Puritans interpreted sickness. Although the Church of England retained the

traditional Catholic sacramental liturgy, some aspects of the official sacramental provisions met with Puritan approval. Puritan theologians welcomed the rejection of all but two of the seven traditional sacraments. They believed that in retaining baptism and the Lord's Supper, the Church of England had not only constituted itself according to the continental Protestant model but also, in so doing, had brought the English church a little closer to that of the early Christians. The early Christians had attributed the creation of the church, not to their own abilities, but to the supernatural force of the Resurrection of Christ. In turn, the New Testament image of Christ Risen had convinced the early Christians of the primacy of the two rituals associated with Christ's life, the Last Supper and Christ's baptism in the River Jordan by St. John. The early Christians, therefore, centred their ecclesiastical activities on the rites of baptism and the Lord's Supper, rites which later achieved sacramental status in the hands of medieval theologians.²⁶

The Protestants taught that the principal criterion for designating a rite sacramental status was an accompanying liturgical sign, such as the water in baptism and the bread and the wine in the Lord's Supper. Luther argued that "...there are only two sacraments in the church of God--baptism and the bread. For only in these two do we find the divinely instituted sign...." Likewise, in his *Institutes Of The Christian Religion*, Calvin held that other than baptism and the Lord's Supper "no other sacrament has been instituted by God...." Similarly, Article 25 of the Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles declares that "there are two sacraments ordained of Christ Our Lord in the gospel, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord."²⁷ Thus, in respect of the proper number of sacraments, so designated on account of an accompanying sign, Church of England practice both resembled that of the

apostolic church and reflected Puritan values.

Puritan thought regarding the definition and the proper number of the sacraments took shape under the scholarship of William Perkins. In *A Golden Chain Or The Description Of Theology containing the order of the causes of salvation and damnation according to God's Word*, an immensely popular book first printed in Latin in 1590, Perkins, like Luther and Calvin before him, confined the number of sacraments to two on the grounds that each had to have an accompanying sign,²⁸ a definition which eventually found expression in the Westminster Confession of Faith. Article 27 of the Westminster Confession states that "there be only two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, baptism and the supper of the Lord...."²⁹

In addition to the changes in definition and number, Protestants, including the Puritans, assigned the sacraments a different meaning. Whereas the Catholic church taught that the seven sacraments had the power to convey God's grace to the recipient, Protestant theologians taught that the sacraments were signs of God's promises to humankind. Luther taught that the sacraments were "divinely instituted signs and the promise of forgiveness of sins." Calvin, who relied on Augustine (354-430) for his definition, held that a sacrament was "an outward sign by which the Lord seals on our consciences the promises of his good will toward us in order to sustain the weakness of our faith." Like Luther and Calvin, Perkins taught that the sacraments signified "God's promise of grace."³⁰ Similarly, the Westminster Confession of Faith held that "sacraments are holy signs and seals of the covenant of grace, immediately instituted by God to represent Christ and his benefits...."³¹

The changes Protestant theologians brought to the sacraments included rejecting the

Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation, a doctrine which postulated that at the moment of consecration, the Eucharistic bread and wine were transformed into the actual body and blood of Christ. Although the early Christians had accepted without question the notion of the Real Presence,³² continental Protestant theologians failed to agree on the authenticity of the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Whereas both Luther and Zwingli denounced the concept of the Real Presence, albeit on different grounds, Calvin upheld it. Arguing that Christ's body rested in heaven, Calvin denied Christ's omnipresence. To account for the actual presence of Christ during the Lord's Supper, Calvin invoked the presence and assistance of the Holy Spirit. Moreover, since the Holy Spirit enabled Christ's presence, then to partake of the bread and wine signified a nourishing, spiritual union with Christ.³³

This aspect of Calvin's thought appears to have been the foundation of the New England Puritan belief that, during certain illnesses, the blood of Christ had an important therapeutic function. At the official doctrinal level, the Westminster Confession of Faith, repeating Perkins' directive that "there is no mutation of the sign into the thing signed," declared that "...in substance and nature... [the elements] still remain truly and only bread and wine as they were before."³⁴ Nonetheless, the New England preacher-physicians related Christ's blood with the practice of blood-letting, one of Galen's treatments for the restoration of humoral equilibrium. As Christ had shed his blood for the redemption of mankind, so was blood-letting understood as medicine to alleviate the sins of the sick soul. Thus, partaking of the sacramental wine, representative of Christ's blood, amounted to taking medicine to cure sin.³⁵

English Puritans approved of the Church of England's rejection of the doctrine of

transubstantiation, and they welcomed the changes in the meaning, definition, and number of the sacraments. Nonetheless, they denounced the retention of the Catholic sacramental liturgy, set out in *The Book Of Common Prayer*. Those aspects of the liturgy which offended Puritan religious sensibilities an anonymous author identified in "*A View Of Popish Abuses Yet Remaining In The English Church*," appended to *An Admonition to the Parliament*, published in 1572. In general, the anonymous author categorized *The Book Of Common Prayer* as "...an unperfect book, culled and picked out of that popish dunghill, the mass book full of all abominations."³⁶ With regard to the Eucharistic liturgy, the anonymous author identified kneeling to receive the elements and the use of the wafer as particularly distasteful, believing that such practices smacked of popery and denied "the mystery of the holy supper."³⁷

Equally, the Puritans found much to condemn in the baptismal liturgy. According to the anonymous author of "*A View Of Popish Abuses*," the Puritans denounced the use of the font and they condemned the signing of the cross over the forehead of the baptismal child, arguing that such a practice amounted to the wicked institution of a new sacrament unsanctioned by Scripture. They saved their greatest invective, however, for the established church's retention of the Catholic custom of designating godparents the custodians of the infant's spiritual welfare. Not only did the Puritans judge the chosen godparents to be incapable of keeping their promises made on behalf of the child but also they ridiculed the priest both for posing questions of faith beyond the comprehension of an infant and for accepting the answers of the godparents speaking in lieu of the child.³⁸

In Elizabethan England, the shortcomings of the sacramental liturgy became the

focus of the Puritan critique of the established church. But the changes which the Protestants brought to the sacrament of baptism had far-reaching and unforeseen consequences both for the constitution of the Puritan church in New England and the way in which New England Puritans understood sickness. The difficulties which the New England Puritans experienced over baptism had their origins in the teachings of the early church. In the apostolic church, baptism had acted as a rite of cleansing from sin; as a mark of conversion to Christianity; and as a rite of passage into the Christian community.³⁹ At first, and in keeping with the precedent of Christ's baptism, adult baptism was the norm. Yet despite a lack of biblical evidence, adult baptism gave way to the baptism of infants. Augustine taught the necessity of infant baptism for the washing away of original sin, explaining that "even infants who are set free, by the washing of rebirth, from the fetters of original sin (which was the only sin that bound them) still endure many afflictions...."⁴⁰ Augustine also taught that baptism left an indelible mark--*character indelebilis*--which identified the soul as belonging to God. Baptism, therefore, could not be repeated.⁴¹ The sixteenth-century Protestant reformers accepted both the notion of an indelible mark and the practice of infant baptism, but they rejected the Catholic teaching that baptism had the power to convey God's grace to the recipient.

Yet reformed theologians failed to achieve consensus over the meaning and function of baptism. Luther, who reconciled the necessity of baptism with his theory of justification by faith, argued that baptism generated faith, that God gave faith as a gift. "A child becomes a believer if Christ in baptism speaks to him through the mouth of the one who baptizes...."⁴² In contrast, Zwingli, who rejected the Augustinian belief that infants are born tainted with

original sin, initially held that baptism had no place in the reformed church. Later, however, he taught that baptism was the equivalent of the Old Testament practice of circumcision. As circumcision had signified admission to the covenant enacted between God and Israel, so did baptism celebrate entrance into the Christian community.⁴³ Calvin followed Zwingli in regarding circumcision as analogous to baptism. Moreover, Calvin insisted that the covenant enacted between God and Abraham had not fallen into abeyance. If circumcision marked the admission of a Jewish infant into the covenant then baptism did likewise for Christian infants. Calvin also justified the practice of infant baptism by claiming that Matthew 19:14, "Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for such is the kingdom of heaven," meant that Christ intended infants to be baptized.⁴⁴ The Church of England's position on baptism represented a syncretism of Catholic and Protestant values. Article 27 of the Thirty-Nine Articles states that "baptism is not only a sign of profession, and a mark of difference...but...also a sign of regeneration or new birth, whereby, as by an instrument, they that receive baptism rightly are grafted into the church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased...."⁴⁵

Like the Church of England's doctrinal position on baptism, that of William Perkins, representative of the Puritan viewpoint, was an amalgamation of Protestant and earlier Christian ideas. Perkins retained the traditional teaching that baptism denoted admission to the church. He held that during the celebration of baptism, "Christians are initiated and admitted into the Church of God." And like Zwingli, Perkins related baptism to membership of a covenant not, however, with entry into it but, rather, as confirmation of an existing

membership. "Baptism is a sacrament by which such as are within the covenant are washed with water in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost...."⁴⁶ But unlike Zwingli, Perkins held that humankind was born in a state of original sin and that baptism did nothing to alleviate it. According to Perkins, "man after he was created of God was set in an excellent estate of innocence." But after the Fall, there arose "original sin, which is corruption engendered in our first conception, whereby every faculty of soul and body is prone and disposed to evil." Furthermore, "all Adam's posterity is equally partaker of this corruption."⁴⁷ The doctrine of original sin, fundamental to Puritan theology, also determined, in part, how the Puritans of New England understood sickness.

A second doctrine fundamental to Puritan theology and, hence, to the understanding of sickness was that of predestination. And as with so many other aspects of their theology, the Puritans based their elaboration on Calvin. In turn, Calvin relied on Augustine who began his argument with Adam's Fall which, having rendered humankind incapable of rising unaided from a state of damnation, meant that Adam's progeny had to rely on God for redemption, made possible by God's decision to sacrifice his son, Jesus Christ. After Christ's resurrection, redemption rested on faith, that is, on the belief that Christ, the second Adam, had died to save mankind. But when Augustine came to consider whether or not God chose to save all mankind, he concluded that God only chose to save some, omitting any mention of the fate of those whom God chose not to save. In Calvin's mind, this silence on Augustine's part indicated the existence of an illogical element of chance surrounding God's activities. If Calvin's doctrine of God's omnipotence were to be able to withstand scrutiny, God had to be endowed with absolute control over all events. Calvin, therefore, augmented

Augustine's doctrine of predestination with the idea that God actively decided whom he would condemn to damnation as well as whom he would save. Although Calvin enlarged his doctrine of predestination to include the destiny of the elect and the reprobate, he continued to view the doctrine as subordinate to that of God's sovereignty.⁴⁸ In contrast, Perkins and his contemporaries, though not in any way denigrating the sovereignty of God, chose to emphasize the doctrine of predestination. In *A Golden Chain*, Perkins included an explanatory chart along with his elaboration of the parallel pathways to heaven and hell, intending the chart to function as an educational aid for those "which cannot read: for by the pointing of the finger they may sensibly perceive the chief points of religion, and the order of them."⁴⁹

In transforming the doctrine of predestination into a practical formula, the Puritan preachers turned to the writings of Paul. There, they found an exemplary life, worthy of emulation; and, from Paul's teachings, a prescription to alleviate contemporary religious suffering. In particular, the preachers cited Paul's words: "Moreover whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified" (Romans 8:30). The Puritan preachers also adopted Paul's idea that God did not choose for election on the basis of wealth or social standing. Thus, by citing Paul's teachings as well as his conversion on the road to Damascus, the Puritan preachers were able to assure their congregations that they too, if among the elect, could count on God's promise of salvation. As part of a doctrine of assurance, the preachers also stressed the idea of spiritual equality. Since God chose whom he would, then one person was the equal of another, at least on a spiritual, if not an earthly level.⁵⁰

But assurance of spiritual equality still left open the question of how one might know if one were of God's elect. One way in which the Puritan preachers attempted to resolve the lack of absolute assurance was to teach that if one faithfully believed that God had sacrificed his son for the redemption of mankind, one would indeed be sure sign of election.⁵¹ And to allay uncertainties over the coming of faith the preachers taught the necessity of introspection, of searching the heart for evidence of an infusion of God's gift of grace. As an aid to this self-scrutiny, the preachers encouraged the keeping of spiritual diaries in which the daily fluctuations in assurance might be recorded. Detections of God's grace, however, did not absolve the elect of any further spiritual involvement--election was a process, not an event. To assist the elect in their life task, the Puritan preachers, with the help of Perkins' formulary, identified stopping places along the pathway to salvation. One of Perkins' successors at Cambridge, the Reverend John Downname (d. 1652), explained the process of salvation as follows:

Whosoever therefore are predestinate to salvation, they also are effectually called, that is, separate from the world, and ingrafted into the bodie of Christ.... Whosoever are effectually called, are also justified; and therefore have attained a true and lively faith. Whosoever are justified are also sanctified, that is, die unto their sinnes, and rise againe to newnes of life.... And therefore as by our sanctification, justification, and vocation, we may certainly conclude that we are elected and shall be saved....⁵²

In the hands of the Puritan preachers, therefore, the doctrine of predestination underwent a transformation. In theory, the doctrine postulated that God determined election and reprobation. But, in practice, the Puritan preachers taught their followers to pay close attention to the coming of salvation. And in so doing, the preachers offered a formula which enabled the spiritually perplexed to cope with the vicissitudes of life at a time of religious

upheaval.⁵³ Yet another way in which the preachers attempted to allay doubts over assurance, was to teach the value of sickness as an aid to the detection of election, an aspect of the New England Puritan understanding of sickness I discuss in Chapter Three.

The task of transforming the doctrine of the elect from an abstruse theological idea into a form easily comprehended by the members of the congregation, was well within the capabilities of the Puritan preachers, the majority of whom were educated at Cambridge University, though a considerable number of them were Oxford men.⁵⁴ In the 1590s Laurence Chaderton, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, instituted a two-year programme of instruction especially designed to advance the Puritan cause. Those aspiring to preach God's word in accordance with Puritan ideals, studied humanism, history, logic, rhetoric and biblical exegesis.⁵⁵ An integral component of the programme was instruction in the preparation and delivery of the all-important sermon, deemed efficacious in assisting the recognition of election.⁵⁶ Puritan sermons conformed to a model devised by Perkins in his *Order and Summe of the Sacred and onely method of Preaching*. The preacher's first task was to read the chosen text to the congregation. Next, by means of a procedure known as "opening" the text, the preacher explained the meaning of the text with reference to its context. The preacher then "divided" the text, that is, in Perkins' words, the preacher had "to collect a few and profitable points out of the natural state." The sermon concluded with the "uses" or the applicability of the identified doctrines to everyday life.⁵⁷ The aim of the sermon was to arouse the consciences of the members of the congregation; to elicit the all-important question of how a person might attain salvation; and to provide a prescription to ease spiritual anxieties. In order to capture the hearts of the congregation, Puritan preachers

eschewed abstruse metaphors and obscure literary allusions, preferring instead, parables and homely similitudes delivered in the plain style.⁵⁸ Henry Smith, a Puritan preacher, urged the ministers “to preach plainly and perspicuously, that the simplest man may understand what is taught, as if he did hear his name.”⁵⁹ A second strategy, one adopted with enthusiasm by the New England ministers, was the use of medical metaphors to render theological abstractions comprehensible. For example, Cotton Mather defined sin as the “*sickness of the Soul*”.⁶⁰ The Puritan sermons, therefore, were masterpieces of rhetoric, written and delivered to sway the popular mind.

Although many Elizabethan Puritans found much to criticize in the monarch’s Religious Settlement, the majority still recognised the Church of England as a legitimate, national institution. But rather than accepting without question what they regarded as a partially reformed church, they worked within the established church confident that, eventually, the reformation would be completed. Moreover, these Puritans did enjoy a measure of success in their attempts to institute reform from within. In order that their forms of worship might approximate those of the apostolic church, the Puritans put their own gloss on the ministration of the sacraments. To do so, they could have used the Geneva *Book of the forme of common prayers* but, instead, they complied with the Act of Uniformity which stipulated the use of *The Book Of Common Prayer*.⁶¹ But even as they overtly complied with the law, covertly, the Puritan preachers shaped the prescribed liturgy to suit their own notions of authentic forms of worship. And in so doing, they appear to have been following the advice Archbishop Edmund Grindal (c.1519-1583) gave William Cole, a preacher with the Merchant Adventurers in Antwerp in 1564. Grindal insisted on the use of *The Book Of*

Common Prayer but tempered his insistence with the qualifier that the Puritans were “to take ‘as much and as little thereof as to your discretion by the advice of the seniors shall be thought good.’”⁶² The Puritan preachers, therefore, truncated some parts of the prayer book and extended others in order to be able to accommodate the sermon without which the efficacy of the sacraments would be compromised.⁶³ But the practice of taking “as much or as little” of *The Book Of Common Prayer* as individual preachers saw fit spawned a variety of liturgical practices. At the communion service, some Puritans received the elements standing, some sitting, and yet others kneeling even though the last practice amounted to idolatry in the eyes of some.⁶⁴ Nor was there any uniformity of practice in the dispensation of the elements. Some Puritan ministers used the traditional chalice, others used a special cup, while yet others preferred an ordinary cup. With regard to the bread, some ministers used ordinary bread, others the wafer. Equally, the Puritan ministers developed a wide variety of liturgical practices for the celebration of baptism. Most Puritans rejected the use of the font, seeing it as a continuation of Catholic practice. Instead, some used a dish for the water, others a basin. Some omitted to sign the cross over the forehead of the baptismal child, and many Puritan preachers recommended that the parents take on the task of safeguarding the child’s spiritual welfare.⁶⁵

At the same time, the Puritan preachers abhorred the diversity of liturgical practices for which they were responsible, for even though they advocated non-conformity, they prized uniformity and universal conformity.⁶⁶ Yet in those parishes where both the preacher and the congregation embraced Puritan ideals and, equally important, where the bishop was sympathetic, such was the Puritan preachers’ success in implementing their own forms of

worship that the Puritan historian, Patrick Collinson, has argued for the existence of “a church within the Church.”⁶⁷ In a climate of religious toleration, Elizabethan Puritans flourished.

CHAPTER TWO

EXODUS

God hath beene pleased so to blesse men in the health of their bodies: that I dare confidently say it, out of that Towne from whence I came, in three yeares and a halfe, there dyed but three, one of which was crazed before he came into the Land; the other were two Children borne at one birth before their time, the Mother being accidentally hurt. To make good which losses, I have seene foure Children Baptized at a time, which wipes away that common aspersion that women have no Children, being a meere falsity, there being as sweete, lusty children as in any other Nation....

William Wood. *New Englands Prospect* (London, 1634).¹

William Wood claimed that he wrote from experience when he described New England as a healthy place for children. Although little is known about Wood, he appears to have been a passenger on the 1629 Massachusetts Bay Company expedition to New England and to have lived at Salem. Wood wrote *New Englands Prospect* in response to a growing interest in conditions in New England and, especially, in the feasibility of settling there. One indicator of that interest is the book's publication history--the initial printing in 1634 was followed by two further editions in 1635 and 1639. Thus, *New Englands Prospect* which, according to its title page, purported to be "a true, lively, and experimentall description of that part of *America*, commonly called NEW ENGLAND," does appear to have fulfilled its mandate which was to "both enrich the knowledge of the mind-travelling Reader, or benefit the future Voyager."²

When Wood returned to England in August 1633 to write his book,³ the Puritan exodus was already under way. In 1620 part of the English Separatist congregation at Leyden had crossed the Atlantic in the *Mayflower* and established themselves at Plymouth Plantation. In 1630 the Massachusetts Bay Company followed up on the 1629 advance expedition with a second, led by Governor John Winthrop. After his arrival in New

England, Winthrop repeatedly recorded the safe passage and arrival of vessels carrying emigrants, most of whom would have been in sympathy with Puritan ideals even if not enthusiastic converts. On 5 June 1632, for example, Winthrop recorded the arrival of the *William and Francis*, with “about sixty passengers” some of whom were “with their families.”⁴ In all, an estimated 21,000 people left England for New England between 1630 and 1641, an exodus dubbed the “Great Migration”.⁵ Typically, the emigrants who opted to settle in Massachusetts Bay were families with children. Extant customs’ records for the year 1637 show that of the 80 passengers who sailed from the port of Sandwich in Kent, 31 were children; of the 193 who left Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, 86 were children.⁶ Furthermore, from the outset, the Massachusetts Bay Company made provision for the transportation of children. On 30 November 1629, at a meeting dealing with finances prior to departure, the company members devised differential fares, based on age, and allowed “sucking children” to travel free of charge.⁷ And, since pregnancy did not rule out an Atlantic crossing, some children were born at sea. On 1 June 1630, Winthrop recorded that after “a woman...fell in travail,” the crew of the *Arbella* had to hail the *Jewel*, sailing ahead, in order to transfer the midwife from one ship to the other.⁸

The men, women, and children who took part in the “Great Migration” did so during the reign of Charles I (r.1625-1649, executed). In marked contrast to the religious harmony which, with few departures, had prevailed during the reign of Elizabeth and her successor, James I (r.1603-1625), the accession of Charles I ushered in an era of intense Puritan persecution. Even before his accession, Charles had set alarm bells ringing in Puritan minds with his marriage to Henrietta Maria, the daughter of the French king, Henri IV. Henrietta

Maria arrived in London accompanied by an entourage of Catholic priests. When Charles appointed Richard Montague (1577-1641), an avowed anti-Calvinist, to his private chaplaincy, the Puritans feared that the monarch intended to return the Church of England to Rome. Then, within a year of his succession, Charles began the preferment which culminated in July 1633, on the death of Archbishop George Abbot (1562-1633), in the elevation of William Laud (1573-1645) to the Archbishopric of Canterbury. Laud determined to return the Church of England, not to Rome as the Puritans supposed, but to what he considered to be the Church's rightful, historic role as a *via media* between Rome and Geneva. Laud and his fellow churchmen, such as Montague--labelled Arminians by their detractors on account of the similarity of their doctrinal outlook with that of Arminius--denounced Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Laudians insisted on a place in human affairs for free will since it was free will, they argued, which both assisted God's bestowal of grace and accounted for man's ability to resist grace.⁹

In liturgical matters, Laudians found inspiration in verse nine of Psalm 96, "O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness." In practice, "the beauty of holiness" translated into a veneration of ceremony; into church ornamentation; into rites such as bowing at the name of Jesus, or kneeling at the altar rail during the dispensation of the elements; and into the compulsory use of vestments. To add to Puritan woes, in 1633 Charles re-issued James' *Declaration of Sports* and ordered it to be read from the pulpit in all churches. The *Declaration* permitted, at the conclusion of divine service, "lawful recreation, such as dancing, either men or women, archery for men, leaping, vaulting,...May games, Whitsun ales, and morris dances...." Moreover, the *Declaration* invested the bishops with the

authority to order Puritans “to conform themselves or to leave the county...”¹⁰

Thus, backed by royal authority, Laud and his bishops set out to enforce conformity to a vision of the true church very different from that of the Puritans. In order to enforce uniformity, to punish offenders, and to aid the detection of irregularities and infractions, the Laudians resorted to the parish visitation, in their hands a very effective instrument. Two extant documents pertaining to parish visitations, the one a record of Laud’s findings and comments for a visitation conducted in Leicestershire in 1634, the other, a questionnaire bearing Montague’s imprint for a visitation in the Diocese of Norwich in 1638,¹¹ not only indicate an intimate acquaintance with Puritan practices and precepts but also the lengths to which the Laudians were prepared to go to root them out. No aspect of church life escaped the bishops’ scrutiny. Montague’s “Articles of Enquiry” ranged from the fabric of the church and its appurtenances to niceties of belief and ritual. Both Montague’s “Articles” and Laud’s record indicate, as might be expected, a special interest in the ministration of the sacraments. With regard to baptism, Montague’s questionnaire aimed to identify Puritan teachings and the Puritan predilection for declaring redundant sacramental accoutrements deemed popish in nature. “Doth your minister teach,” demanded Montague, “or do any of your parish hold, that the sacrament of baptism is not of absolute and indispensable necessity unto salvation?” Montague also insisted on the proper placement of the font, “near unto the church door to signify our entrance into God’s church by baptism....” Laud recorded, no doubt with satisfaction, that in the parish of Mountsorrel, “the font that was a horse-trough is now made a font again.” With regard to the Lord’s Supper, the proper placement of the communion table and its enclosure by railings attracted the attention of both Montague and

Laud. At St. Mary's Church in Leicester, Laud insisted that the communion table be placed "under the great window"; and, that "the minister...administer communion there and not remove the table from there unto any other part of the church." Montague insisted on the provision of close altar railings in order "to keep out little dogs or cats from going in and profaning that holy place, from pissing against it, or worse...."¹²

The penalty for non-conformity varied. For a minor infringement such as "playing at nine men's morris in the churchyard on Sunday," Robert Lord the younger was "admonished and dismissed." For serious transgressions such as refusing to kneel to receive the elements, the penalty was excommunication.¹³ However, Puritan ministers who resisted compliance could usually expect harsher treatment than that meted out to members of the congregation. For example, the Reverend Thomas Shepard (1605-1649), the minister at Newtown (later Cambridge) from 1635, the year of his arrival in Massachusetts until his death, had experienced the penalty of being silenced at the hand of Laud. Shepard recorded in his autobiography that immediately following Laud's appointment in 1630 to the bishopric of London, he summoned Shepard to appear before him. Laud, in Shepard's estimation "a fierce enemy to all righteousness," sentenced Shepard for his non-conformity to "neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial function in any part of...[his] diocese...." In the event that Shepard chose to disregard the injunction, Laud threatened, "I will be upon your back and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you." Thereafter, until he left for New England, Shepard found it prudent to preach clandestinely and to be ever mindful of the possibility of detection by Laudian bishops or of apprehension by ecclesiastical pursuivants.¹⁴

Religious persecution of the nature Shepard experienced, along with the freedom New England promised for the establishment of the Puritan version of the true church, persuaded many Puritans to consider emigration. Opting for emigration, however, brought its own problems not least of which was the healthiness of the place chosen for settlement. Since one of the objectives of emigration was first to establish and then to ensure the perpetuation of the Puritan church, the health of the children and young people who were expected to follow in the footsteps of the founding generation was paramount. William Bradford, one of the earliest to write a history of the Puritans in New England, recorded that both the health of the Leyden congregation's children and the healthiness, or not, of the countries proposed for settlement were considered important enough to warrant a place in the discussions which culminated in the decision to leave Holland. According to Bradford, in a list of only four reasons he drew up to explain the decision, "many of their children that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations," had become "decrepit in their early youth, the vigour of nature being consumed in the bud," on account of their having taken on "part of their parents' burden...." Then, once they had decided to leave Holland, the congregation took into account the healthiness, or otherwise, of the places proposed for settlement. The congregation ruled out "some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America" on the grounds that "the change of air, diet and drinking water would infect their bodies with sore sicknesses and grievous diseases." For similar reasons they also rejected Guiana. Although Guiana was, supposedly, "blessed with a perpetual spring and a flourishing greenness...." and, on that account, promised relief from arduous agricultural labour and less of an expenditure on clothing and other essentials, the Leyden congregation

rejected the idea of settling there. They argued that “such hot countries are subject to grievous diseases and many noisome impediments which other more temperate places are freer from, and would not so well agree with...English bodies.”¹⁵

Taken in isolation, the Leyden congregation’s rejection, of both Guiana and the “vast and unpeopled countries of America,” on health grounds, might well be interpreted as nothing more than an expected reaction on the part of a people faced with an uncertain future. But when Bradford’s words regarding the godly children are considered in context, it becomes apparent that it was not the health of the godly children, pressing though it was, which most concerned the congregation, but the failure, and that the “more lamentable,” of some of the other children to follow in the footsteps of their godly parents. Bradford attributed the waywardness of these children to the “manifold temptations” of Dutch society and to the “great licentiousness” of Dutch youth. “Evil examples” had led some children to go to sea while others had become soldiers. But even more alarming were signs that some children were “tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls....” In other words, the Leyden congregation recognised that its future depended on its children but that only some of the young people were in sympathy with the religious values of the parents. The Leyden congregation was not only burdened with children “in danger to degenerate and be corrupted” but also it faced the uncertainty of the ability of the “decrepit” godly children to perpetuate the church, overburdened as they were with “heavy labours,” even to the extent of ruining their health.¹⁶ To have settled in other than a healthy place would have been to endanger the survival of the church. Without healthy children to carry on the work of the founding fathers, the Leyden church would be doomed to extinction.

Bradford was not the only writer to relate the health of succeeding generations to the survival of the church. The idea that New England was a healthy place for the English and their children found its way into the accounts of several Puritan writers. John White, in *The Planters Plea* (London, 1630), a propaganda piece written to justify the activities of the Massachusetts Bay Company, claimed that “*New England is a fit Country for the seating of an English Colonie, for the propagation of Religion,*” and that “no Countrey yeelds a more propitious ayre for our temper, then *New-England.*”¹⁷ Thomas Graves who, in his contract with the Massachusetts Bay Company, described himself as a prospector, surveyor, and builder of fortifications, maintained that “the healthfulness of the country...far exceedeth all parts that ever...[he had] been in.” Edward Johnson (1598-1672), in *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence 1628-1651*, told his readers that even in the face of a food shortage in the early days when the settlers had depended on shell fish, the children were “as cheerful, fat, and lusty with feeding upon...Mussels, Clambanks and other Fish as they had been in England....”¹⁸

The idea of the healthiness of New England received its most enthusiastic and extended rendering at the hand of Francis Higginson who sent letters to his friends in England describing the Atlantic voyage and the early conditions in the colony of Massachusetts Bay.¹⁹ In *New-Englands Plantation*, the published version of his report, Higginson proclaimed “that there is hardly a more healthful place to be found in the world that agreeth better with our English bodies.” Not only had Higginson found his own health immeasurably improved, but also that of his son. Higginson expected this child who was “most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the king’s

evil,” to make a “perfect recovery shortly.”²⁰ Higginson’s description of the benefits of New England for children’s health is remarkable in that he intertwines the medical terminology of Galen’s humoral theory with religious ideas. Higginson opened *New-Englands Plantation* by explaining but without mentioning Galen by name, that he intended the four essential elements associated with the humoral theory, “earth, water, air, and fire,” to control the format of his impressions of New England. But he also pointed out that although the “commodiousness” of New England depended on “the temperature and disposition of the four elements,” their working was “next,” or subsidiary to “the most wise ordering of God’s providence....” Then, having established the sovereignty of God, Higginson assigned one of the four elements to each of the four sub-sections of his report, confining his remarks on health to the element of air. Speaking of his son’s illness, Higginson maintained that it was “the very wholesomeness of the air, altering, digesting, and drying up the cold and crude humors of the body,” which was responsible for the improvement in his son’s health.²¹ Although there is no certainty that Higginson was familiar with Galen’s *De Sanitate Tuenda*, in that work Galen does discuss the benefits of pure air for children and adults alike. Since Galen associated impure air with “the exhalation from pools or marshes or from a pit giving off deleterious vapour...[or] from any sewer....,”²² perhaps the air of New England did strike Higginson, and the others who made similar comments, as being unusually fresh and wholesome.

Whatever the origin of the idea that New England enjoyed unusually fresh air, Higginson would not have written about the “commodiousness” of New England in Galenic language had not his readers been familiar with the concepts. In essence, *New-Englands*

Plantation was a piece of promotional literature designed to encourage emigration to New England.²³ Moreover, Higginson's account would have had about it an air of authenticity because it came, like that of William Wood later, of the author's own experiences. And Higginson took care to forestall any sceptics among his readers by assuring them that he had recorded only those things which he had seen for himself or which he had heard about from reliable witnesses. "It becometh not a preacher of truth to be a writer of falsehood in any degree..." he asserted.²⁴

Eleven years after the publication of Higginson's *New-Englands Plantation*, the idea that the survival of the Puritan church depended on the health of the children found expression in *New Englands First Fruits*, published anonymously in London in 1641.²⁵ The anonymous authors intended *New Englands First Fruits* to arouse interest, in England, in the endowment of Harvard College, founded by an act of the Massachusetts General Court on 28 October 1636.²⁶ In order to attract donations, the anonymous authors explained that after the first settlers had managed to establish the essentials of society, they next "longed...to advance *Learning* and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when ...[their] present Ministers shall lie in the Dust."²⁷ In order to convince potential donors of the worthiness of the project, and mindful of those colonists in Virginia who had diverted into other projects funds designated for the establishment of a university,²⁸ the authors described the features of the College in some detail, mentioning Mr. Harvard's bequest, the appointments of the building, the curriculum, the criteria for admission, and the regulations governing attendance at lectures and tutorials. They also included a lengthy description of the religious plight of the Native people-- "those poore *Indians*, who have ever

sate in hellish darknesse, adoring the *Divell* himselfe for their GOD....” And they stressed the difficulties the Puritans had experienced in their efforts to proselytize them.²⁹ Then, the anonymous authors completed *New Englands First Fruits* with a third section which described the many ways in which “the good hand of God [had] favoured” the Puritans’ endeavours. One of the ways in which God had so acted was in matters of health. Repeating a claim articulated by several other Puritan writers including John White, the authors pointed out that it had been an epidemic of smallpox which had cleared the land for the settlers.³⁰ Then, and again reiterating a point made by White, the anonymous authors insisted that those who had been sickly in old England enjoyed improved health in New England. And they compared New England, favourably, with other plantations which had been “the graves of their Inhabitants....” The authors concluded their comments on the healthiness of New England with a claim that the climate was so well suited to the bodies of the settlers, that “Children...[are] born stronger, wherby our number is exceedingly increased.”³¹ The authors of *New Englands First Fruits*, therefore, exploited the notion that healthy children were essential for the perpetuation of the church in order to elicit funds for the foundation of Harvard College.

Yet in spite of all the claims that New England was a healthy place for adults and children, in reality, the health of the colonists, at least during the first year of settlement, appears to have been as John Pond and Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley (1577-1653), described it in letters sent back to England at that time. In a letter addressed to his parents, dated 15 March 1631, Pond wrote that “people here are subject to disease, for here have died of the scurvy and of the burning fever two hundred and odd....” Pond is one of the few

writers to refer directly to the health of children and he does so twice. He told his parents that with the exception of three men and “the women and some children,” all the emigrants from “Sudbery” had died. Pond also said of his own children that his “little child” had not been expected to survive the voyage, and that his boy and girl were both “lame.”³² Pond’s interpretation of the conditions in New England is corroborated by evidence in a letter dated 12 and 28 March 1630/31, Dudley sent to Lady Bridget, the Countess of Lincoln. Dudley told Lady Bridget that when he and Winthrop’s party had arrived in New England the previous summer, they had “found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition.” Eighty people, members of the 1629 advance party, had died the previous winter and those who had survived were “weak and sick.” Moreover, Dudley rebuked those in that advance party--possibly Higginson and Graves--for having given “too large commendations of the country and the commodities thereof...” These fulsome descriptions, Dudley complained, had given a false impression of the conditions in New England, and unrealistically raised the expectations of those who followed in 1630.³³

Dudley wrote to Lady Bridget in general terms but he does appear to have included children in his account of the illnesses and deaths which beset the colonists. He singled out as worthy enough for inclusion in his letter the death of the eleven-year-old daughter of John Ruggles on account of her having displayed an unusually high level of piety during the course of her fatal illness.³⁴ Dudley explained the deaths and general low state of health by drawing on a mixture of religious and secular ideas. In religious matters Dudley claimed that he deferred to Mr. John Wilson (1591-1667), the minister at Boston from his arrival in Massachusetts Bay in 1630 until his death.³⁵ Nonetheless, Dudley still offered his own

religious interpretation of the deaths and illnesses. Dudley attributed the deaths to an act of God, one designed to humble the settlers. But instead of becoming discouraged over the either the deaths or the illnesses, Dudley assured Lady Bridget that the survivors bore “God’s corrections with humility,” fully aware that ten years earlier at the founding of Plymouth Plantation, God had dealt with the settlers in a similar manner. As God had seen fit then, so would He again raise the meek to a knowledge of his great glory. On a religious level, also, Dudley drew an analogy between conditions in New England and in Old Testament times. In an attempt to assuage any doubts prospective immigrants might have over his report of sickness and death, Dudley likened their present situation in New England to that of the “Egyprians, that there is not an house where there is not one dead, and in some houses many” (Ex. 12: 30). Dudley identified the “natural causes” of disease, as a lack of suitable shelter, warm clothing and a proper diet, all of which, he observed, tended to afflict the “poorer sort.”³⁶

To some extent the sicknesses which beset many of the Puritans during the early days of settlement can be attributed to the rigours of the seventeenth-century Atlantic voyages. Yet the Puritans who described conditions at sea appear to have been reluctant to admit that conditions were other than ideal. Higginson maintained that the “passage was...healthful to our passengers....” He also observed that “if children be healthful when they come to sea, the younger they are, the better they will endure the sea....” Shepard, travelling in 1635, recorded that his infant son, not expected on account of his extreme frailty to survive the Atlantic crossing, “was made much better by the sea and more lively and strong.” The Reverend Thomas Welde, who arrived in Massachusetts Bay in 1632, claimed that his

children “went ill into the ship but well there and came forth well as ever.”³⁷

But the Puritan accounts also show that, in reality, all those who ventured across the Atlantic in the seventeenth century had to cope with seasickness and, possibly, with scurvy. Today, scurvy is understood as a deficiency disease caused by a lack of vitamin C, or ascorbic acid. Since humans do not synthesize vitamin C, they have to eat sufficient quantities of fresh fruits and vegetables which do contain it in order to remain free of the disease.³⁸ In the seventeenth century, however, three factors combined to predispose the emigrants to scurvy. First, the type of shipboard provisions confined the passengers to a diet low in vitamin C. Winthrop listed as shipboard fare, “meal,” “peas and oatmeal well dried,” “dry Suffolk cheese,” “butter and tried suet, sugar and fruit”,³⁹ all foodstuffs, with the exception of the peas and fruit, low in vitamin C. Second, the settlers often experienced food shortages because the casks in which the provisions were packed were liable to damage during the fierce Atlantic storms. For this very reason, Winthrop advised his son, John, to pack his provisions in “good cask and iron bound.”⁴⁰ Third, a seventeenth-century Atlantic voyage could take between six weeks and three months from embarkation to arrival in New England. Higginson recorded that his passage took “six weeks and three days.” Richard Mather (1596-1669), who left England in 1635, recorded a time of “twelve weeks and two days” of which, only six weeks and five days were spent in sailing. The rest of the time was taken up by a delay in departure and a lack of winds en route.⁴¹ These three factors not only predisposed the Puritans to scurvy but if their foodstuffs were damaged by sea water, then they were likely, also, to go unrelieved of the disease once they reached land.

Undoubtedly, scurvy was one of the hazards of a seventeenth-century Atlantic

crossing. Yet those Puritans who wrote about scurvy both denied and admitted its occurrence. In his summation of the voyage, Higginson wrote that his fellow passengers had been "freed" from scurvy, and that at the end of the voyage "two or three" of them "fell sick" with it. Likewise, Richard Mather claimed freedom from scurvy until close to the end of the passage when "one woman, and a little child of hers" developed it. Winthrop does refer to scurvy in his journal but not until 10 February 1631 when he recorded that "the poorer sort of people (who lay long in tents, etc.) were much afflicted with the scurvy."⁴² That the passengers remained free of scurvy either until late in the voyage or after disembarkation rings true since an Atlantic crossing could have been short enough to allow most people to reach New England without developing it.⁴³ Even a long crossing need not entail suffering from scurvy if the passengers had sufficient provisions. Nevertheless, this disease was a problem both at sea and on land. Even Graves, and in spite of his exuberance over the healthiness of New England, admitted that scurvy occurred, locating its origins in the ships. Scurvy was a disease people "bring from aboard the ship with them..." he maintained. Dudley reported that on their arrival in New England, many people were so ill with scurvy that they were unable to assist with the transportation of "the ordnance and baggage" to the place chosen for settlement.⁴⁴ The discrepancy which colours these accounts may well be due to the inability of the writers to resolve conflicting ideas. On the one hand, the Puritans recorded their experiences in the expectation that they would be of practical assistance to those contemplating emigration. On the other hand, since the Puritans visualized Massachusetts Bay as the future site of the true church, they may well have been loath to admit that the healthiness of the land fell short of their expectations.

In order to explain the aetiology of scurvy, the Puritans drew on both religious and secular ideas. In the seventeenth century the concept of scurvy as a deficiency disease was, of course, unknown. Nonetheless, the Puritans did link scurvy with a poor diet. Richard Mather argued that it had been the “comfortable variety” of their own provisions, the result of a decision not to be “tied” to the ship’s diet but, rather, to “victual” themselves, which accounted for the absence of the diseases associated with sea travel. Yet Mather also explained the appearance of the scurvy in “one woman, and a little child of hers” as “the want of walking and stirring of her body upon the deck.” Unfortunately, he does not include the health of her child in these remarks. Thomas Graves also believed in exercise as a remedy for scurvy. “I have cured some of my company only by labor,” he asserted. Some Puritans understood scurvy as an infectious disease. In his account of the winter of 1621, Bradford wrote that “half of...[the] company died...being infected with the scurvy.” Higginson used the words, “the great contagion of the scurvy.”⁴⁵ Winthrop may also have understood scurvy as an infectious disease. In a letter to his wife, dated 29 November 1630, Winthrop explained one outbreak of disease, albeit without identifying it, as the result of an “ill diet at sea...[which] proved infectious.” Yet Winthrop was certainly aware of what later became recognised as a preventative and cure for scurvy. In a letter to Margaret, dated 28 March 1631, he reminded her “to bring juice of lemons to sea...to eat with your meat as sauce.” Moreover, he recorded in his journal that after the *Lyon* arrived in February 1631, “and brought store of juice of lemons, many recovered speedily” from the scurvy. At the same time, Winthrop attributed the appearance of scurvy to the outcome of “discontent,” or a yearning for “former conditions in England.”⁴⁶

Although some of the immigrants do appear to have escaped scurvy, very few completed the voyage untroubled by seasickness. Higginson claimed that younger children were better able to withstand seasickness. Winthrop wrote about seasickness in practical and religious terms. In a journal entry dated 12 April 1630, he noted the benefits of exercise and fresh air on deck for those suffering from seasickness. "Our children and others, that were sick, and lay groaning in the cabins" were brought up onto the deck and made to swing on a rope strung from the "steerage to the mainmast...till they were warm...." Soon, or at least as Winthrop saw the situation, the sufferers "grew well and merry." Winthrop recognized that the motion of the ship caused seasickness, and that eventually the passengers became acclimatized. Yet Winthrop also believed, as did Richard Mather, that the cessation of seasickness was due to "the mercy of God."⁴⁷ In contrast, Edward Johnson advanced an elaborate religious theory to account for seasickness. Instead of locating its cause in the motion of the ship, Johnson placed it in the Puritans' sense of awe, or amazement which was activated during the Atlantic storms when God gave a display of His "workes". These "workes" affected the Puritans by "suddenly bringing them into the vale of death, covering them with formidable flouds, and dashing their bodies from side to side...." The storm's effects brought about an imbalance between the physical and spiritual aspects of the body reducing "Men, Women and Children" to a "helplesse condition." But the suffering which the seasickness occasioned had a beneficial effect in that it afforded the Puritans an opportunity to contemplate the purpose of their undertaking, in Johnson's estimation, "this service they have and are about to undertake for Christ...." God then followed the seasickness with diseases in order that "the desert land ...might not be deserted by them...."

as it surely would have been had not God sent such a troublesome voyage.⁴⁸

Perhaps the most informative of the accounts of illness in children during a seventeenth-century Atlantic voyage is the journal Francis Higginson kept and sent back as a letter to his friends in Leicester. On 17 May 1629, approximately three weeks after setting sail, Higginson noticed that his two children, Mary and Samuel, “began to be sick of the smallpox and purples...together....” Mary’s condition worsened and she died two days later. Higginson interpreted his children’s illness and Mary’s death in accordance with a variety of intermingled concepts and beliefs, some secular, some religious. In secular terms, Higginson understood smallpox as a “contagious sickness,” a sickness which had been brought on board in the person of “one mister Browne” who was already suffering from it when he embarked at “graues end.” Higginson also recognised that smallpox was a disease which could swiftly infect all the other passengers. When Mary died, Higginson’s fellow passengers reacted with “terror...as being the beginning of a contagious disease and mortality.”⁴⁹ In this aspect of his understanding, Higginson appears to have been familiar with the ontogenic concept of disease, later formally articulated by the English physician, Thomas Sydenham (1624-1689). Sydenham proposed that disease existed in its entirety outside the human body. According to Magner, “Sydenham suggested that subterranean effluvia generated disease-causing miasmata when they came in contact with ‘corpuscles’ in the air.” The miasmata entered the body through the lungs.⁵⁰ Sydenham’s ideas reached New England through the work of the Reverend Thomas Thacher (1620-1678), the minister at Boston’s Old South Church. Thacher drew on Sydenham’s work for his publication, *A Brief RULE To guide the Common People of New.England how to order themselves & theirs*

in the Small-Pocks, or Measels (Boston, 1677).⁵¹ This publication indicates that long before Sydenham's theory reached print Higginson was familiar with the concept. Also, since Higginson subscribed to Galen's humoral theories which posited disease as an internal dyscrasia--he expected the New England air to dry up "the cold and crude humors"⁵² of his son's body and bring about a cure of the king's evil--Higginson understood disease in accordance with two contemporary medical theories, the one seemingly incompatible with the other.

In religious terms, Higginson understood that God had been "pleased" to send the smallpox, "mister Browne," as it were, acting as the vector. In inflicting the Puritans with "sickness and death," God intended to engender in them a sense of humiliation, a sense they achieved by means of a day devoted to fasting and prayer. At this time, they prayed to God "to remove the continuance and further increase of...[the] evils" which beset them.⁵³ Higginson does not specify the way or ways in which the Puritans gave offence but since he recognized the necessity of an act of humiliation, one which proved efficacious, presumably Higginson and his fellow passengers had tended towards too great a sense of their own capabilities instead of a reliance on God for the work they had undertaken. Yet God's judgement was not solely punitive in intent for He was pleased, concurrently, "to remember mercy." The beneficiary of God's mercy was Higginson's daughter, Mary, who had suffered from a "swayed" back since she was four years old. As Higginson described her illness, Mary's back was "broken and grew crooked", her hip joints "loosed", and "her knees went crooked." In addition to the problems with her bones and joints, Mary suffered from "a most lamentable pain in her belly," causing her to "cry out in the day and in her sleep also, 'My

belly!’”. Higginson found Mary’s condition “pitiful to see,” and had God not seen fit to bestow his mercy on her by taking her life, she would have suffered a lifetime of misery. On this account, Higginson deemed Mary’s death “ a blessing from the Lord.”⁵⁴

The idea that God’s judgements were acts of both correction and mercy also informed Thomas Shepard’s understanding of childhood sickness. As noted earlier, Shepard was silenced by Laud but managed, with the support of patrons, to preach clandestinely. By 1634, however, Shepard had decided on emigration to New England. At that time, Shepard’s first son, Thomas, was a few months old and his wife, in Shepard’s words, “had conceived again and was breeding.” Late in 1634 the Shepard family set sail from Harwich but they had barely left port before “the wind arose and drave...[the] ship almost upon the sands...” Shepard and his family were rescued but, in being taken from the ship to the shore in a small boat, Shepard’s son “was smitten with sickness.” And, in spite of the “many helps” Shepard had, nothing eased Thomas’s vomiting and he died within two weeks.⁵⁵ In Shepard’s estimation, God had showed the merciful side of his judgement at the time of the storm since He had chosen to save the lives of two hundred passengers, the crew, some of Shepard’s fellow ministers, Shepard’s wife, Shepard himself, his son, and his unborn child. Shepard believed this “mercy” to be so worthy of remembrance that he desired the knowledge of it, as he recorded it in his autobiography, to be passed on to his own children, and his children’s children. Yet even though Shepard acknowledged God’s act of mercy by ensuring that God would continue to be praised even after Shepard’s death, his actions proved insufficient to convince God of Shepard’s spiritual worthiness. “...Here the Lord saw that these waters were not sufficient to wash away my filth and sinfulness,” Shepard wrote. Accordingly, God

then “cast” Shepard into the “fire” by afflicting his son with the vomiting from which he died. And, despite Thomas’s illness being the means of God’s revelation to Shepard of his “weak faith, want of fear, pride, carnal content, immoderate love of creatures and of ...[his] child especially,” God stood firm against Shepard’s entreaties to save the life of his first-born. Shepard then realised that Thomas’s death signified God’s disapproval of setting out for New England at that particular time. First, by leaving so late in the season Shepard and his fellow passengers, in all likelihood, would have perished at sea. Second, Shepard recognised that his own spiritual standing at that time rendered him “unfit” to go to New England, since his heart, he recognized, was “unmortified, hard, dark, formal, [and] hypocritical.” Third, God had afflicted Shepard with the death of his son because of his predilection for separate congregations, for “running too far in a way of separation from the mixed assemblies in England.”⁵⁶

After the death of their first son, Shepard and his wife spent the winter in hiding in Norfolk, but moved to London in the spring so that Margaret could have assistance during the birth of their second child. On 5 April 1635, Margaret gave birth to a second son, again named Thomas because Shepard regarded him as a replacement, given by God, for the deceased first-born. Within a short time of his birth, however, Thomas became ill with a “sore mouth,” severe enough, Shepard believed, to be fatal. In the night God woke Shepard and during the course of his prayers, Shepard entreated Him to spare the child’s life. As he had with his first son, Shepard feared that his own sinfulness would stand in the way of God’s granting Thomas’s recovery. But by morning, Thomas had markedly improved and Shepard took this improvement to signify the appropriateness of his decision to leave

England a second time. "And the Lord seemed to make our way plain," Shepard assured himself.⁵⁷

Although Shepard claimed that in the morning following his night of prayer Thomas was "suddenly and strangely amended of his sore mouth," in fact, Thomas remained so "feeble" that on setting out for New England "diverse" of Shepard's friends expected Thomas to succumb during the Atlantic crossing. Thomas, however, survived the voyage, and was baptized in New England in February 1636. But Thomas only remained in health until 1 May 1636 when he suffered a recurrence of his "sore mouth," this time, "both within and without, cheeks and lips full of blisters." Again, Shepard feared the illness would prove fatal but "the Lord being sought unto, recovered him again." Yet Thomas's recovery again proved short-lived for soon afterwards, "the humor fell into his eyes" rendering Thomas "stark blind."⁵⁸

In his interpretation of the sickness and death of his first son, and the repeated illnesses of his second son, Shepard drew upon a variety of religious ideas and contemporary medical theories. First, in perceiving the death of his first born, and the sicknesses of both his sons as indicators of own spiritual standing, Shepard was relying on the contemporary idea that infants and children were capable of acting as messengers of God's displeasure. The most likely explanation for this capability was Psalm 8. 2: "Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained strength because of thine enemies, that thou mightest still the enemy and avenger."⁵⁹ Second, although Shepard understood Thomas's blindness as humoral in origin, his use of the words "fell into his eyes," suggests that his understanding, like that of Higginson earlier, admitted the idea that agents external to the body caused

disease. Here, medical theory corresponded with Shepard's belief that acts of God, also external to the body, brought about sickness. "The Lord sent a vomiting" upon Shepard's first son; "the hand of the Lord was stretched out against" his second son. The means of Thomas's healing Shepard perceived as a combination of divine intervention and contemporary therapeutics. During the night of his prayers prior to the recovery of his second son, Shepard addressed God in the form of arguments designed to secure Thomas's life. Shepard reassured himself that since he intended to dedicate his son to God in the event of his recovery, God would spare Thomas "because all healing virtue was in Christ Jesus' hands who was very tender to all that brought the sick unto him."⁶⁰

In attributing healing powers to Christ and to God, Shepard was calling on an idea with origins in the second and third centuries following Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. At this time the early Christian Fathers and the priest-physicians who practised medicine according to the theories devised by Asclepius (mentioned in Homer's *Iliad*) were battling each other over orthodoxy. In order to counter the claim that Asclepius was *the* saviour and physician, the early Christian Fathers argued that Christ was the true physician because he healed the soul. Tertullian (c.196-c.212) labelled Asclepius a "beast"; Cyprian (c.200-258) spoke of Christ who heals the wounds caused by Adam's Fall. By the fourth century Asclepian medicine had reached a nadir but the idea of Christ the physician lived on, promoted most notably by Augustine.⁶¹ Writing of the interrelatedness of original sin, sickness, and Christ the physician, Augustine held that "human nature was certainly created blameless and without any fault....; but the human nature by which each one of us is now born of Adam requires a physician, because it is not healthy."⁶² Augustine's teaching on

Christ the physician entered Puritan thought via Calvin who, in *Institutes Of The Christian Religion*, refers repeatedly to the idea of Christ the physician.⁶³ Hence, Shepard's belief that Thomas's recovery from blindness was the work of God. Shepard also appears to have believed that without the concurrence of God, treatments devised by humans were ineffectual. Initially, at least as Shepard understood the situation, "ill handling" and the application of medicines had worsened Thomas's illness. And even though the use of "the oil of white pasc," appeared to have healed Shepard's son, nonetheless, Shepard considered it a remedy of "poor weak means" when compared with the powers of God.⁶⁴

When Thomas Shepard and the thousands of other Puritans left England during the years of the Great Migration, New England had a reputation of being a healthy place for English emigrants, an image generated, in part, by the Puritans themselves. But despite their protestations that the Atlantic voyage posed few problems related to health and that the early setbacks were no more than to be expected, in reality sickness and even death proved the norm. At the time of emigration and the first year of settlement, a remarkable syncretism of religious precepts and medical ideas informed the Puritan understanding of sickness.

CHAPTER THREE

SALVATION

About 14 years of age, being in Cambridge I fell into a lingring feaver, which took away the comfort of my life. For being there neglected, and despised, I went up and down mourning with myself; and being deprived of my youthfull joyes, I betook my self to God whom I did believe to bee very good and mercifull, and would welcome any that would come to him, especially such a yongue soule, and so well qualified as I took my self to bee; so as I took pleasure in drawing neer to him. But how my heart was affected with my sins, or what thoughts I had of Christ I remember not. But I was willing to love God, and therefore I thought hee loved mee. But so soon as I recovered my perfect health, and met with somewhat els to take pleasure in, I forgot my former acquaintance with God, and fell to former lusts, and grew worse then before.

"John Winthrop's Christian Experience," 12 November 1636 ¹

John Winthrop was "in the 49th year of...[his] age just compleat" in 1636 when he decided to write his spiritual autobiography, and to include in it mention of an illness suffered 35 years earlier.² Why Winthrop should have felt the need to write about his youthful religious experiences at that particular time is evident from an entry, dated December 1636, in his private, spiritual diary. Here, Winthrop recorded that the emergence of "some differences" of opinion among the New England ministers "about the waye of the Spirit of God in the worke of Jusif:"[ication], together with his own "dissentinge from the reste of the brethren," had prompted him "to examine" his own spiritual "estate." The timing of the entry in this diary indicates the extent of Winthrop's spiritual anxiety. Not since 1629, the year prior to his departure from England, had Winthrop sought the spiritual solace such a diary afforded.³ Moreover, Winthrop's concern was well-founded for the latter months of 1636 marked the beginning of a period of intense debate over the means of salvation, a debate known today as the Antinomian Controversy.

The two opposing factions in the Antinomian Controversy were the self-styled

“Elders,” or, in Antinomian parlance the “legal preachers,” and the Antinomians themselves. The Elders acquired their derogatory title from their insistence on a role for mankind in the process of salvation. In the eyes of the Antinomians, however, such activity amounted to participation in a Covenant of Works, to adherence to the Law where salvation depended on merit rather than on faith. In turn, the Elders retaliated by labelling their opponents “Antinomians,” a term with a literal meaning of against the Law but one also signifying heresy.⁴ The Reverend John Cotton (1584-1652), the teacher at the Boston church, and the principal spokesman for the Antinomians, argued that the Law benefitted both the regenerate and the unregenerate in that it gave the former a “warning” and the latter an “incentive.” But Cotton insisted that the elect, once they were convinced of their election would always conform to the Law. “There is none under a Covenant of Grace that dare allow himself in any sin; for if a man should negligently commit any sin, the Lord will school him thoroughly, and make him sadly to apprehend how he hath made bold with the treasures of the grace of God.” On the question of backsliding, Cotton argued that although the sinner would not be damned he would be burdened in his conscience. This aspect of Cotton’s thought left the elect without any external checks on behaviour, an omission which became a major point of dissension between the Elders and the Antinomians.⁵

Another major point of difference between the Elders and the Antinomians, one Winthrop identified in his spiritual autobiography, concerned the workings of the Holy Spirit in the salvific process. Puritan teaching on the function of the Holy Spirit had its foundation in the thought of Erasmus (1466-1536) who argued that the Protestant recovery of the practices and beliefs of the early Christian church depended on the rejection of the external

rites of the medieval church. By adopting the qualities of humility, and of obedience to God, qualities believed to be inherent in the practice of true Christianity, mankind would turn inwards and acquire, thereby, a knowledge of the spiritual activities of the soul.⁶ That the activities of the soul were bound up with those of the Holy Spirit went unquestioned among the Elders and the Antinomians; where they differed was over the precise manner in which the Spirit acted. In *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, a book of sermons the first edition of which was published posthumously in London in 1655, but delivered most likely at the time of the Antinomian Controversy,⁷ Cotton explained that although God, through Christ, brings the soul into a requisite state of humility, the soul may not be able to discern whether the workings within it were the outcome of God's wrath or His mercy. "Thus may the poor soul be afraid," Cotton preached. One of Christ's tasks, therefore, was to reveal to the soul what it was that God had accomplished within it. In order that the soul might "see what it is that the Lord hath done for him in mercy," Jesus Christ enlightens the soul by "the anointing of his blessed Spirit." Christ, however, does not always see fit to send the Holy Spirit immediately but keeps the soul "in a waiting frame of spirit..." In the meantime, Christ acts as the interim caretaker of the soul "and comforts it in some measure...." The reason why Christ delays the sending of the Holy Spirit, Cotton explained, is to engender in humankind a heightened longing and thirsting for God.⁸

In contrast to Cotton's elaborate scheme for the workings of the Holy Spirit, Shepard drew up a much simpler model. In *The Sound Believer*, his *Treatise Of Evangelical Conversion*, Shepard does stress the primacy of the Holy Spirit in bringing the elect to God. But he goes no further than arguing that it is "the Lord Christ by his Spirit" that

accomplishes in man the successive stages of salvation. Moreover, Shepard denied any extended knowledge of the manner in which the Spirit works. "I confess the manner of the Spirit's work, in the conversion of a sinner unto God, is exceeding secret, and in many things various...."⁹

Although Shepard and Cotton failed to agree over the precise workings of the Holy Spirit, the most contentious aspect of the struggle for orthodoxy concerned the Antinomian claim that "...the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person." According to Winthrop, this theological "error" was "brought over" by Anne Hutchinson (1591-1643) who, in 1634, had immigrated to New England in order to continue her spiritual association with Cotton.¹⁰ And although Winthrop identified Hutchinson as the culprit, in fact, Cotton also believed that the Holy Spirit could reside in the elect soul. In *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, Cotton set out his doctrine of the "Inhabitation" of the Holy Spirit, likening its indwelling to "a musical Instrument, wherein though there be many pipes, yet one blast of the bellows puts breath into them all; so that all of them at once break forth into a kind of melody...."¹¹ Winthrop also found erroneous the Antinomian claim that the Holy Spirit can communicate with the soul in the absence of the preaching of the Word. In *A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines*, published in London in 1644,¹² Winthrop pronounced "...this immediate revelation without concurrence with the word," as contrary to the evidence of the Scriptures.¹³ And although both Cotton and the Reverend Thomas Hooker (1568-1647), the latter one of the Legalists, agreed that in extraordinary circumstances the Holy Spirit could work independently of the Word, both argued that the Holy Spirit, ordinarily, worked only in conjunction with the

Word preached. In *The Soul's Vocation*, Doctrine 3, Hooker preached that "the word of the Gospel and the work of the Spirit always go together...."¹⁴ But equally as alarming as the claim that the Spirit worked independently of the Word preached, was Anne Hutchinson's assertion, at least as it was reported by Winthrop, that she had communicated directly with God without the benefit of ministerial preaching. According to Winthrop, even while she was still in England, Hutchinson was so "much troubled at the constitution of the Churches there," that she "set apart a day for humiliation...to seeke direction from God...." God then revealed to Hutchinson "the unfaithfulness of the Churches,...and that none of those Ministers could preach the Lord Jesus aright...." Moreover, this shortcoming both in the church and in the ministry Hutchinson found repeated in New England. In Winthrop's view, therefore, Hutchinson's derogation of the New England preachers together with her claim that "it pleased God to reveale himselfe"¹⁵ to her in the absence of preaching, constituted a breach of orthodoxy sufficiently heretical to warrant excommunication and banishment.

The theological controversy which culminated in the removal of Anne Hutchinson and her followers from the colony of Massachusetts Bay indicates the failure on the part of Puritan theologians to construct an unassailable doctrine of salvation. One indicator of the sense of crisis the Antinomian Controversy generated in Winthrop was his decision, late in 1636, to attempt a written redress of what he and the other Elders perceived as theological errors pertaining to salvation. By resorting to the convention of the spiritual autobiography, Winthrop was attempting both to re-establish and to reinforce the traditional Puritan teachings on the means of salvation. According to the model which governed the format of the spiritual autobiography, salvation entailed a lifetime of preparation, began in childhood,

and included the experience of sickness. In itself, the Antinomian Controversy was not a crisis over a possible relationship between sickness and salvation, but the timing of Winthrop's decision to write his spiritual autobiography, and to include in it a description of a boyhood sickness as that sickness related to salvation, indicates the importance of sickness in Puritan soteriology. That youthful sickness was indeed a convention of the spiritual autobiography and not idiosyncratic to Winthrop is evident from mention of youthful sickness in the autobiographies of both Thomas Shepard and Anne Bradstreet.¹⁶

When Bradstreet, Shepard and Winthrop wrote about their childhood and youthful illnesses as they related to salvation, the conventions governing the Puritan spiritual autobiography were already well established. This genre of Puritan writing had its origins in sixteenth-century funeral sermons of eminent Puritan divines. Although the officiating minister delivered an impersonal sermon derived from a biblical text, he concluded on a personal note with a biographical sketch known as a "lean-to." Because these sermons with their appended exemplary biographies were esteemed for their didactic potential, they were often published. Eventually, published biographies constituted a substantial body of literature recognized as especially suitable for instilling Puritan values into young people.¹⁷

Both Shepard and Bradstreet dedicated their spiritual autobiographies to their children to assist their salvation. Bradstreet hoped that her own "experience" which had included youthful sickness would endow her children with "some spiritual advantage."¹⁸ In contrast to Bradstreet's brief dedication, Shepard explained to his son, Thomas, the meaning of the sicknesses he had suffered as a baby. Shepard first told Thomas about the several ways in which God had chosen to preserve his life.¹⁹ Even when he was still in his mother's

womb God had moved to save Thomas's life. He drove the ship onto the sands and, thereby, prevented Shepard and his party from certain drowning had they attempted to cross the Atlantic in October 1634; He spared his mother, Margaret, and the as yet unborn Thomas from injury when she fell down the stairs in the house where she and Shepard lived during their winter in hiding. After Thomas's birth, God first healed him of a sore mouth, and afterwards on board ship prevented Margaret, carrying her infant son in her arms, from being "pitched...against a post." Last, God restored Thomas's sight. These remarkable preservations of Thomas's life Shepard utilized as occasions to urge his son to "wonder" at God's love and care. But, Shepard warned, if Thomas should turn away from God, then these mercies would turn to "woes."²⁰

Shepard's second task was to acquaint Thomas with the meaning of his recovery from blindness. First, Shepard urged Thomas to be ever thankful for the care God gave during his illness since it was given when Thomas was unable to care for himself. Second, Shepard warned Thomas to "not make...[his] eyes windows of lust." Instead, Shepard recommended that Thomas dedicate his eyes, as well as his "heart and whole soul and body" to God. Shepard used the word "blind" in both the literal and the metaphorical sense. Literally, Shepard recognized his son's blindness as a physical illness. Metaphorically, Shepard wanted his son to have a knowledge of God, in order that Thomas might recognize himself as one of God's elect.²¹

The convention of referring to childhood or youthful illness in a spiritual autobiography appears to have been an offshoot of the Puritan biographical practice that considered sickbed and deathbed scenes integral to a pious life and death.²² Moreover, the

practice continued at least until the time of Cotton Mather. In his biography of Mr. John Brock (1620-1688), a New England minister, Mather included a description of the two illnesses Brock suffered in his youth as well as the one suffered “about three or four years before he died.”²³ A likely second source for the practice of mentioning childhood illness is Augustine’s *Confessions*. One of the conventions of the spiritual autobiography known to be patterned on the *Confessions* is that of a catalogue of youthful sins.²⁴ When Winthrop opened his narrative with “in my youth I was very lewdly disposed,” and continued by saying that even after he was 12 years old he “was still very wild, and dissolute...,” he was following the model established by Augustine. Similarly, both Bradstreet and Shepard identified their youthful sins. Bradstreet lied and disobeyed her parents; Shepard “began to be foolish and proud and to show...[himself] in the public schools...”²⁵ Although Bradstreet and Shepard identified different sins committed under different circumstances, both placed their sins in a context of illness. Bradstreet “confessed” to God her “pride and vanity” while suffering from smallpox. Shepard was “most vile” the year after he had suffered smallpox.²⁶ In contrast, Augustine placed his childhood illness, “a disorder of the stomach,” so distant from his youthful sins as to deny any suggestion that the two were connected. However, Augustine did perceive a link between illness and salvation. Because the severity of his illness brought him to “the point of death,” and because at that time he was not baptized, his mother, a convert to Christianity, feared for his salvation. Augustine wrote: “my... mother...was in greater labour to ensure my eternal salvation than she had been at my birth.”²⁷

The Puritans structured the spiritual autobiography by drawing on contemporary

literary conventions. But the Puritan teaching on the interrelatedness of sickness and salvation went well beyond Augustine to the Bible. As well as furnishing the Puritans with the concept of the covenant, a motif central to their theology, the Old Testament provided them with the idea that disease appeared whenever the terms of the covenant were violated. God promised health and prosperity in exchange for obedience but threatened to strike transgressors with disease. On one occasion, God told the people that so long as they heeded his commandments, and kept the statutes, He would refrain from striking them with the same diseases which He “brought upon the Egyptians”(Ex. 25:26).²⁸ But more often, whenever the terms of the Old Testament covenants were violated, God threatened a variety of concurrent afflictions rather than sickness alone. For example, God threatened those who broke the covenant with “consumption, and the burning ague,” as well as with “terror,” poor harvests, and defeat at the hands of enemies (Lv.26:16). The idea of God sending multiple afflictions, one of which was disease, passed into New England Puritan thought via Calvin and Perkins. But whereas Perkins did not specify the afflictions, Calvin identified them as “disgrace or poverty, or bereavement, or disease, or other calamities.”²⁹ The idea that one might be assailed by multiple afflictions, one of which was disease, found expression in one of the confessions of faith Thomas Shepard recorded during his New England ministry. Elizabeth Oakes, who was a young adult at the time of her confession, told Shepard of “the Lord laying affliction and sickness” upon her.³⁰

The belief that God sent afflictions whenever the terms of the covenant were broken found expression in *The Silent Soul*, a sermon published by the Reverend Thomas Brooks (1608-1680), and reprinted in Boston in 1728. Brooks told his readers that all afflictions,

one of which could be sickness, “come upon you by and through that covenant of grace that God hath made with you....” Moreover, since God has promised to protect His people from the “evils, snares and temptations of this world,” He would be neglecting to keep His side of the bargain if He failed to take note of the sins of humankind, “to chide and check,” and “to correct his people for their sins.”³¹ Brooks explained the phenomenon of universal suffering by arguing that afflictions affect the unregenerate by virtue of a covenant of works whereby the suffering entailed merely makes the soul “more hard and obdurate.” In contrast, the elect suffer from afflictions by virtue of the covenant of grace which enables them to draw closer to God.³² But should the elect fail to pay heed to the purpose behind their suffering, then God will intensify his actions just as the physician prescribes a more potent “potion” on finding that a milder one is ineffectual.³³

In contrast to the Old Testament teaching which held that health and prosperity were contingent upon keeping the terms of the covenant, the New Testament taught that suffering was an integral component of the Christian life.³⁴ In their attempts to explain how followers of Christ might avail themselves of the benefits of his crucifixion, Reformed theologians, Calvin especially, promoted the idea of “participation” in the life of Christ.³⁵ Calvin explained that “...as long as Christ remains outside of us, and we are separated from him, all that he has suffered and done for the salvation of the human race remains useless and of no value for us.” Calvin, therefore, and relying on Paul, urged that forgiveness of sins and life everlasting depend on being “engrafted” into Christ (Rom. II:17). Being “engrafted” into Christ, however, entails suffering. “Why should we exempt ourselves?” Calvin asked, when Christ willingly endured his sufferings in order that mankind might be saved.³⁶ The idea that

this suffering came in the form of afflictions, one of which was sickness, derives in part from the influence on Reformed thought of the evidence of the Old Testament. But the idea also relies on the evidence of the several instances of Christ performing acts of healing of the sick. For example, Christ heals the daughter of Jairus, one of the elders of the temple (Mark 22-23; 35-42).³⁷ One further aspect of Christ's suffering which influenced the Puritan interpretation of sickness is that since Christ endured his suffering with equanimity, so should his followers. William Perkins, for example, counsels patience in dealing with afflictions since "the cross is a certain measure of afflictions appointed by God to every one of the faithful." Likewise, the Reverend Thomas Brooks urged his readers to bear their afflictions in silence.³⁸

The Puritan ministers counselled patience in the face of afflictions because suffering carried benefits. In "Of the patient bearing of the cross," Perkins readily acknowledged that afflictions were "grievous" but argued, also, that afflictions are "good and profitable, for they are helps whereby men, being humbled for their sins before God, obtain peace and holiness of life."³⁹ The manner in which the cross, or an affliction, might function as an aid in the recognition of election can be discerned in the spiritual autobiography Winthrop wrote at the time of the Antinomian Controversy. That Winthrop was familiar with Perkins' work is evident on two accounts. First, Winthrop himself wrote that when he was beset by doubts over his spiritual standing a "reading of Mr. Perkins" revealed to him that he had attained no more than a reprobate could accomplish. Second, internal textual evidence strongly suggests that Winthrop was familiar with one of the treatises Perkins wrote about the resolution of cases of conscience. One of the sins Winthrop included in the conventional list

was a presumption that in religious knowledge he exceeded his peers, a talent which rendered him fit, or so he thought, to pronounce on “cases of conscience.” Winthrop enjoyed such a degree of success in the resolution of spiritual problems that, he says, “I gave up my selfe to the study of Divinity, and intended to enter into the ministry....”⁴⁰ In locating his intention to enter the ministry immediately following his successes in resolving cases of conscience, Winthrop came close to an aspect of Perkins’ teaching on the same subject. In *The Whole Treatise Of The Cases Of Conscience*, Perkins taught that in the resolution of cases of conscience, Christ works through “...the Ministrie of Pastours and Teachers upon earth, to whom he hath given knowledge, and other gifts to this end and purpose.”⁴¹

In *The Whole Treatise...* Perkins taught that the process of salvation began when God gives two graces, “*the first grace...*[and] *the second.*” The first grace, the one relevant to Winthrop’s autobiography, had ten associated “actions” of which the first four were: the giving of “the outward meanes of salvation, specially the Ministrie of the word”; bringing “the minde of man to a consideration of the Law”; assisting the recognition of “peculiar and proper sinnes”; and, instilling into man “upon the sight of sinne,” the fear of “punishment and hell” and “dispaire of salvation.”⁴² According to Winthrop’s account, by the time he was 18 years old he had experienced the equivalent of Perkins’ first four “actions.” He had heard the Scriptures; had recognised his own inherent sinfulness; had come to fear hell; and he had felt himself to be lacking assurance. But, four years earlier, at the time of his youthful sickness Winthrop had received only the religious education which assisted recognition of an innate sinfulness. He appears, therefore, to have travelled along the pathway to salvation only as far as Perkins’ first “action” of God, “the Ministrie of the word” which constituted

“the outward meanes of salvation.” But at this stage, Perkins qualified “the Ministrie of the word” by saying that at this time, God “sends some outward or inward crosse, to breake and subdue the stubbornesse of our nature, that it may be made plyable to the will of God.”⁴³ Although Winthrop did not speak of his “lingring feaver” as an “outward or inward crosse” to bring him closer to God, this occasion of illness did serve that purpose. “For being...deprived of my youthfull joyes,” he wrote, “I betook myself to God whom I did believe to bee very good and mercifull....” However, Winthrop’s “nature,” at least temporarily, was able to withstand being “made plyable to the will of God,” for as he says, “so soon as I recovered my perfect health,...I forgot my former acquaintance with God, and fell to former lusts, and grew worse then before.”⁴⁴

The motif of sickness as an aid to salvation is also discernable in the spiritual autobiographies of Bradford and Shepard. Both authors located their experiences of sickness within a context of a spiritual malaise which was succeeded, first, by a period of advancement towards Christ and, later, by a backsliding where sinful behaviour once more prevailed. Shepard first gave examples of the sins he committed and then said that after he suffered from smallpox, “the Lord began to call...[him] home....” Soon afterwards Shepard lapsed, and he “fell from God to loose and lewd company....” In a similar vein, Bradstreet identified her sins, then suffered “a long fit of sickness” when, she says, “I often communed with my heart and made my supplication to the most High who set me free from that affliction.” But afterwards, Bradstreet says, “ as I grew up to be about 14 or 15, I found my heart more carnal....”⁴⁵

The practice of including in spiritual autobiographies instances of sickness which

functioned as aids to salvation, suggests that the same convention would govern, at least in part, the format of a Puritan literary form closely related to the spiritual autobiography, the earlier mentioned conversion narrative, or confession of faith.⁴⁶ The conversion narrative took shape in the wake of the Antinomian Controversy as the Elders moved to guard against a future upsurge of unorthodoxy. Like the spiritual autobiography, professions of faith were retrospective accounts of the soul's journey to salvation. But unlike the spiritual autobiography, these confessions had to convince the minister and the congregation that a prospective church member had experienced a genuine work of God's saving grace. With few exceptions, the candidates stood before the congregation to relate their experiences while the minister recorded the details in a notebook. By 1640, the requirement of a confession, or relation of faith, had become standard practice throughout colonial Massachusetts.⁴⁷ Even John Cotton who insisted on the near-passivity of the soul in the conversion process, allowed for confessions of faith despite the active spiritual introspection these confessions entailed.⁴⁸ Unfortunately, very few of the early conversion narratives have survived. The largest extant body are those recorded by Thomas Shepard between 1638 and 1645, and between 1648 and 1649, during his incumbency of the Cambridge church. Of the seventy-one published confessions which I have examined, six of the narrators speak of an experience of childhood sickness in relation to the beginnings of salvation. And of those six, three were recorded by the Reverend Michael Wigglesworth who practised medicine and divinity at Malden; three by Shepard.⁴⁹ Although the majority of the confessions do not single out sickness from afflictions in general, those that do attest to the importance of sickness in the salvific process.

Overall, the conversion narratives corroborate the evidence of the spiritual biography in that the early years were recognized as a suitable starting point for the journey to salvation. Forty-one of the seventy-one narratives I examined contained such evidence. For example, Mary Angier Sparrowhawk (d.1644), a member of Shepard's congregation, told her minister that "she had parents that kept her from gross sins...." Nathaniel Eaton (c.1609-1674), Harvard College's first president, began his confession with: "My education was in a religious manner from a cradle that I was trained up to read scripture...."⁵⁰ Like the spiritual autobiography, the conversion narratives also included a list of youthful sins.

But whereas the spiritual autobiographies indicate only that sickness was a means of recognizing election, certain of the relevant conversion narratives show that the narrators expected that God would reveal election during the course of a sickness. For example, Jane Holmes (d.1652), a young adult at the time of her candidacy for church membership, initially told Shepard, the "...Lord followed me with sore afflictions, and God denied me comforts I sought for...." Yet such was the strength of Jane Holmes' conviction that revelation of her election would come, eventually, by the means of a sickness that she says, "and when I saw others afflicted with pox, I thought I wished I were so, if not left to errors. And so my heart was saddened to the Lord and thought it mercy if I might find least glimpse of favor at last."⁵¹ The Puritan belief that God would withhold revelation of election in certain circumstances may be a reflection of the New Testament teaching that although Christ performed many acts of relieving suffering, he did not see fit to do so where relief was unmerited.⁵² Yet despite Jane Holmes' expectation that an illness would be the means of assurance of salvation, an expectation which she must have shared with the other members

of the congregation since they were considered competent enough to judge the worthiness of her relation, not everyone found the expected illness immediately efficacious. For example, Mistress Gookin, “was visited with long sickness and lameness,” but imparted to her relation a sense that, at first, she resisted acknowledging the reason why God had afflicted her with an illness. But eventually, and in the same way that Perkins taught the necessity of an agent “to breake and subdue the stubbornesse” of human nature, Mistress Gookin said, “the Lord made me submit, and then I thought all was mercy and that I was not a firebrand of hell.”⁵³ This same idea of the intractability of human nature also occurs in Bradstreet’s spiritual autobiography where she says that after her recovery from smallpox she “rendered not to Him according to benefit received,” despite God having “restored” her to health.⁵⁴

Without question, New England Puritans recognized the value of sickness for its efficacy in assisting revelation of election. But the influence of biblical evidence and of the conventions governing both the spiritual biography and the conversion relation only partly explain why sickness took on an important role in the Puritan version of the salvific process. Fundamentally, that importance lies with Christianity’s posit that although humankind exists in a state less perfect than originally created, restitution is possible through faith in Christ. In Puritan terms, the 1647 Westminster Confession Of Faith declared that God originally “created man...with reasonable and immortal souls, endued with knowledge, righteousness and true holiness....” But after Adam’s disobedience, all his progeny “...fell from their original righteousness and communion with God and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the parts and faculties of soul and body....”⁵⁵ Thomas Shepard, for example,

likened the state of original sin to a “long sickness, as if the Lord would delight no more in me to use me.”⁵⁶ At the same time, Christ’s many acts of healing underlay the belief that the diseased soul could be restored to its original healthy state through faith in Christ. For example, Christ commanded that Jairus “only believe” for his daughter to be restored to health (Mark 5:37). Then, Christ’s teaching that “they that are whole have no need of the physician, but they that are sick: I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance”(Mark 2:17) reinforced the idea of spiritual ill-health being the equivalent of a physical illness.⁵⁷ Although, as I argued earlier, the image of Christ as the heavenly physician had its origins in the second century, this image came to the fore with the work of Reformed theologians. William Perkins, for example, drew an analogy between “chirurgeons” whom men permit to “sear... with hot irons,...[and] lauch [lance]...with razors...,” and God who cures “the most festered diseases of our souls.”⁵⁸ Puritan theologians, however, were not the only ones to visualize Christ as a surgeon for “Capt. Gookin,” in his relation of faith proffered on 11 September 1648, told Shepard that Christ “was the only physician fit to apply a plaster.”⁵⁹

The Puritan subscription to the image of Christ as the heavenly physician coupled with the reality of sickness show that even though the Puritans did not assign sickness sacramental status, sickness could act to enable God’s grace. Although the ministers insisted that the sacraments were signs of God’s promises to humankind rather than the means of salvation they taught the value of sickness as an aid to recognition of election. Unlike the Medieval church, which had attempted to resolve the problem of an inherent lack of assurance of salvation with a proliferation of sacraments, shrines, pilgrimages, and

indulgences, reinforced by the endowment of the priesthood with the authority to grant absolution,⁶⁰ the Reformed church had promoted individual contemplation and introspection. But even if the Puritans did not think of sickness in terms of a sacramental rite, bodily health and salvation share the same quality of uncertainty. As the Reverend Samuel Wakeman expressed the idea, God's "summons are so exceeding uncertain."⁶¹

In order to mitigate the lack of assurance of salvation, the Puritan ministers devised an *ordo salutis* and assigned sickness an integral role in it. Although the Puritan ministers differed slightly over the details, in the main, they agreed over the order and the function of each of the several steps. In their sermons, both preached and published, in manuals of instruction and by means of private discussion, the Puritan preachers taught that the elect could expect redemption to occur over the course of three principal stages, preparation, vocation, and regeneration. During preparation God readies the elect soul for union with Christ. But when the elect soul recognizes that it is unable to keep God's Law, it falls into despair, and then becomes aware of the loathsomeness of sin. Next, still as a part of preparation, comes contrition and humiliation, emotions which enable the elect soul to acknowledge that Christ only, is the means of salvation. Vocation, the second stage, marks the transformation from the unregenerate to the regenerate state, the occasion of union with Christ. During regeneration, the third stage, the elect soul is justified, that is, achieves reconciliation with God, and sets out on a lifetime of sanctification, of walking in the ways of God.⁶²

The manner in which sickness functioned within Shepard's *ordo salutis* can be discerned by examining the relevant section of his *The Sound Believer*, and then identifying

the same elements in the conversion narrative proffered by Goodwife Stevenson, a young adult at the time of her confession. In *The Sound Believer*, Shepard explained that he is going to “prove that the Lord Christ by his Spirit begins the actual deliverance of his elect...” by first convincing the soul that it is both “a sinner and sinful.”⁶³ In order to accomplish this task, Shepard says, the Lord Christ causes the soul to remember, not “offences in general,” but rather, a “particular” or a “special and most beloved sin....”⁶⁴ In the case of Goodwife Stevenson, her “particular” sin appears to have been that she had “sinned against God and disobeyed parents,” since she believed that for so doing she was rendered “unfit to live” and likely to “die.”⁶⁵ Shepard next explained that when “a man begins to go alone” in order to ponder over his transgressions, “it may be the Lord brings upon a man a sore affliction.” In order to convey what he means by the word “affliction” Shepard cites Jeremiah 30:15 which employs a medical metaphor to describe both the political downfall of the Kingdom of Judah and its envisaged future restoration. And although Shepard cited only part of verse 15, “Why criest thou for thine affliction? for the multitude of thine iniquities I have done this,”⁶⁶ the members of a Puritan congregation would have been familiar with the other relevant verses. Goodwife Stevenson, therefore, would have understood that as the Kingdom of Judah had been laid low by reason of sin, so had she been rendered sinful by virtue of Adam’s Fall.⁶⁷ The particular affliction which Stevenson appears to have understood as the catalyst bringing about conviction of sin was the plague. “When the Lord,” Stevenson recalled, “was pleased to convince me of sin, it was by affliction, the plague being in the place....” Similarly, Shepard preached “as a man hath the plague, not knowing the disease, he hopes to live; but when he sees the spots and tokens of death upon his wrist, now he cries

out, because convinced that the plague of the Lord is upon him....”⁶⁸ Thus, Stevenson’s opening to her narrative, “when the Lord was pleased to convince me of sin, it was by affliction,” follows Shepard’s teaching on the first stage of salvation, conviction of sin. And because the plague tokens, here representative of the taint of original sin, bespeak spiritual death, so Stevenson “knew not but I might be next at grave by reason of my sins.” Stevenson, however, survived the plague and went on to secure her membership in Shepard’s church. “The Lord afflicted me among the rest,” she told Shepard, “yet the Lord gave me my life and spared me.”⁶⁹

The route to salvation, however, was not as straightforward as Stevenson’s relation of faith might suggest, for even the regenerate soul found itself committing sins and experiencing periods of despair over faith.⁷⁰ One example of this sense of despair occurs in Shepard’s spiritual autobiography where he says that he “...saw how apt...[his] heart was to be like the sea, troubled and unquieted with cares, with griefs, with thoughts of future events, with men, with God.”⁷¹ Shepard’s record of his spiritual ups and downs, and the many instances of the same motif in other records indicate that although the Puritan ministers attempted to replace the uncertainty of salvation with assurance, they were no more successful than their forebears had been.

One stratagem the Puritan ministers employed to ease uncertainty of salvation was to promote the idea, one Winthrop spoke of in his spiritual autobiography, that God would be pleased to welcome a young soul. Two of the narratives Wigglesworth recorded show how this stratagem played out in practice. At a time of a sense of overwhelming worthlessness, “Joseph champney”⁷² reported to Wigglesworth that Mr. Wilson had

attempted to reassure him by saying that *"the Lord took delight in those that sought him early"*.⁷³ Champney responded positively to Wilson by saying, *"Hence I thought if I sought after the Lord seeing I was but young it may be he would accept of me notwithstanding all."*⁷⁴ In a slightly different vein, John Green, having been advised by Shepard regarding his failure to *"please God,"* was told that *"God took it very well that young ones should give up their first fruits to God."*⁷⁵ Not all young people, however, responded as their ministers would have wished. When Captain Gookin was "about 16 years" God revealed to him his unregenerate state. But Gookin put off dealing with his sinful nature, at that time, on the grounds that he was "young enough" to "take [the] thing into more serious consideration" at a later date. Nor did the "terrible apprehensions of wrath" which he experienced during a serious illness persuade Gookin to change his mind.⁷⁶ Another of the narrators who chose to defer dealing with his unregenerate state was "Mr. Collins," a graduate of Harvard College, and a Puritan minister. Although the Lord had been *"pleased to awaken"* him to the perils awaiting the unregenerate soul, Collins says *"I thought I had better live securely in my sins than think of that now"*. Collins reassured himself that *"there would come some sickness when I should have nothing else to do but think of that."* With the assistance of Shepard who, at the time of the predicted sickness, *"prayed"* with him and *"wrestled"* with God on Collins' behalf, Collins was able to report that *"when I laid so sore wounded it pleased God to show me more of my vileness...."*⁷⁷ Here, Collins' words are but one more example of how sickness functioned in the preparatory stage of salvation to bring about recognition of inherent sinfulness.

Yet however successful sickness might have been in revealing election, sickness as

a means to convince the soul of sin proved to be a two-edged sword. One complicating factor was the ministers' teaching, based on biblical precedence, that God not only sent sickness as an aid to salvation but also as a punishment for sin. Goodwife Stevenson, for example, understood that God's sending of an affliction to punish Judah not only signified her innate sinfulness but also that she would be punished for the sins she had committed. Since she had "sinned against God and disobeyed parents," she expected that "God would visit" her with a sickness.⁷⁸ Similarly, Mr. Collins related that because he had committed "*gross disobedience*," in regard to his parents, God had "*inflicted the greatest infliction*" on him that he had ever experienced. Moreover, Collins says that this illness which left him lame did not come unexpectedly. "*The Lord forewarned me*, he says, of "*what should come upon me....*"⁷⁹ Both Goodwife Stevenson and Mr. Collins appear to have been able to distinguish between an illness sent as punishment and one sent to signify election. But were the other members of the congregation as confident as Stevenson and Collins appear to have been in distinguishing the purpose of the sickness? Perhaps, as Cotton suggested in his discussion of the workings of the Holy Spirit, there would be times when the soul was unable to distinguish whether the appearance of sickness was a work of God's "wrath," or of His "mercy."

Yet sickness was so esteemed for its efficacy in revealing election that some young people believed that they could ignore the ministers' pleas for immediate attention to the needs of the soul precisely because an illness would arrive in time to ensure salvation before death ensued. In a jeremiad, a type of sermon outlining the perils likely to be incurred for non-compliance with the ministers' admonitions, the Reverend Samuel Wakeman (1635-

1692), the minister at Fairfield, identified the consequences of ignoring the purpose of sickness on the occasion of the funeral held on 10 October 1672 for John Tappin, aged nineteen. Tappin was an exemplary Puritan who eschewed drinking, swearing, and gaming. Instead of indulging in youthful sins, Tappin was "*a dutifull Childe to his Parents*,"⁸⁰ being never "unseasonably" absent from his family. Also, Tappin was given to taking down sermons and repeating them to his acquaintances. Then, as in life, so at the time of his fatal illness, Tappin's behaviour provided Wakeman with a model worthy of emulation.⁸¹ In his sermon addressed "to young men especially," Wakeman first pointed out that since Tappin, "a young man of *a serious Spirit*" had died "in the flower of his Age," even those who regarded themselves as "young, and strong, and lusty" would do well to keep in mind Ecclesiastes 12:1, "Remember now your creator in the dayes of your youth." In other words, even young people should "be ready" since neither youth nor spiritual preparedness guaranteed salvation. Second, Wakeman explained that "a pained Body, a distempered Brain, a disturbed Spirit, [and a] disability of Speech," had all prevented Tappin from attending to the needs of his soul. Moreover, Wakeman warned that not only can a sudden death intervene and cut short any work begun but, also, not even "a leisurely Sickness" ensures being able to attend to spiritual matters. Fortunately, Tappin "was not without some hope" of his salvation at the time of his illness. But even had he wished to confer with his minister regarding his spiritual estate, "it was difficult for him to speak from an obstruction in his Throat." In addition, his minister was rendered ineffectual because when Tappin did attempt to speak, his words were unintelligible. Wakeman's final admonition to his congregation, therefore, was to "do Thoroughly what Thou hast to do, [because] when Death

comes thou wilt not finde it too much.”⁴²

Sickness had an important role to play in the New England Puritan understanding of salvation. Although sickness had long been understood as one of several afflictions God might send, in Puritan New England the skirmishes over orthodoxy at the time of the Antinomian Controversy ensured it a permanent place in the Puritan version of the proper pathway to salvation. But if the ministers expected their teachings on sickness as it related to salvation to assuage doubts over assurance they were disappointed. Without question, the Puritans understood sickness as an aid to salvation. But since God also sent sickness as a punishment for sins, the appearance of sickness carried an equivocal message. In addition to a basic lack of assurance of salvation, New England Puritans faced the possibility of being tempted by Satan, an adversary whose activities in relation to sickness I discuss in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

SATAN

...Sarah Howley, when she was between Eight and Nine Years Old, was carried by her Friends to hear a Sermon...[and] in the applying of which Scripture, this Child was mightily awakened, and made deeply sensible of the Condition of her Soul, and her need of Christ....When she was about fourteen years old, she brake a Vein in her Lungs (as is supposed) and oft did spit blood, yet did a little recover again, but had several dangerous relapses. At the beginning of *January* last, she was taken very bad again, in which sickness she was in great distress of Soul. When she was first taken, she said, O Mother, pray, pray, pray for me, for Satan is so busy that I cannot pray for my self; I see I am undone without a Christ, and a Pardon! O I am undone unto all Eternity.

James Janeway, *A Token For Children...*(Boston, 1700).¹

The Reverend James Janeway (1636-1674), an English preacher who obtained a B.A. from Christ Church, Oxford, in 1659,² published *A Token For Children* in 1671. The scepticism which greeted the publication of the first part of his book, a collection of thirteen stories about pious, exemplary, Puritan children who all died at an early age, prompted Janeway to include in the second an assurance that “what is presented, is faithfully taken from experienced solid Christians, some of them no way related to the Children who themselves were Eye and Ear Witnesses of God’s Works of Wonder....”³ Yet neither the initial incredulity nor Janeway’s early death from “consumption” at the age of thirty-eight, prevented *A Token For Children* from becoming immensely popular in both old and New England. Apart from the Bible, Janeway’s book was more often recommended as suitable reading for children than any other work.⁴ The book’s success in Puritan New England began with two shipments, each of sixty copies, in 1684, and 1685, sent to John Usher, a Boston bookseller. The first New-England edition, printed in Boston in 1700, included an appendage of a further seven biographies written by Cotton Mather. By 1727 this appended version of *A Token For Children* had run to twenty-five editions.⁵

In part, the book's success derived from the seventeenth-century esteem accorded the biography for its edifying potential. The life of an exemplary Puritan divine, as I indicated in the previous chapter, was revered as a model worthy of emulation. That a biography of a pious Puritan child could function in the same way gained recognition as Puritan ministers and parents pondered the best method of teaching young people the means of salvation. The anonymous author of *The office of Christian parents* (Cambridge, 1616), suggested that children "might be taught 'even the summe of the Christian doctrine of salvation in the forme of a storie,'" because a story was more easily understood than "dogmaticall and positive instruction."⁶ Matthew Mead, in his introduction to Cotton Mather's spiritual biography of Nathaniel Mather (6 July 1669-17 October 1688), held that "of all reading, history hath in it a most taking delight, and no history more delightful than the lives of good men...." Cotton Mather offered his biography of his nephew, a pious young man, in the expectation "that it may be of great use and advantage to old and young."⁷ Thus, Janeway's stories belonged to a category of literature designed to teach young people the precepts of religion.

The popularity of *A Token For Children* rested, also, on the book's implicit recognition of the anxieties Puritan preachers and parents experienced over the spiritual standing of their charges. By portraying himself as the spiritual guardian of the children who would read his book—"I have written to you, I have prayed for you," he tells his young readers—Janeway aligned himself with Puritan parents and guardians. In fact, the title page of *A Token For Children* carries a dedication "To all Parents, School-Masters and School-Mistresses, or any that might have any hand in the Education of Children."⁸ Then, in his

preface addressed to the children, Janeway urged them to obey their parents “cheerfully... and take heed of doing any thing that they may forbid you.”⁹ *A Token For Children*, then, was as much a book addressed to the concerns of parents as it was a manual to teach children the means of salvation.

But given the widespread seventeenth-century belief in the existence of Satan, the principal reason why *A Token For Children* proved to be so popular was the attention Janeway gave to Satan’s activities. Puritan parents and others responsible for the spiritual education of children would have welcomed the book for its advice on how to deal with Satan’s assaults, and on how to prevent children from being condemned to eternal damnation in Satan’s kingdom. Like the other aspects of Puritan soteriology, discussed above, the New-England Puritan belief in the existence of Satan had its origins in much earlier Christian thought. Immediately, New England Puritans owed their belief in Satan to the adoption by sixteenth-century Reformed theologians of the Catholic teachings on the nature of evil. Paradoxically, however, the emphasis in Protestant thought on the doctrines of the omnipotence of God and the authority of the Scriptures endowed Satan with an importance he might otherwise not have enjoyed.¹⁰ In endeavouring to absolve God of all blame for the existence of evil, Protestant theologians accorded Satan a host of powers, an exercise known as theodicy. In addition, Protestant theologians drew on biblical evidence to sustain their teachings on Satan’s activities. Although the Old Testament, except for the Book of Job which portrays Satan as an emissary of God,¹¹ has little to say about Satan, the New Testament, in contrast, assigns to Satan an important role related to Christ’s activities. The Puritans in old and New England, therefore, took on the task of explaining why a beneficent

and omnipotent God allowed evil and suffering to plague mankind.¹²

In *A Golden Chain*, William Perkins began his theodicy by emphasizing the omnipotence of God while acknowledging that God did indeed create wickedness. But, Perkins argued, God's creation of wickedness was done "most justly" since "there is not anything absolutely evil." In themselves certain things might be evil but "in respect of God's decree they are some ways good."¹³ As one would expect from a "just judge," Perkins continued, evil acted as a "punishment of sin," as "propitiation for sin," and as "a trial of...faith." The purpose of evil, therefore, was "to manifest the glory of God in his justice and his mercy."¹⁴ And in common with Calvin and the early Christian writers, Perkins understood the relationship between Satan and God as a combat. Satan and his helpers waged war against God and His Christian soldiers.¹⁵

Perkins' idea that God permits evil for the greater good of mankind received an extended treatment in John Downname's *The Christian Warfare* (London, 1604). Downname, who was educated at Christ's College, Cambridge, was the rector of Allhallows the Great, London, from 30 November 1630 until his death in 1652.¹⁶ In chapter two, "*Why God suffereth his servants to be exercised in the spirituall conflict of tentations*," Downname offered six reasons to account for God's willingness to allow Satan a role in the spiritual affairs of mankind. First, since God's servants are "weake and feeble," those who find themselves, albeit with God's assistance, able to resist Satan's temptations, will recognize "the Lord's omnipotent power manifested to all the world..." Second, since God permits Satan to tempt the elect only, temptations are a means of identifying them. "For who can know whether they be Gods golden vessels before they be brought to the touchstone of

temptation?"¹⁷ Temptations also revealed sins which otherwise might lie undetected; and, they assisted the recognition "of our owne weaknesse and infirmities."¹⁸ In addition, since Satan used "most sharp weapons...to inflict deepe wounds in our consciences," temptations acted as a deterrent against future transgressions. In order to withstand Satan's assaults, God equipped the elect with graces, the spiritual equivalent of battle armour. But those who "cast their armour aside and let it rust," Downname warned, are in danger of being taken unawares. The very exercise of God's graces in fending off Satan's temptations both preserves and strengthens mankind.¹⁹ Ultimately, of course, God permits Satan to assault mankind for the sake of His own glory.²⁰

In Puritan New England, many aspects of Perkins' and Downname's theodicy found expression in *The Christians Exercise By SATANS Temptations* (Boston, 1701), written by the Reverend Samuel Willard (1640-1707), the minister of Boston's third church. Willard insisted that Satan was under the control of God; that he was an "Instrument" of God since Satan "...could do nothing but under God's permission and government."²¹ God could have chosen both to restrain Satan and to protect humankind from his assaults, Willard argued, but the very fact that He did not choose to do so indicated that "...there must be some reason for so momentous an "Article in his Providence."²² Willard also subscribed to the idea of two separate and opposing kingdoms, one for God and the other for the Devil. "...For Hell is a Kingdom," Willard writes, "& hath a sort of order in it." Elsewhere, Willard wrote of "the Heavenly Kingdom."²³ In order to explain the benefits of Satan's temptations, Willard, like Downname, invoked the imagery of Christian warfare. God endowed mankind with graces--the spiritual equivalent of armour--so that sinners might triumph over evil and secure

God's church. Like Downname, also, Willard argued that the ultimate purpose behind God's decision to permit Satan's activities is the glory of God. "A Child of God," Willard argued, "would never have known what is the exceeding greatness of his power, the unsearchable vertue of his Grace, the height and depth, the length & breadth of his love, if it were not for Temptations."²⁴ Thus, Willard, like his predecessors, argued that an all-good, omnipotent God allows Satan's temptations for the good of mankind.

By relying on virtually the same arguments as his English forbears had to reconcile the presence of evil with the omnipotence and beneficence of God, Willard lent authority to the Puritan practice of according Satan a high degree of prominence in the spiritual affairs of Puritan New England. Moreover, New England Puritans found Satan at work attempting to impede the establishment of the true church almost as soon as they arrived in Massachusetts Bay. In a letter to Margaret, dated 23 July 1630, Winthrop reported that "...Sathan bends his forces against us and stirs up his instruments to all kind of mischief, so that I think here are some persons who never showed so much wickedness in England as they have done here."²⁵ According to Winthrop, John Wilson, the minister of the Boston church, interpreted the expected struggle between the Puritans and Satan as a combat between a mouse and a snake. But instead of the snake eating the mouse, the likely outcome, the mouse killed its adversary. In his journal, Winthrop recorded Wilson's interpretation as: "that snake was the devil; the mouse was a poor contemptible people, which God had brought hither, which should overcome Satan here, and dispossess him of his kingdom."²⁶

The most notable attempt by Satan to unseat the New England Puritan church occurred between 1636 and 1638, the years of the Antinomian Controversy. According to

Winthrop in *A Short Story*, John Cotton categorised Anne Hutchinson's revelations in the absence of the Word as "Satanicall, and tending to much danger..."²⁷ Thomas Welde, who wrote the introduction to *A Short Story*, told his readers that the Elders had attempted to rescue the Antinomians but, having been unable to persuade them of their errors, "...were driven with sad hearts to give them up to Satan." Winthrop perceived Anne Hutchinson to be an even greater danger to the New England Puritan church than the Anabaptists had been in 1534 to the Munster Protestant church. Winthrop expected Satan to redouble his efforts to destroy the "Kingdome of Christ" precisely because Luther had predicted just such a move if ever Satan encountered "any such innovation under the cleare light of the Gospel." Never before, Winthrop insisted, have "ever so many wise, sober, and well grounded Christians...so suddenly...[been] seduced by the meanes of a woman, to sticke so fast to her, even in some things wherein the whole current of Scripture goeth against them...."²⁸

That Satan was indeed at work during the Antinomian Controversy received confirmation, in 1638, with the appearance of two monstrous births, the one born to Anne Hutchinson, the other to "the wife of one William Dyer." In his journal, Winthrop recorded that Mrs. Dyer gave birth to a female, stillborn child "of ordinary bigness,"²⁹ but the details of his description of this child conformed to the medieval depiction of a demon or monster. In contrast, Winthrop's description of Anne Hutchinson's monstrous birth resembled a modern pathological report of a hydatidiform mole which this birth is believed to have been.³⁰

The New-England monstrous births attracted attention in both Massachusetts Bay and in old England, a response which can be attributed to a general seventeenth-century

interest in such phenomena. For example, John Sadler, a “*Dr in Physicke in the Citie of Norwich,*” argued in *The Sick Womans Private Looking-Glasse* (London, 1636), that monsters owe their generation to “either Divine or Naturall” causes. Sadler did acknowledge that “some are of opinion, that monsters may be ingendred by some infernall spirit,” but he dismissed this latter notion on the grounds of heresy. “But what a repugnancie would it bee both to religion and nature, if the Divells could beget men, when we are taught to believe, that not any was ever begotten without humane seed except the Sonne of God.”³¹ Like Sadler, those New England Puritans who commented on the monstrous births understood them as divinely-created. None of the accounts I examined even hinted at the possibility of Satan having generated them.³² Satan was implicated but only to the extent that he was working through the women to overthrow the true church. Winthrop held that both Mrs. Dyer and her husband were “notoriously infected with Mrs. Hutchinson’s errors,” and that the midwife who delivered Dyer, “one Hawkins wife, a rank familist,” was probably a witch since “she used to give young women oil of mandrakes and other stuff to cause conception....”³³ The New England commentators also followed the convention of depicting a monstrous birth accompanied by unusual natural or supernatural events.³⁴ When Mrs. Dyer gave birth, “...the bed whereon the mother lay did shake, and withal there was such a noisome savor, as most of the women were taken with extreme vomiting and purging, so as they were forced to depart.” Then, and in addition to the illness of the women attendants, the children of some of the other women suffered from “convulsions” which occurred only at the time of the monstrous births. Mrs. Hutchinson’s monstrous birth took place at the same time as an earthquake.³⁵

But even though New England commentators relied on contemporary conventions to explain the significance of the monstrous births, they also drew on the idea that sick children had the capacity to convey God's messages to humankind. Like Thomas Shepard who believed that the sicknesses suffered by his two sons had signified God's disapproval of his own spiritual standing; and like Janeway's assertion that the sick children of his stories had acted in the capacity of "Eye and Ear Witnesses of God's Works of Wonder,"³⁶ the Elders subscribed to the same idea, one with antecedents in old England. Both Sadler and the anonymous author of *The Forme and Shape of a Monstrous Child* (London, 1568), held that God sent a monstrous birth as a warning to sinful parents. Sadler argued that a monster "...proceeds from the permissive will of God, suffering parents to bring forth such abominations, for their filthie and corrupt affections which are let loose unto wickednesse, like brute beasts that have no understanding."³⁷ In New England, John Cotton argued that God had caused Mrs. Dyer to be delivered of a monstrous child so that she might be enlightened over the error of her ways. According to Winthrop, Cotton justified the initial concealment of the birth because "he thought God might intend only the instruction of the parents, and such other to whom it was known...."³⁸ Like Cotton, Edward Johnson believed that God had sent the monstrous births only for the instruction of Anne Hutchinson and her followers. Johnson wrote that "...the Lord had poynted directly of their sinne by a very fearfull Monster...."³⁹ Thomas Welde, however, understood the monstrous births to have a broader didactic function than did Cotton and Johnson. Like the anonymous author of *The True Reporte of the Forme and Shape of a Monstrous Childe* (London, 1562), who held that a monstrous birth acted as a general warning, Welde, in his preface to *A Short Story*,

maintained that the births were sent by God to rectify the Antinomian errors. "This loud-speaking providence from Heaven in the monsters," Welde wrote, "did much awaken many of their followers (especially the tenderer sort) to attend Gods meaning therein...." Both Welde and Cotton Mather recognized an equivalency between the appearance of thirty monsters and Mrs. Hutchinson's thirty monstrous opinions.⁴⁰

In keeping with the belief that the monstrous births had signalled God's displeasure, that sick children could convey God's intentions, the Puritans taught that Satan was especially interested in children. In the preface he supplied for his father's treatise, *The Church Membership Of Children*, Thomas Shepard Jr. taught that this interest in children dated to the time of the early Protestant theologians, such as Luther and Calvin. Because these theologians had managed to thwart the Devil's attempts to wreck salvation, Shepard Jr. argued, Satan had borne a great deal of malice ever since "against these little ones, whom Christ had taken to himself...." The root of this malice Shepard Jr. identified as Satan's envy of children since, unlike them, he had been excluded from the Kingdom of Heaven. Here, both Shepard Jr. and his father were attempting to refute the Anabaptist claim that baptism should be postponed until adulthood when the candidate would be able to understand the significance of the ceremony.⁴¹ But even though they were engaged upon derogating the Anabaptists, the Shepards' point that Satan had a special interest in children coincided with Janeway's general theme that even children could expect a visitation from Satan. Hence, Janeway's inclusion of three stories where the children, including Jane Howley of the epigraph, experienced a visitation from Satan during the course of their illnesses. "Mary A...a little before she died she had a great conflict with Satan, and Cryed out, *I am none of*

his...."⁴² Initially, "Tabitha Alder" feared she would go to Hell because she did not love God. But after a Christian friend had prayed and fasted for her she realized her mistake. "*...It was Satan,*" she told her friend, "*...that did put it into my mind: But now I love Him, O blessed be God for the Lord Jesus Christ.*"⁴³ Janeway's stories, therefore, familiarized Puritan children with two important aspects of the Puritan doctrine of salvation. First, one of Satan's ploys when he attempted to secure a soul for himself was to visit the sickbed of a fatally-ill child; second, an encounter with Satan took the form of a spiritual battle.

Janeway's depiction of dying children receiving a visitation from Satan reflected a widely-held, seventeenth-century belief that the sickbed was one of Satan's customary haunts. For example, Forth Winthrop was so visited shortly before he died in 1630. In a letter addressed to John Jr., Margaret Winthrop wrote that on the day before Forth "...died he sayed that Sathan was busy with him to laye some sines to his charge...." ⁴⁴ But in depicting Satan visiting the sickbeds of young children, Janeway appears to have been as much informing children of the nature of Satan's activities as addressing the concerns of Puritan parents and pastors. One source of this concern was the Puritan reliance on the doctrine of predestination, a doctrine which Calvin had expected to relieve the problem of assurance of salvation since it guaranteed salvation to those whom God chose to elect. But the doctrine of the elect merely shifted the question from how one might discern salvation to how one might discern election.⁴⁵ Moreover, Calvin did recognise that even though, in theory, his doctrine of the elect assured salvation, in reality, humankind was beset by doubts. "Surely," Calvin wrote, "while we teach that faith ought to be certain and assured, we cannot imagine any certainty that is not tinged with doubt, or any assurance that is not assailed by

some anxiety.”⁴⁶ In New England, the Reverend Samuel Willard compounded this inherent lack of assurance by teaching that individuals remained under Satan’s dominion until they were convinced of their election. “But then as to mens Spiritual estate Sin hath made them Children of Satan, and they remain such whiles unregenerate....”⁴⁷

Janeway’s stories tell of children as young as two years old being “admirably affected with the things of God,” and the American historian, Edmund S. Morgan, has proposed that children as young as eight years old experienced conversion. But the evidence of the professions of faith tendered by the members of Shepard’s Cambridge congregation strongly suggests that a convincing conversion experience was the prerogative of a young adult rather than a young child. Among the members of Shepard’s congregation whose confessions of faith have survived, Barbary Cutter (c.1622-c.1707) was the only teenager--all the others were young adults.⁴⁸ Then, there are several extant letters sent by Winthrop to his son which indicate that Winthrop, and, presumably, Puritan parents like him, suffered anxieties over the spiritual status of their children while they remained unregenerate. In a letter dated 31 August 1622 sent to John Jr. at Dublin College, Winthrop told his son that “the further you are from me the more carefull I am of your welfare, both in bodye and soule....” Although Winthrop makes no mention of Satan, he does imply that if John Jr. does not attend to the affairs of his soul the outcome will be eternal damnation.⁴⁹ Thus, Puritan parents and their children had every need of a book like *A Token For Children*, for as Sarah Howley says, “... the sin of my Nature, without the Blood of Christ,...will damn me.”⁵⁰

Another reason why Puritan parents and caretakers would have valued Janeway’s book related to the changes Protestant and Puritan theologians brought to the sacrament of

baptism. In his treatise, *The Church Membership Of Children*, Shepard countered the Anabaptist claim by emphasizing the benefits of infant baptism, a sacrament which acted as a seal to membership of God's covenant. Of the several benefits which this membership conveyed, Shepard taught that God's promises, together with His adoption of baptized children, prevented Satan from acquiring their souls. Hence, Shepard Jr.'s assertion that Satan targeted infant baptism since it was "the seal to all Christianity."⁵¹

In relating infant baptism to Satan, Thomas Shepard was drawing on much earlier Christian thought. From its inception, baptism had included preliminary ceremonies of ritual exorcisms; and, from the beginning of the third century infants and children began to be baptized according to the rites formerly devised for adults. But Tertullian (fl. c.196-c.212), writing in Carthage, asked how children could benefit from the accompanying exorcisms since they were considered incapable of committing the personal sins which enabled Satan's indwelling. On the grounds of their innocence, Tertullian recommended postponing baptism with the accompanying rites of exorcism until the child was old enough to have committed personal sin. Yet Tertullian did believe that Satan had dominion over the children of pagans. The children of Christians, however, belonged neither to Satan nor to the Holy Spirit.⁵² The fourth-century changes in the understanding of baptism came about as part of a perception that Satan had dominion over all the unbaptized, whether adults or children. Then, in order to explain the necessity of the exorcisms preliminary to baptism, the Christian Fathers, Augustine in particular, taught that even though children had not committed personal sins they were, nonetheless, subject to Satan's dominion and to his indwelling. And since sins of volition could not account for Satan's powers, Augustine insisted that they derived from

original sin. From the time of Augustine onwards, therefore, exorcism preceded infant baptism on the understanding that children were subject to Satan's indwelling by virtue of inherited original sin.⁵³

Although the concept of Satan's "indwelling" was not a feature of New England Puritan thought, Satan did take on a prominent role in the doctrine of original sin. At the official level, the 1647 Westminster Confession Of Faith attributed the fall of Adam and his progeny to "the subtlety and temptation of Satan," the consequence of which was that humankind became "wholly defiled in all the parts and faculties of soul and body." This doctrine received confirmation in 1680 when the Reforming Synod adopted the Savoy Declaration issued in 1658 by English Independents (Congregationalists). The Savoy Declaration left unchanged the earlier statement on original sin.⁵⁴ But in contrast to the terse wording of the articles of faith, Thomas Shepard elaborated on the consequences of Adam having been tempted by Satan. In *The Sincere Convert*, Shepard taught that original sin had caused "Satan, death, judgement, hell, and heaven" to be raised against humankind; had caused "fearful apostasy from God like a devil"; and had brought about "horrible rebellion against God in joining sides with the devil and taking God's greatest enemies' part against God." Also, original sin explained "fearful blasphemy in conceiving the devil (God's enemy and man's murderer) to be more true in his temptations than God in his threatening."⁵⁵

Thomas Shepard's interpretation of the role of Satan as it related to the concept of original sin contained ideas which would have been beyond the comprehension of young children. But Janeway's book with its supposedly true stories rendered comprehensible the abstract theological notions related to the Puritan doctrine of salvation. Foremost, Janeway's

young readers learned of their own innate depravity, the consequence of inherited original sin. They also learned to distinguish between original sin and sins of volition, and that of the two categories, original sin carried the greater harm. For instance, the anonymous child of "EXAMPLE XI...was a great hater of Sin, and did with much grief and self-aborrancy reflect upon it; but that which lay most upon her heart was the Corruption of her Nature and Original Sin."⁵⁶ In teaching his readers to think of sin in this way, Janeway endeavoured to protect them from everlasting damnation, an example of which occurs in "EXAMPLE VII. Of a Notorious Wicked Child, who was taken up from Begging...." Here, Janeway wrote that until his "Friend" rescued the beggar child "there seemed to be very little hopes of doing any good upon this Child, for he was a very Monster of Wickedness, and a thousand times more miserable and vile by his Sin, than by his Poverty."⁵⁷ Yet despite these barriers to salvation, Janeway's "Friend" was able "to pluck this Firebrand out of the Fire...." First, he was able to convince the beggar child of his own "miserable condition by Nature," the equivalent of Shepard's teaching that conviction of sin constituted the initial step towards salvation. Second, Janeway's "Friend" familiarized the beggar child with the nature of God, and "the worth of his own Soul...."⁵⁸ In this way, Janeway's "Friend" managed to set the child on the road to salvation and prevent his descent into Hell.

Although Janeway assured his young readers that the beggar child avoided eternal damnation, in reality, the Puritan emphasis on Satan's powers, the outcome of the general Protestant move to absolve God of blame for the existence of evil, increased the likelihood, according to one scholar, of a child falling victim to Satan's assaults.⁵⁹ The basis of this argument lies with the escalation in the powers attributed to Satan combined with the

changes Puritan theologians brought to the sacrament of baptism. The formula for baptism which English Puritans had found, in many respects, so abhorrent was the Church of England's modification of the traditional Catholic ceremony. In England, infant baptism had been the norm since the beginning of the medieval period. The *Order for Making a Catechumen* in the Use of Sarum indicates the use of several rites to protect against the Devil.⁶⁰ On the arrival of the infant at the church door the priest signed the cross over the forehead and breast, a gesture symbolic of Christ's victory over Satan.⁶¹ A grain of exorcised salt, believed to be efficacious in both assisting salvation and warding off Satan, was placed in the child's mouth, after which the child was exorcised.⁶² Then, after the Benediction of the Font, and after the priest had asked the child's name, there was a three-fold renunciation of Satan--of Satan himself, of his works and of his pomps. The infant was next plunged three times into the consecrated water before being anointed with chrism applied in the shape of the cross. All these rites afforded protection against Satan.⁶³ In 1559, with the Church of England's institution of *The Book Of Common Prayer* certain of the rites related to Satan were rejected while others were retained. The Church of England abandoned the *Ephphatha*, a ceremony which included the application by the priest of his own saliva to the ears and nostrils of the infant, followed by an anointing with holy oil to the breast and back.⁶⁴ The Church of England also abandoned the use of the salt. In order to "avoid the popish stuff" at the baptism of one of her children, Rose Hickman (1526-1613) wrote: "I did not put salt into the handkerchief that was to be delivered to the priest at the baptism, but put sugar in it instead of salt."⁶⁵ The Church of England did retain the triple renunciation of the Devil but in a transformed form.⁶⁶ Early on in the ceremony of the

“Publick Baptism of Infants” the priest informs the Godparents that, on behalf of the baptismal infant, they undertake to “renounce the devil and all his work” until the child comes of age. Later, the priest calls upon God to grant that the infant “may have power and strength to have victory, and to triumph, against the devil....” Last, after signing the cross over the forehead of the child, the priest says: “we...do sign *him* with the sign of the Cross, in token that hereafter *he* shall not be ashamed...manfully to fight under his banner against sin, the world, and the devil....”⁶⁷ But, as I argued earlier, the Puritans found *The Book Of Common Prayer* an anathema. One of the most contentious aspects of the liturgical struggle between the Church of England and the Puritans had been the signing of the cross over the forehead of the baptismal infant. Yet in rejecting this particular baptismal liturgical rite, the Puritans denied their children access to one of the few rites retained by the Church of England deemed efficacious in warding off Satan.

Even as Puritan theologians rejected certain of the baptismal rites traditionally recognized for their efficacy in protecting children from Satan, they replaced them with their own provisions. Given their belief in Satan’s extreme capabilities, Puritan theologians had to identify protective devices in order to keep him at bay; and, to prevent, if at all possible, children being condemned to eternal damnation. The Puritans, therefore, retained within the sacrament of baptism the precept that the ceremony afforded protection against Satan. According to Cotton Mather, in *BONIFACIUS* (Boston, 1710), this protection took the form of a dedication of the baptismal infant to God, and a commitment on the part of the parents to do all in their power to ensure that the infant “be rescued from the condition of a child of wrath, and be possessed by the Lord as an everlasting instrument of his glory.” Then, when

children were old enough, Mather recommended frequent reminders of their “baptismal engagements,” one of which was to embrace Christ and to renounce Satan. Puritan parents were told to say: “Child, You must Renounce the Service of Satan...”⁶⁸ These reminders both involved the parents and the children, and constituted repeated renewals of the terms of the baptismal covenant. For example, Cotton Mather recorded in his biography of Nathaniel Mather an instance of such a renewal. On 22 November 1683, Nathaniel promised to keep the terms of his baptism at which time he had undertaken, “to renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil...” That there existed in Puritan thought a link between Satan and sickness is evident in Nathaniel Mather’s renewal of the terms of his covenant with God. Nathaniel’s denunciation of Satan occurred in a context of the several occasions on which God had been pleased to grant his recovery from sickness.⁶⁹

At the same time, the changes which Puritan theologians brought to baptism lent that sacrament the same lack of assurance which characterised many other aspects of their soteriology. On the one hand, Thomas Shepard claimed that church membership, confirmed by baptism, prevented Satan from taking the soul of a child for himself. But on the other hand, he, and many other New England Puritans, restricted this benefit to God’s elect. Although baptism sealed entrance into the covenant, and Shepard recommended that all infants be baptized, he taught the existence of two levels of membership, one for the “Elect seed,” the other for the “Church seed.” So, while Shepard argued in his refutation of the Anabaptist claim that in addition to the other benefits, baptism brought “comfort” to parents, in fact, his teaching did little to alleviate parental doubts over the spiritual standing of their children.⁷⁰

But whether these changes in the meaning of baptism together with the rejection of certain of the liturgical rites were believed by the Puritans themselves to heighten the vulnerability of children to Satan's advances, is difficult to discern. What is certain is that like their teaching on recognition of election, Puritan theologians put their trust in their own inner, spiritual resources instead of relying on external aids, such as the signing of the cross, for dealing with Satan. In turn, this emphasis on inner resourcefulness to combat Satan spawned a proliferation of didactic literature, of which Janeway's *A Token For Children*, was the most popular.⁷¹ Janeway's book not only served to familiarize Puritan parents and their children with the nature of Satan's activities but also it equipped them with the means to ward off his attentions. In order that his young readers might avoid eternal damnation, and cope with Satan's visitations, Janeway taught that reading the Scriptures, and learning the catechism were ways of overcoming inherited depravity. He also urged his readers to "...think a little sometimes by yourself about God and Heaven, and your Soul, and what Christ came into the World for."⁷²

In deciding to situate his stories in a context of fatal illness, Janeway may well have been attempting to acquaint his young readers with the reality of childhood mortality.⁷³ But the use of a setting of childhood sickness may also have been Janeway's Puritan expression of an age-old link between demons, or the Devil, and sickness. According to Cotton Mather, all disease had originated with the Fall, the responsibility for which lay with Satan. Had "our First Parents" eaten of the Tree of Life instead of the Tree of Knowledge, Mather speculated, health rather than sickness would have been the condition of mankind.⁷⁴ Here, Mather's teaching illustrates the retention, albeit with a Puritan gloss, of an early Judaic idea

that demons caused disease.⁷⁵ In the hands of the early Christian Fathers, however, this demonic aetiology underwent a transformation so that disease was recognized as having three causes--“God, demons, and nature.” But by the fourth century the Christian Fathers had distinguished between demonic possession, an illness responsive to exorcism, and physical disease which emanated from the hand of God,⁷⁶ distinctions which had New Testament backing. For example, in Mark 1:32 the people brought to Christ both “...all that were diseased, and them that were possessed with devils.” By the seventeenth century the idea that the Devil caused disease had all but disappeared. One seventeenth-century English clergyman did maintain that the insomnia he suffered the night before the sabbath was caused by the Devil, but this claim was an isolated example.⁷⁷ In colonial New England Increase Mather (1639-1723) acknowledged that demons might cause disease but explained this activity as an instance of God’s providential intervention, saying that “...Satan and all his wicked angels are limited by the Providence of God.” And even Cotton Mather, who insisted that disease originated in the Garden of Eden, argued elsewhere in *The Angel of Bethesda* that the source and origin of disease lay in the *Nishmath-Chajim*, “A Wonderful Spirit” which he defined as possibly “a *Middle Nature*, between the *Rational Soul*, and the *Corporeal Mass*.”⁷⁸ That the aetiology of disease lay not with Satan but with God accords with the Puritan teaching that both monstrous births and childhood sickness were sent by God to signal his displeasure. And, although Janeway taught that Satan could appear during an illness nowhere does he suggest that Satan caused the disease.

The principal reason why Janeway chose a setting of sickness appears to have been to enable children, and possibly their parents, to grasp the meaning of the theological

abstractions inherent in the Puritan version of salvation. Since the experience of sickness was, and still is, common to all children, Janeway exploited that experience to render comprehensible the concept of a physical illness being the equivalent of a spiritual sickness. As I argued earlier, Janeway used the context of sickness to teach the first stage of salvation, conviction of innate depravity. In addition, Janeway taught his young readers to expect fluctuations in their assurance of election. Like the members of Shepard's congregation who experienced repeated doubts over their election, the anonymous child of "EXAMPLE II," though "admirably affected with the things of God," found "when he was between Two and Three years old," that he "could not keep his heart fixed upon God."⁷⁹ When the child of "EXAMPLE II" fell ill and was asked "whether he was willing to dye,...he answered, *No: because he was afraid of his State as to another world.*" Yet when asked the same question not long afterwards, and having in the meantime prayed for "a new Heart" he was able to reply, "*Now I am willing, for I shall go to Christ...*"⁸⁰ Similarly, the "Notorious Wicked Child," when he fell ill, "feared that he should go to Hell" on account of both the sins he had committed and "the sin of his Nature." But after being assured "how willing and ready the Lord Christ was to accept poor Sinners,"⁸¹ and after he had prayed to God, this child died in the belief that he was going to Christ. In addition, the "Notorious Wicked Child" acknowledged the assistance of his benefactor for had he not been rescued from the "streets" he would "have gone to the Devil, and have been Damned for ever..."⁸²

In order to discourage backsliding, Janeway emphasized the necessity of continuing to search for Christ. "...Never be content," he told his readers, "till you see your need of Christ, and excellency and use of Christ."⁸³ Yet equally as much as he urged children to seek

Christ and provided them with the means to do so, he outlined the consequences of neglecting to follow his advice. "Take heed of what you know is naughty," Janeway advised, for children "that will not do what they are bid but play the Truant, and lye, and speak naughty words, and break the Sabbath," when they die they "must go to their Father the Devil into everlasting burning...."⁶⁴ Moreover, Janeway warned, "... Hell is a terrible place, that's worse a thousand times than whipping, Gods anger is worse than your Fathers anger...."⁶⁵ Then, in order to reinforce this teaching, Janeway asked, "Did you never hear of a little Child that died? & if other Children die, why may not you be sick and die? and what will you do then, Child, if you should have no grace in your heart, and be found like other naughty Children."⁶⁶ Janeway advised those children who desired to "escape Hell Fire," to follow the examples set by "these good Children," the children of the stories.⁶⁷

Janeway's decision to portray three of the model children experiencing a visitation from Satan during the course of their fatal illnesses appears to be the outcome of a retention, in Puritan thought, of the ideas of Justin Martyr (active during the second century), the first of the early Christians to consider the relevance of evil to Christian theology. As part of his teachings, Justin Martyr drew up a list of the many ways in which the Devil attempts to thwart salvation.⁶⁸ One of the most enduring of these items was that of demons attempting to seize the souls of the dying. Justin maintained that before the advent of Christ, the demons had achieved their ends easily, but that after Christ's incarnation and resurrection the demons found themselves struggling against the power of Christ.⁶⁹ This earlier image of a struggle between the Devil and the Christian soul found expression in Janeway's stories in the form of Satan visiting fatally-ill children. Another of Justin's ideas which appears

in Janeway's stories is that of the power of Christ affording a means of overcoming Satan. Hence, Janeway furnished his readers with model prayers, urging his young readers to "get by thy self, into the Chamber or Garret, and fall upon thy knees, and weep and mourn, and tell Christ thou are afraid he doth not love thee...."⁹⁰ Janeway also appears to have drawn on Downname's idea that Satan was only interested in the elect. If so, then the appearance of Satan at a time of childhood illness may have allayed some of the anxieties Puritan parents felt over the destination of their children. And since Satan was understood to be "wily," his visitation was entirely in keeping with his nature. Satan took advantage of an occasion of fatal illness to make one last attempt to seize the soul before the child died.⁹¹ But however vulnerable sick Puritan children were to Satan's visitations, all the model children managed to overcome his overtures. As befits the death of a model Puritan child, Janeway transformed the traditional idea of angels of light opposing the forces of darkness⁹² into a vision of angels awaiting the entry of the child into heaven. After she had fought off Satan, the anonymous girl of "EXAMPLE 111...had a great sense of Gods Love, and a Glorious sight as if she had seen the very Heavens open, and the Angels come to receive her...."⁹³

CHAPTER FIVE

APOSTASY

This Court, hauing taken into their serious consideration that in respect of afflictive sicknesses in many places, ...wee are vnder solemne frounes of diuine Prouidence, ...doe therefore appoint the 16th day of July next to be sett apart as a day of publicke humilljation, by fasting and prayer, throughout this colony, exhorting all who are the Lords remembrancers to give him no rest till he establish and till he make Jaerusalem a prayse in the earth....

Records Of The Colony Of The Massachusetts Bay In New England. 4 June 1685.¹

Throughout the seventeenth century the Massachusetts Bay General Court repeatedly ordered colony-wide days of public humiliation in response to outbreaks of contagious disease. On 29 May 1644, for example, the Court ordered a day of humiliation in response to an outbreak of “the sicknes.” Yet on this occasion, and on many others, the Court took into account a cluster of afflictions rather than sickness in isolation. In 1644, in addition to “the sicknes,” the Court considered the “drought,” the state of the Puritans’ native country, and other unspecified “dangers” threatening the colonists’ well-being.² On other occasions, as the epigraph indicates, the Court identified troubles in the New England church and linked them with an outbreak of contagious disease. For example, on 10 October 1666, in deciding to order a fast-day, the Court took note “of the growth of sin & prophanes, as pride, oppression, sensuality, carnall security, formality & heresy; as also the Lords hand still inflicted vpon vs in some parts of the country, in respect of the smale pox.” At this time also, the Court record indicates that the colonists faced “blastings, meldews, drought, caterpillars, [and] grasshoppers....”³

God’s decision to inflict upon the Puritan community at large a cluster of afflictions, one of which was sickness, had its counterpart in the spiritual experiences of individuals,

such as the members of Shepard's Cambridge congregation. Like the collective experience, many of the individuals who proffered their relations of faith to Shepard spoke of suffering from more than one affliction at a time. But whereas personal suffering appears to have been a reflection of the Christian precept that since Christ had suffered his followers could expect no less, community suffering appears to have been interpreted along the lines of the Old Testament teaching that God afflicts His elect nation whenever the terms of the covenant are broken. In fact, the General Court's record for 10 October 1666 resembles the wording of Deuteronomy 28.22 where God threatens those who failed to keep the terms of the covenant "with a consumption, and with a fever, and with an inflammation,...and with blasting, and with mildew...." But even though the Court more often based its decision to order a fast-day on account of a number of concurrent afflictions rather than on sickness alone, I shall confine this chapter to an examination of the relationship between the episodes of contagious disease and the perceived troubles in the New England Puritan church. Beyond the scope of this thesis is an exploration of the significance of the numerous other afflictions such as threatened, or actual crop failures, house fires, loss of life at sea, and King Philip's War (June 1675-August 1676).⁴

The New England Puritan belief that contagious diseases emanated from the hand of God had its immediate origins in the Protestant emphasis on the doctrine of God's providence. At the time of the Reformation, Protestant theologians of all shades of opinion, rejected the medieval belief in Fortuna, the goddess of luck or chance, in favour of the supreme sovereignty of God. Instead of allowing for chance happenings or natural causes, Protestant theologians taught that God alone controlled the world and the affairs of

humankind.⁵ Calvin taught that God had not merely created the world but had remained in control ever since to direct and govern its affairs. “God’s providence, as it is taught in Scripture,” Calvin wrote, “is opposed to fortune and fortuitous happenings.”⁶ Thus, Calvin attributed to God’s providence prosperity, adversity, and even so-called “‘natural’ occurrences.”⁷ Of the English Puritan theologians whose work influenced New England Puritan thought, William Perkins held that “...the Lord, according to his good pleasure, hath most certainly decreed every thing and action, whether past, present, or to come, together with their circumstances of place, time, means, and end.”⁸

Neither Perkins nor Calvin spoke of God’s providence in connection with contagious disease but other Protestant theologians did so. Bishop Cooper, for example, writing in England in the second half of the sixteenth century, held that “whensoever misery or plague happeneth to man, it cometh not by chance or fortune, or by a course of nature, as vain worldly men imagine, but by the assured providence of God.”⁹ Similarly, over one hundred years later, Cotton Mather attributed all sickness, including contagious diseases, to acts of God’s providence. In *The Angel of Bethesda*, Mather explained “...the Grand CAUSE of Sickness” by invoking Isaiah 45.7: “I form the light, and create the darkness: I make peace, and create evil: I the LORD do all these *things*.”¹⁰ In Mather’s view, a belief that contagious diseases were chance happenings amounted to heresy. In *A Perfect Recovery*, published in Boston in 1714, in response to a severe epidemic of contagious disease in the winter of 1713-1714, Mather preached that those who attributed both the sickness and the recovery from it to chance, deserved “to be thrown into a *Furnace* heated seven time Hotter than the former.” Yet Mather allowed a contradiction to colour his thought when he attributed the unexpected

relapses and deaths of some of the younger people to “some latent Poison, or some unforeseen Accident,” claiming that both these factors were inherent properties of the “Contagion.”¹¹

Moreover, Mather’s obvious contradiction of a basic tenet of the doctrine of God’s providence was not the only instance of the Puritans allowing discrepancies to enter their explanations of the nature of contagious disease. From the outset of their venture, the Puritans were very aware that contagious diseases spread by contact with another person. During the 1629 Atlantic voyage, as I argued in Chapter One, once Higginson realized that his two children, Mary and Samuel, were suffering from smallpox, he immediately located the source of the infection as “one mister Browne” who was already suffering from the disease when he boarded at Gravesend. Also, both Higginson and the rest of the passengers were well aware that smallpox could spread throughout the ship. Mary’s death brought “terror” since all on board understood her demise “as the beginnings of a contagious disease and mortality.”¹² And despite Cotton Mather’s contradiction of allowing “some unforeseen Accident” to account for the unexpected deaths in the winter of 1713-1714, in the 1630s and 1640s, at least, some Puritans believed that God controlled the intensity of the outbreak. After Edmund Browne reached New England in 1638, he wrote to Sir Simonds D’Ewes on 7 September 1638 telling him that after he “had been three weeks at sea the contagious pox struck in amongst us, yet ordered by the Lord’s power, as if it had not been infectious.”¹³ Similarly, John Winthrop noted in his journal in June 1647 that during “an epidemical sickness” which had spread throughout the country and infected the “Indians and English, French and Dutch, ... a special providence of God appeared” which spared sufficient among them to attend to the hay and corn.¹⁴

Nor did recourse to the doctrine of God's providence to explain the mechanism of contagious disease prevent the Puritans from taking steps to contain the spread of infection. In March 1647-8 the General Court enacted quarantine legislation after receiving "credible" information about severe outbreaks of the "plague, or like greivos [in]fectious disease" occurring in some of the West Indian islands. All ships arriving in Boston from the West Indies were required to anchor at a distance from the town, and no one was allowed either to disembark or to go on board without a special "licence" issued by representatives of the Court. Even those who were allowed to disembark had to remain at a distance of "four rods" from any other person if the ship had been in contact with infection. The Court also demonstrated a familiarity with the concept of the spread of infection by contact with inanimate objects, or fomites, when it ordered a shipment of "cotton and such goods as might retain the infection" to be stored in "a house remote."¹⁵ Here, the Court's actions appear to contradict the idea that God controlled contagious disease. At this time, however, any opposition to the quarantine measures on theological grounds would have been short-lived since in May 1649, "seing it hath pleased God to stopp the sickness," the Court repealed the legislation. But the problem resurfaced in the first quarter of the eighteenth century with the introduction into New England of the technique of inoculation against smallpox. Those who opposed it on theological grounds argued that it was a sin for healthy people to give themselves the disease when they might have escaped it. Also, since smallpox originated with God the proper response was repentance of sin and a commitment to avoidance of sin in the future.¹⁶

The reliance on the doctrine of God's providence to explain the cause and the timing

of outbreaks of contagious disease obliged the Puritans to make some theological compromises. However, such was the flexibility of this doctrine that it also accommodated the introduction of a new theory of causation--that organisms invisible to the naked eye caused contagious diseases. That some diseases could be acquired by contact with another person had been observed since ancient classical times, but the first attempt to explain contagion in terms of the existence of microscopic organisms occurred in the sixteenth century with the work of Girolamo Fracastoro (?1478-1553), an Italian physician and scientist. In *De Contagione, Contagiosis Morbis et eorum Curatione* (Contagion, Contagious Diseases and their treatment), published in 1546, Fracastoro argued for the existence of very small particles which he called "*seminaria*," and which had "great power over the humors and spirits...." These particles had three modes of infection: by direct contact; by means of "fomes" or fomites; and, in cases of "contagions at a distance," by means of a combination of fomes and direct contact. Fracastoro also proposed that the *seminaria* could be "impelled" by evaporation.¹⁷

Although, as I argued earlier, the members of the General Court were familiar with the concept of fomites when they enacted their quarantine legislation in March 1647-48, there is no evidence that any of the nineteen New-England Puritan minister-physicians whose library inventories Watson analysed, owned a copy of Fracastoro's work.¹⁸ Nonetheless, Cotton Mather was familiar with the concept of microscopic organisms. In "Capsula VII. Conjecturalies. or, Some Touches upon, A *New Theory* of many *Diseases*" in *The Angel of Bethesda*, Mather proposed that microscopic "Animals," or "Minute Animals" entered the body "thro' the Pores of our Skin," and, once there "soon gett into the Juices of

our Bodies.” Epidemics occurred, Mather suggested, when “Vast Numbers of these Animals keeping together, may at once make such Invasions, as to render Diseases *Epidemical*.” This theory also explained, Mather speculated, “universal *Coughs*,” and the diseases known as “*Pestilential*” and “*Epidemical*.”¹⁹

Mather’s cautious acceptance of the new theory of the cause of contagious diseases is the more remarkable since many seventeenth-century European scientists and physicians refused to accept that “animalcules” could cause disease. In part, this unwillingness to accept the new theory hinged on the difficulty of deciding whether the microscopic organisms were the cause or the product of the disease.²⁰ But Mather, who owned a microscope and was familiar with the work of Antoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723), believed that with better “glasses,” that is with better microscope lenses, there was a possibility of being able to see even smaller organisms than current instruments would allow. And, having seen the organisms “which the *Microscopes* discover in the [smallpox] Pustules,” Mather correctly predicted the coming of a new way of understanding the cause and mode of infection “of many *Diseases*.”²¹

For his support of the new theory of the cause of contagious diseases, Gordon W. Jones, the editor of *The Angel of Bethesda*, categorized Cotton Mather as one of “a select group of believers.”²² But even though in some respects Mather anticipated the nineteenth-century germ theory of disease causation, in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the doctrine of God’s providence controlled the Puritan understanding of the epidemics of contagious disease. However, the experience of emigration from England for settlement in New England also lent that understanding a particular Puritan gloss. Like their Puritan

counterparts in old England, the New England Puritans held that epidemics were God's response to a failure to complete the Reformation of the church. In England, outbreaks of the plague were believed to be the outcome of breaking the sabbath, tolerating Catholics, theatre-going, and Laud's attempts to establish his version of the true church. In 1635 for instance, the Puritan minister, John Dodd, insisted that "the plague of God is in the land for the new mixture of religion that is commanded in the church."²³ And even though the plague did not reach epidemical proportions in New England,²⁴ the epidemics of smallpox were both equally as alarming and understood in equivalent terms, that is, they signalled that something was wrong with the New England Puritan church.

But rather than punishment *per se*, the New England Puritans regarded the epidemics of contagious disease more as reprimands wrought by God to rectify sinful behaviour. This idea that sickness (like evil) was something inherently beneficial derived from the emphasis in Reformed thought on the idea of the beneficence of God, a God who protects and cares for all that He has created.²⁵ In Puritan thought, the emphasis on God's beneficence, as it related to sickness, translated into the belief that disease signified God's interest in humankind. Moreover, this idea held sway in Puritan thought for more than one hundred years. In *The Christian Warfare* (London, 1604), John Downname argued that, in general, "afflictions and crosses are rather signes of God's loue than of his hatred...." Specifically, Downname argued that "the outward afflictions of the body," by mortifying and subduing the flesh, increase in mankind God's "spirituall graces."²⁶ This idea of sickness as an indicator of God's interest, Cotton Mather reiterated as part of his explanation of the meaning of the 1713-1714 epidemic. Mather insisted that God only "smites with *sickness* the Children of

Men ... whom He pleases to make *His own Children*.” In other words, sickness was an indicator of election, a Puritan precept based on the Old Testament tradition of speaking about sickness only in relation to God’s elect nation.²⁷ Yet another, and popular way of expressing the same idea was to visualize the epidemics as divine “rods,” fashioned to prod backsliders into remembering why the first Puritans had decided to settle in New England. In 1647 the Reverend John Eliot, for example, wrote that the epidemics were “rods” intended to “tell the churches what o[u]r epidemical sp[iritual] disease is.”²⁸

The idea that contagious disease was a manifestation of God’s interest in His new elect nation also informed some of the arguments proposed to legitimize the Puritan colonisation of Massachusetts Bay. Regarding the Puritan settlement of the land, John Winthrop, in his 1629 “General Observations For The Plantation Of New England,” justified occupancy of “land which is and hath bine soe longe tyme possessed by other sonnes of Adam” by pointing out that “god hath consumed these nations in a myraculouse plauge wherby a great parte of their country is left voyd without inhabitants...”²⁹ Winthrop’s argument received official policy status with the publication in London, in 1630, of John White’s *The Planters Plea*. White argued, “for the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulnessse of the Action” of the planting, that any barriers to land entitlement had been removed “about twelve or sixteene yeeres past,” when “a three yeeres Plague ... swept away most of the Inhabitants all along the Sea-coast, and in some places utterly consumed man, woman, & childe...”³⁰ That God had cleared the land preparatory to the Puritan settlement by sending a contagious disease among the Native people became a well-entrenched theme in contemporary accounts of the colony’s early days. In his history of the Puritans, in a

chapter entitled, "Of the wonderfull Preparation the Lord Christ by his Providence, wrought for his peoples abode in this Western world," Johnson repeated the story of how "a great mortality" had freed the land for Puritan occupancy.³¹

Johnson also argued, as had Winthrop and White before him, that one of the objectives in planting a colony in New England was to proselytize the Native people. In his "General Observations," Winthrop noted that although it was "the revealed will of god that the gospell should be preached in all places and nations," he admitted that there remained some doubt over whether the Native people would welcome the Puritan attempts to advance the word of God.³² White understood the task of conversion as a duty of "this last age," as taking a knowledge of the Gospel to those who so far had remained in ignorance of it.³³ But unlike White and Winthrop who understood the appearance of contagious disease among the Native people as removing any encumbrances to land entitlement, Johnson argued that the "plague" which, initially, had cleared the land for the Puritans also assisted the conversion of the Native people. The "great mortality," Johnson argued, had "not onely made roome for his people to plant; but also tamed the hard and cruell hearts of these barbarous Indians...." Johnson also understood an outbreak in 1631 of a "sore Disease, even the Smallpox" as having the same salutary effect. First, since the disease affected only the Native people its appearance effectively ended a skirmish over land boundaries. Second, the immunity the Puritans enjoyed allowed them to attend the sick. Because the Puritans were reluctant to see the Native people "depart this life without knowledge of God in Christ," they were "very frequent among them for all the noysomenesse of their Disease, entring their Wigwams, and exhorting them in the Name of the Lord."³⁴

The New England Puritans interpreted the epidemics of contagious disease among the Native people as God's way of assisting the Puritan venture. But when the Puritans themselves suffered in the epidemics they understood that something had gone wrong with their attempt to carry out what Winthrop had described in "A Model Of Christian Charity," delivered on board the *Arbella* in 1630, as "a speciall Commission" from God.³⁵ Moreover, the perception that all was not well with the manner of carrying out this "Commission," a deficiency signalled by the appearance of contagious disease, troubled the Puritans from the outset, and continued to do so throughout the seventeenth century and into, at least, the first quarter of the eighteenth. During the 1629 Atlantic voyage Higginson interpreted the outbreak of smallpox as a sign from God telling the advance party that something had gone amiss in the way they were carrying out their task.³⁶ After the Puritans had reached New England and had laid the foundations of the church, then the appearance of an epidemic of contagious disease told them that their efforts to complete the Reformation of the church had fallen short of earlier expectations. The principal barriers hindering the completion of the Reformation Cotton Mather identified in *Magnalia Christi Americana*, his history of the New England church. Mather perceived the Puritan venture in New England as analogous to Christ's temptations in the wilderness and, thus, identified Roger Williams (1603-1683), Anne Hutchinson, the Presbyterians, the Quakers, and even "Imposters, Pretending To Be Ministers" as satanic threats to the Puritan efforts.³⁷ Of these several threats to the church, evidence exists to show that two were linked with an outbreak of contagious disease. In 1638 at the time of the Antinomian Controversy, Winthrop recorded in his journal that, "upon the motion of the elders to the governor and council," the colonists kept "a general

fast," on account of "the much sickness of pox and fevers spread through the country," the outcome of "the apparent decay of power of religion, and the general declining of professors to the world, etc."³⁸ That the Puritans perceived a connection between the Quaker threat and an outbreak of contagious disease is evident from the minutes of the October 1658 session of the General Court. At this session the Court first dealt with the Quakers by issuing an order to apprehend and then banish them from the colony. Then, "...taking into their serious consideration ... the arrogance & boldness of open opposers to the truth & wajes of the Lord, ... & mortallitje in diuers places," the Court saw fit to order "a solemne day of humiliation," in order to entreat "the Lords favourable presence yett to be contjnewed to his poor people & churches...."³⁹

Until the mid 1650s leading Puritans had managed to safeguard what they believed to be the true church by banishing Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson; by fending off the Presbyterian threat; and by legislating against the Quakers. However, this is not to say that these actions left the New England church free from all dissension. Most notably, the question of eligibility for baptism, a point to which I shall return, taxed the ingenuity of the ministry. But after mid-century, with the Reformation of the church still awaiting completion despite all their efforts, the ministers targeted the rising generation as the source of the problems in the church. For example, when ordering a day of humiliation at the October 1658 session, the Court expected that "the rising generation after vs" would benefit from such an act.⁴⁰ From the outset the Puritans had recognized that, ultimately, the successful establishment of Christ's kingdom on earth was predicated on the ability of succeeding generations to carry forward the work begun by the founding fathers. In "A

Model Of Christian Charity,” Winthrop had outlined the “perils” awaiting “posterity” should the Puritans neglect to keep in mind the purpose of the venture--to found an exemplary “Citty on a Hill.” Winthrop warned his fellow passengers that if he and they sought to better themselves to the detriment of the church then “the Lord will surely break out in wrathe against” His new elect nation. In order to avert such a calamity, or in Winthrop’s words “to avoyde this shipwracke and to provide for our posterity,” then those who had committed themselves to the Puritan cause “must be knitt together in this worke as one man.” Only then, Winthrop argued, would the Puritans be able to “liue and be multiplied.”⁴¹

But by mid-century the Puritan ministers recognized that the second generation had not lived up to the expectations of the first. In innumerable sermons, dubbed “jeremiads” by colonial American historian Perry Miller, the Puritan ministers lamented the decline in piety and the consequent failure of the rising generation to commit themselves to the Puritan vision. In contrast to the founding fathers whom the ministers portrayed in idyllic and heroic hues, the rising generation took on the role of sinful backsliders. And, since the rising generation had angered God, understandably, He had afflicted the community with epidemics of contagious disease.⁴² One expression of the intensity of God’s anger was the belief, articulated by Michael Wigglesworth in his poem “God’s Controversy with New England” (1662), that God was sending one “wave” after another of contagious disease.⁴³ Cotton Mather believed, erroneously,⁴⁴ that smallpox was unknown to “the *Ancients*.” This “*New Distemper*,” Mather asserted, was “one of those *New Scourges* whereof there are Several, which the Holy and Righteous God has inflicted on a Sinful World.” Moreover, Mather stressed that smallpox acted as “*a New Rebuke, ... Correcting us for our Iniquity....*”

And the target of God's rebuke, Mather insisted, was the "...*Sinful Generation, a People Laden with Iniquity, a Seed of Evil-doers, Children that are corrupters; They have forsaken the Lord!*"⁴⁵

That the generation which succeeded the founding fathers had indeed "*forsaken the Lord*" was, in many respects, a situation of the Puritans' own making. In part, the decline in full church membership was due to the ministers' insistence on a convincing conversion experience. But the consequences of excluding the unregenerate from full church membership only became apparent once the offspring of the first generation reached adulthood. These people had grown up in pious households and were familiar with Puritan precepts, yet, and perhaps lacking the zeal which had propelled the first generation, they very often failed to detect spiritual regeneration within themselves. In turn, the failure to qualify for full church membership left in doubt the spiritual standing of the children born to baptized but unregenerate church members. Many ministers argued that since the parents of these children stood in a covenantal relationship with God by virtue of His covenant with Abraham extending to all subsequent generations of God's elect, then the children of unregenerate church members were actually members of the church. And, since they were members of the church by inheritance, these children were eligible for baptism. Another complicating factor was the Puritan doctrine that baptism confirmed an existing membership in the church rather than, as had been the case in the medieval church, celebrated entrance into it. In the absence of a uniformity of policy, some Puritan ministers baptized all children irrespective of the standing of the parents while others restricted baptism to the children of regenerate parents.⁴⁶

A concerted effort to address the lack of uniformity in church policy and practice began in May 1646 when the General Court made known its “desire” for “a publicke assembly of the elders & other messengers of the severall churches” within the colony, to be convened at Cambridge in September of that year. Recognizing that the establishment of the “kingdom of Christ upon earth,” was predicated on the proper form of church government, the Court identified baptism as the crux of the church’s difficulties.⁴⁷ But the Synod, which convened in Cambridge for three sessions over the space of two years, concentrated its efforts on the Presbyterian threat and, in so doing, failed to resolve the question of baptismal eligibility. On the basis that “the *doors* of the Churches of Christ upon earth, doe not by Gods appointment stand so wide open, that all sorts of people good or bad, may freely enter therein at their pleasure,” the Cambridge Synod upheld the restrictive policy on admission to full church membership. On the question of baptism, the Synod only went so far as to affirm that the children of regenerate, baptized parents were “in covenant with God.” As adults, the unregenerate were, nonetheless, “in a more hopefull way of attayning regenerating grace.” In addition, since they remained “under Church-watch” they could benefit from “reprehensions, admonitions, & censures...for their healing and amendment, as need shall require.”⁴⁸

The resolution of the problem of eligibility for baptism for the unregenerate descendants of full church members remained in abeyance until 1662 when a Synod which convened in Boston achieved a compromise position. The Synod recommended that the children of baptized but unregenerate parents qualified for baptism after the parents, already recognised by the congregation for their piety and “*not scandalous in life,*” made a public

confession of "*solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church,*" and giving up themselves and their children to the Lord.⁴⁹ But rather than achieving the desired uniformity of practice, the Half-Way Covenant, as it was known to its detractors, pleased no one. Thirteen years later, less than half of the churches had adopted the Synod's recommendations.⁵⁰

But even though the Half-Way Covenant exacerbated rather than quelled dissent, the Puritan ministers continued their efforts to establish the true church in New England, taking the outbreaks of contagious disease as their cue that something was amiss. Outbreaks of contagious disease in 1650 and 1651 had prompted Johnson merely to warn the rising generation that if they did not abandon their sinful ways and attend to the task of the Reformation of the church then God may, "if it please him, ... raise up new instruments" to carry forward His, as yet, uncompleted "glorious works."⁵¹ By 1675, however, the ministers were no longer content to issue warnings to the rising generation but, instead, petitioned the General Court to assist them in identifying the particular sins, or "provoking evils" that were the cause of God's anger. To account for the appearance of afflictions, including contagious diseases, the General Court identified three "provoking evils," assigning primacy of place to the lack of discipline in the church, especially as that lack pertained to children. The General Court found that Puritan parents, despite having a responsibility for the religious education of their children, had neglected both to catechize them, and to enquire into their spiritual estates, the latter a task considered fundamental to the realisation of the all-important conversion experience.⁵² Thus, Puritan parents were no more successful as spiritual guardians than the despised godparents of the Church of England were deemed to have been.

In May 1679, Increase Mather and eighteen other prominent Puritan ministers successfully petitioned the General Court to order a synod with a mandate to look into “the Causes & State of Gods Controversy” with New England.⁵³ And like the General Court five years earlier, the Synod, which published its findings as *The Necessity Of Reformation in Boston*, in 1679, found fault with the rising generation. “Many of the Rising Generation,” the Synod noted, “are not mindfull of that which their Baptism doth engage them unto....” The members also found “much amiss” with “Familiyes and the Government thereof.” The lack of parental involvement in the religious education of their children had resulted in a neglect of family prayers morning and evening; in a failure to read the Scriptures; and in a toleration of “Ignorance and Profaness.” Instead of keeping their children in “subjection” parents were “sinfully indulgent towards them.”⁵⁴

The 1679 Synod’s finding that parents and children shared the blame for God’s wrath corresponded with the particular pattern of infection certain contagious diseases took in New England. Today, many infectious diseases are understood as illnesses of childhood. But in Puritan New England, smallpox, measles, and other infectious diseases labelled generically as distempers, fevers, and fluxes infected adults and children alike. For example, Judge Samuel Sewall recorded in his diary in January 1687 that both he and his wife, three other adults, including Mehetabel Thirston who had come to help out at the Sewall household, and four of his children, all contracted measles.⁵⁵ Smallpox was another disease with a similar pattern of infection among Puritan New Englanders. The Reverend Thomas Thacher’s pamphlet, *A Brief RULE To guide the Common People of NEW.ENGLAND how to order themselves & theirs in the Small-Pocks, or Measels*, published in Boston in 1677 in response

to an outbreak of smallpox, has been identified as “the earliest pediatric publication in America.” But Thacher does not refer to children in this pamphlet. He does refer to “young men,” and he does caution that the treatment of a certain stage of either disease merits consideration of the “Age of the Sick.” But this caution could apply equally to young or old. Rather than a treatise on the treatment of two childhood infections, Thacher was offering advice for the treatment of two contagious diseases that affected the population irrespective of age.³⁶ That smallpox and measles infected both New England adults and children is also evident from Cotton Mather’s writing on these two diseases. In *The Angel of Bethesda*, Mather neither discusses smallpox and measles in his chapter on childhood diseases nor does he identify children as being specifically susceptible to smallpox in his chapter on disease causation by microscopic organisms. Of the other, non-specific infections, Cotton Mather indicated in *A Perfect Recovery* that both adults and young people had succumbed to the “sickness” which struck in the winter of 1713-1714.³⁷ The susceptibility of both adults and children to smallpox, Watson attributes to the changes in living conditions the Puritans experienced after their arrival in New England. Whereas in seventeenth-century England smallpox was endemic, ensuring that each generation was exposed in childhood, the relative isolation of New-England towns and farming communities hindered the spread of smallpox. Thus, in New England each generation was not necessarily exposed to smallpox in childhood.³⁸ This is not to say, however, that all children escaped smallpox in the early years. For instance, Judge Sewall’s children, Hannah, Betty, and Joseph all suffered from the disease in the late Spring of 1690.³⁹ But sporadic outbreaks meant that when smallpox did appear then the numbers affected reached epidemic proportions, with both adults and

children succumbing to the disease. Given a reliance on the doctrine of God's providence to explain causation, the severity of these outbreaks with their attendant high mortality rates must have confirmed the contemporary idea that God's wrath was being visited upon a sinful community. But whether Watson's theory is equally applicable to the other contagious diseases is difficult to discern. However, the correspondence between the pattern of smallpox infection and the Puritan belief that both the children and the parents of the rising generation were to blame for the decline in piety suggests that it would be.

Having identified the rising generation as the source of God's wrath, the members of the 1679 Synod then linked the outbreaks of contagious disease with the sin of pride. "The Pride that doth abound in New-England," the ministers insisted, "testifies against us." And, citing Isaiah 3:16, the ministers pointed out that "particularly, the Lord hath threatened to visit with...Sickness, and with loathsome diseases for this very Sin."⁶⁰ In recognizing a link between the epidemics of contagious disease and the sin of pride, the New England ministers were relying, as in so many other aspects of their theology, on certain earlier Christian ideas. Since the time of Gregory the Great (c.540-603), the sin of pride had occupied primacy of place in the list of the seven deadly sins. Gregory had understood pride as "the queen of sins" since it led inexorably to the other sins. Yet despite the longevity of this teaching, the members of the 1679 Synod relegated pride to second place, promoting in its stead the "great and visible decay of Godliness" in the Puritan church. The Synod did retain Gregory's idea that pride was the precursor of other sins, attributing to pride "a refusing to be subject to Order according to divine appointment."⁶¹ Here, the members of the Synod appear to be referring to the rising generation's refusal to heed the ministers' call

for repentance and a return to the ways of God. In Christian thought, generally, pride has signified rebellion against God, disobedience, self-reliance, and dangerous independent thinking. For the members of the Synod, therefore, evidence of the sin of pride among the rising generation constituted a threat to the envisaged model Puritan community, based as that community was on the medieval ideal of a disciplined corporate society, united by uniformity of religion. Had not Winthrop warned in 1630 that the success of the Puritan venture depended on the preservation of a “Community as members of the same body?” But in 1679 the members of the Synod accused the rising generation of having forgotten “the Errand upon which the Lord sent us hither....”⁶²

In addition to “refusing to be subject to Order” the sin of pride manifested itself among the members of the rising generation in immodest, fashionable dress, ornamentation, and elaborate hair styles. In this aspect of their teaching, leading Puritans were relying on an Old Testament idea which held that pride manifested itself in unsuitable dress, an idea first articulated in Christian terms by Alanis de Insulis in the twelfth century. One example of the General Court’s belief that the sin of pride was rampant among the colonists occurs in the November 1675 minutes when the members deplored the prevalence of “... vajne, new, strainge fashions, ... with naked breasts and arms ... [and] superstitious ribbons both on hajre & apparell....”⁶³ That the sin of pride accounted for the failure to complete the Reformation of the church, a failure signalled by the epidemics, also became a favourite theme among the ministers. One favoured biblical passage was Exodus 33:5, “For the LORD had said unto Moses, Say unto the children of Israel, Ye *are* a stiffnecked people: I will come up into the midst of thee in a moment, and consume thee: therefore now put off thy ornaments from

thee, that I may know what to do unto thee.” In “God’s Controversy With New England,” Michael Wigglesworth portrayed God as asking, “What should I do with such a stiff-necked race?” In the same poem Wigglesworth wrote of the epidemics which God had sent to punish the backsliders. Cotton Mather also referred to the sin of pride by invoking the biblical idea of a stiff-necked people. In *A Perfect Recovery*, Mather told the survivors of the 1713-1714 epidemic that if “you will still *Harden* your Necks,” that is, if the young people continued to commit the sin of pride, then they risked destruction at the hand of God.⁶⁴ Another biblical source that expressed a link between pride and sickness--II Chronicles 26--Thomas Shepard Jr. cited in his 1672 election sermon, *Eye-Salve*. Here, Shepard Jr. spoke of Uzziah, a king of Judah who, after he had presumed to burn incense in the temple, a prerogative of the priesthood, was afflicted by God with leprosy. Shepard Jr. interpreted the words, “But when he was strong, his heart was lifted up to *his* destruction,” as Uzziah’s pride being the cause of God’s action.⁶⁵

The belief that the sin of pride caused the New England epidemics explains why the Puritans relied on Court-ordered days of humiliation as a remedy for contagious disease. As an act of humiliation, fasting was both a Judaic and a Christian practice undertaken to strengthen the spiritual estate against the weakness of the flesh.⁶⁶ Thus, in part, the New England Puritan custom of fasting derived from biblical precedents. But New England practice also derived from the English Puritan retention, albeit with some reservations, of the Church of England’s adoption of the Catholic practice of fasting and prayer.⁶⁷ On the grounds that a fixed calendar of fast-days smacked of popery, however, William Perkins argued that a true fast was “a voluntarie and extraordinarie abstinence, taken up for a

religious end....” Perkins found only two “just causes of a fast,”: the first, “...when some judgement of God hangs over our heads, whether it be publike, as Famine, Pestilence, the Sword, destruction, &c. or private....”; the second, “... when we are to sue, and seeke by prayer to God, for some special blessing, or for the supply of some great want....”⁶⁸ In continuing to practice fasting, the New England Puritans followed the English custom in that individual churches and the General Court only ordered fast-days on special occasions. But the two grounds for fasting which Perkins identified the New England Puritans appear to have conflated. For example, on 30 March 1683, the General Court first took into account “the solemn warnings of Prouidenc, ... by ... sicknesses,” the equivalent of Perkins’ teaching that “some judgement of God” merited a fast-day. Then, the Court expected that a day of humiliation would act both to avert the “greater and vniusall calamitjes,” and to extend the Puritans’ “tranquility,” expectations that were the equivalent of Perkins’ supplication “for a special blessing.” As a remedy for contagious disease the Puritan ministers and lay leaders found the fasts efficacious. In 1629 Higginson claimed that the two sea fasts undertaken in response to the outbreak of smallpox were effective. And the General Court’s repeated ordering of days of humiliation throughout the seventeenth century indicates a continuation of a belief in their effectiveness as remedies for contagious disease.⁶⁹

Another way of responding to an outbreak of contagious disease was to attempt to discern what Cotton Mather called “the good Effects” inherent in the affliction.⁷⁰ On a community level, as I have argued, the appearance of a contagious disease told the Puritan ministers that something had gone amiss with their venture. And the authors of *The Necessity Of Reformation* built their case, in part, on the evidence of the appearance of

contagious disease. If the rising generation had not forgotten the purpose of the Errand Into the Wilderness, they argued, “would he [i.e. God] have sent such a mortal Contagion like a Beesom of Destruction in the midst of us?” But then, having identified the culprits, the ministers assigned to the survivors of an epidemic an obligation to carry forward the work begun by the founding generation. In 1650 Johnson had argued that the purpose of the deaths of many children from an “unwonted disease” was to prompt the survivors into considering why they had been spared when God had chosen to “cut off others by death.” God had acted in this way, Johnson argued, so that “the young ones that remain” might carry out God’s intended work “with greater zeal and courage.”⁷¹

Although contagious disease signified a collective failure, the Puritan ministers recognized that the actions of individuals, again a meaning implicit in the appearance of the epidemics, were the key to a successful establishment of the Puritan church. In *A Perfect Recovery*, Cotton Mather singled out among his audience those who “have not seen *Four Sevens* of Years in the World,” with the intent of explaining to them how they were “to accommodate the late *Works* of God.” First, Mather urged his listeners to consider the mercy of God which had ensured the lives of the survivors despite their sins having brought about the epidemic. Then, Mather recommended that the survivors live, thereafter, in dread of sin since to continue in the old ways would be to demonstrate “a monstrous Ingratitude” to God. Moreover, Mather insisted, the survivors had an obligation to consider the question “What shall I render to the Lord?” In answer, Mather urged young people to seek conversion. “Let thy *Regeneration* be now assured upon thy *Recovery*,” Mather exhorted, as if the power to achieve conversion lay with the young people themselves and not with

God. In order to make sure that the "Soul" had "a *New Bias* given to it," a survivor had to consent to all the articles of the Covenant of Grace; to submit to God; and to receive "the *Blessed Jesus* in all His offices." But then, in true jeremiad form, came the warning of hell for those who chose to disregard Mather's admonitions. Those who failed to "render to the Lord according to the Benefit" received, Mather warned, can expect to "find a *wrath from the Lord* upon them," a wrath much worse than any of the "Body Calamities" suffered during the epidemic. Mather then explained that the "Fire" experienced in "the Feavorish Heats" of the sickness would pale in comparison with the fires of Hell. Whereas the fire associated with a fever lasted only a short time, the "Burnings" of Hell are eternal. And whereas "the Uneasiness" of the sickness was short-lived, the restlessness in "that Place of Torments" continues "*Day and Night*, with the Smoke of the Torments ascending before God for ever and ever."⁷²

CONCLUSION

Until the reign of Charles I, the majority of English Puritans had been content to work within the Church of England. The Elizabethan Religious Settlement may have left the established church much in need of further reforms, but the overall climate of religious toleration, one which extended into the reign of James I, enabled the Puritans to work within a religious milieu they believed conducive to the eventual completion of the Reformation. But when Charles, working in conjunction with Archbishop Laud, determined to rid the Church of England of the Puritan presence, many Puritan ministers and their followers sought to emigrate. New England promised freedom from episcopal scrutiny and with it, an opportunity to establish the Puritan version of the church. At first, the Puritans did manage to establish a thriving church run in accordance with their values. They successfully defended orthodoxy by fending off Antinomians, Quakers, Presbyterians, and Satan. Yet by mid-century the church appeared, at least to leading Puritans, to have fallen short of the earlier envisaged model, one supposedly worthy of emulation, world-wide. Thus, this partially-realized quest to complete the Reformation of the church constituted the particular circumstances that lent shape to the New England Puritan understanding of sickness.

In addition, the New England Puritan understanding of sickness relied on a variety of ideas, foremost among which derived from the Bible. In the sense that the Puritans regarded the Bible as the blueprint for the constitution of their society as a whole, their biblical interpretation of sickness was no more than one aspect of that belief. But the Puritans believed that they were God's new elect nation and, as such, were related to Him

by the terms of a covenant. Because God had threatened in Old Testament times to send sickness whenever the terms of the covenant were abrogated, the appearance of sickness in Puritan society signalled a failure on the part of that society to respect covenantal obligations. In contrast, the New Testament taught that since Christ had suffered at his Crucifixion, human suffering, possibly in the form of sickness, was integral to the Christian life.

The Puritans also relied on Christian doctrine for their interpretation of sickness. First, subscription to the doctrine of original sin meant that the Puritans regarded both children and adults as existing, for the whole of their lives, in a state of innate depravity, a condition the equivalent of suffering from a physical illness. Then, the notion that a physical illness resembled the inherited condition of original sin substantiated the Puritan teaching that an actual illness could function as a catalyst for conviction of sin. In turn, the teaching that sickness could act as an aid to salvation accorded with the doctrine of the providence of God. On the understanding that God had undertaken to care for His elect nation, the Puritans interpreted the sicknesses which emanated from His hand as having a beneficial rather than a deleterious effect. Sickness functioned, overall, as an aid to the realization of the Puritan quest to establish the true church in New England. Also, the emphasis on the doctrine of God's providence enabled Puritan ministers to alleviate some of the uncertainty cast by the doctrine of predestination. Although this latter doctrine restricted salvation to the elect, the perception that a beneficent God sent sickness to aid salvation lent credibility to the ministers' teaching that sickness indicated that the sufferer was indeed one of God's elect.

Also integral to the meaning the Puritans assigned to sickness, but entirely subsumed by Christian ideas, were the medical theories derived from Galen and Paracelsus. In the sense that in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries Galen's theories had been entrenched in medical thought since the second century A. D., the Puritan subscription to those ideas was to be expected. What is remarkable is that in addition to Galen's theories, the New England Puritans embraced the new medical theories formulated by Paracelsus. The Puritan propensity to call on early Christian and Reformation thought to structure their church suggests that the Puritans might have been averse to innovation in medical matters. But the reverse was true since not only did the new theories of Paracelsus inform medical practice but also some leading Puritans were prepared to countenance the theory that diseases might be caused by agents external to the body and by microscopic organisms. Hence, the New England Puritan understanding of sickness was a remarkable syncretism of religious and secular ideas.

The retention in Puritan thought of the concept of life as a series of stages named according to age enabled leading Puritans to identify in their society those members who were to play an important role in the church and, hence, in the construction of the meaning of sickness. The Puritan perception that sick infants, sick children, and monstrous births were capable of conveying the notion of God's wrath to a sinful society, however, sits awkwardly with the Puritan emphasis on the doctrine of original sin. Perhaps the belief that innately depraved children could act as divine messengers owed its credibility to the retention in Puritan thought of a vestige of the earlier idea that children were born innocent of sin. Or, perhaps this belief can be attributed to the Puritan idea that God viewed children

especially favourably. At the same time, sick children, and even monstrous births, were granted a spiritual status which contrasted markedly with Anne Hutchinson's standing after she claimed to have communicated with God in the absence of a minister's preaching of the Word. Yet apart from the apocryphal children of Janeway's stories, Puritan children were not considered sufficiently spiritually mature to be able to detect election. The Puritans considered sickness as an aid to conviction of sin efficacious primarily in adults.

After mid-century the Puritan attitude towards sickness underwent a subtle change when second and subsequent generations, on reaching young adulthood, failed to achieve full church membership. Now, on the grounds of apostasy, leading Puritans held the rising generation responsible for the appearance of epidemics of contagious disease. The Puritans continued to understand the sicknesses that reached epidemic proportions as signals of God's wrath. But whereas sick children and monstrous births merely conveyed the divine message without incurring any blame themselves, leading Puritans understood the apostasy of the rising generation as the cause of the epidemics. In essence, this interpretation constituted an extension of the meaning epidemics had held since the outset of the Puritan venture into New England. In weighing the advantages for emigration, the Puritans interpreted the epidemics of contagious disease in New England among the Native people as an act of a beneficent God freeing the land for Puritan occupancy. Then, the epidemics assisted the Puritan attempt to proselytize the Native people, one of the objectives of colonization. After mid-century, the epidemics of contagious disease first signalled God's wrath with his elect nation, and then acted as rods to prod backsliders into remembering the reason why the founding fathers had decided to emigrate to New England. Moreover, the Puritans

interpreted the high mortality rates among themselves as endowing the survivors with an enhanced duty to carry forward the work already begun.

While writing this thesis, I have attempted to study the Puritans on their own terms. In order to avoid a comparative study using contemporary medical ideas and institutions as the standard, I have followed, to a large extent, the Puritan practice of looking to the past to understand the present. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the discovery that micro-organisms caused infectious diseases was still two hundred years in the future; the study of human anatomy and physiology had yet to be developed; and the sick only rarely consulted a university-trained medical practitioner either for reasons of cost or for lack of accessibility. But an absence of the features we rely on today to cope with sickness does not mean that the Puritans themselves felt that something was amiss with their approach. Rather, access to the Bible, to Christian doctrine, and to certain medical theories provided them with more than adequate instruments for the creation of a lively and enduring interpretation of the meaning of sickness in children and young adults. In turn, the particular meaning they assigned to sickness reflected the values and the aspirations the Puritans held dear. For this reason, I have attempted, as far as was possible, to let New England's Puritans speak for themselves.

NOTES

THE INTRODUCTION

1. Gordon W. Jones, ed., *The Angel of Bethesda by Cotton Mather* (Barre, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972), 5.
2. Lois Magner, *A History of Medicine* (New York, Basel, Hong Kong: Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1992), 3-5.
3. Herbert Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation Of History* (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1959), see Chapter II, The Underlying Assumption, pp. 9-33. James H. Cassedy, *Medicine in America: A Short History* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 7.
4. Cassedy, x.
5. *Ibid.*, 7, 10. Richard Harrison Shyrock, *Medicine and Society in America 1660-1860*, Great Seal Books (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960), 25, 47, 48.
6. Eric H. Christianson, "Medicine in New England," in Ronald L. Numbers, ed., *Medicine in The New World. New Spain, New France, and New England* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987), 192. For his comments on the hazards of labelling seventeenth-century diseases according to modern nomenclature, Christianson cites Ernest Caulfield, "Some Common Diseases of Colonial Children," *Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions* (1942-46), 25: 4-65, 36. See Christianson, note 6, p. 144.
7. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, introduction by Francis Murphy, Modern College Editions (originally published in 1856; distributed by McGraw-Hill, New York: Random House, Inc., 1981), 70.
8. *American Bibliography by Charles Evans*, 14 vols. (first published, 1903; New York: Peter Smith, 1941), I: viii.
9. David Cressy, *Coming Over: migration and communication between England and New England in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987). See also, David Grayson Allen, *In English ways: the movement of societies and the transferral of English local law and custom to Massachusetts Bay in the seventeenth century* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Va., by the University of North Carolina Press, 1981).
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11. See Patricia Ann Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction. The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), for an extended discussion of the role of religion in New England medicine.
12. Magner, 66, 71-3, 86-88.
13. Francis Higginson, "The Rev. Francis Higginson to His Friends at Leicester, September, 1629," published as *New-Englands Plantation. Or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Country* (1630), in Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters from New England. The Massachusetts Bay Company, 1629-1638*, The Commonwealth Series, Winfred E. A. Bernhard, gen. ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 34-5.
14. Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction*, 84. See note 19, p. 167.
15. Mark Van Doren, ed., *Samuel Sewall's Diary* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 95.
16. Erwin H. Ackerknecht, *A Short History of Medicine*, rev. ed. (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), 105-7. Magner, 168, 171. The Puritan reliance on astrology for the meaning of disease is beyond the scope of this thesis. For a discussion of astrological medicine, see Francisco Guerra, "Medical Almanacs of the American Colonial Period," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 16, no.3 (1961), 234-55.
17. Watson, 97-8, 107.
18. Cotton Mather, *The Angel of Bethesda*, xvi, 272-3. Chapter V of Cotton Mather's *The Angel of Bethesda*, Nishmath-Chajim. The Probable Seat of all Diseases, and a General Cure for them, Further Discovered, was published in New-London in 1722 by Timothy Green as *The Angel Of Bethesda, Visiting The Invalids Of A Miserable World*. See *Evans' American Bibliography*, I: 311, microfiche, 2352.
19. Watson, 40, 102.
20. David E. Stannard, *The Puritan Way of Death. A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 44. Philippe Ariès, *Centuries Of Childhood. A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (originally published as *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, Paris: Librairie Plon, 1960; New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1962), 9-11.
21. Ariès, 19, 21.
22. Anne Bradstreet, "Of The Four Ages Of Man," in Jeannine Hensley, ed., *The*

Works Of Anne Bradstreet, foreword by Adrienne Rich, The John Harvard Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1967), 51, 52, 55, 57.

23. Ariès, 33.

24. Ross W. Beales Jr., "In Search of the Historical Child: Miniature Adulthood and Youth in Colonial New England," *American Quarterly* 27 (Oct. 1975): 379-381.

25. John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth. Family Life In Plymouth Colony* (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 58.

26. Stannard, 46.

27. Beales Jr., 383. Janet L. Nelson, Professor of Medieval History, King's College, London, pays "homage" to Ariès who, although mistaken about the lack of parental and ecclesiastical concern for children, nonetheless "opened up new vistas for researchers." See Janet L. Nelson, "Parents, Children, And The Church In The Earlier Middle Ages," in Diana Wood, ed., *The Church and Childhood*, vol. 31, Studies In Church History (Oxford: Published for The Ecclesiastical History Society by Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 81.

28. John and Virginia Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective," in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 210. Ariès, 30.

29. Shepard, cited by Beales Jr., 384. Bruce C. Daniels agrees that colonial New Englanders recognized a period equivalent to the modern concept of adolescence. See Bruce C. Daniels, *Puritans At Play. Leisure and Recreation in Colonial New England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995), 90. Vivian C. Fox notes that "...it seems paradoxical that many of the historians who contend adolescence to be a 19th-century phenomena [sic] also accept the developmental life cycle model." See "Is Adolescence a Phenomenon of Modern Times?" *The Journal Of Psychohistory. A Quarterly Journal Of Childhood and Psychohistory* 5, no. 1 (Fall 1977): 285.

30. Beales Jr., 392, 397.

31. Increase Mather, *Pray For The Rising Generation, Or, a Sermon Wherein Godly Parents Are Encouraged, To Pray And Believe For Their Children* (Cambridge, 1678), title page, *Evans' American Bibliography*, microfiche, 255.

32. Cotton Mather, *A Perfect Recovery. The VOICE Of The Glorious GOD, Unto Persons, Whom His Mercy has Recovered from SICKNESS* (Boston, 1714), 7, 8, *Evans' American Bibliography*, microfiche, 1696.

33. Anthony Synnott, "Little angels, little devils: a sociology of children," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 20, no. 1 (Feb. 1983): 79-81. Daniels notes that the Puritans thought of their children as "products of innate depravity." See Daniels, *Puritans At Play*, 186.
34. John Cotton, *Milk For Babes. Drawn Out of the Breasts of both Testaments. Chiefly, for the spirituall nourishment of Boston Babes in either England: But may be of like use to any Children* (Boston 1646), reproduced in Everett Emerson, *John Cotton* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1965), 126.
35. Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family. Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England*, enlarged, new rev. ed., The Academy Library, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), 97.
36. Philip J. Greven Jr., "Family Structure in Seventeenth-Century Andover, Massachusetts," in *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective*, 80-1, 93.
37. Alice Morse Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days*, introduced by Jack Larkin, American Classics (first published in 1899, Stockbridge, Massachusetts: Berkshire House Publishers, 1993), 4-10.
38. Peter G. Slater, "'From The Cradle To The Coffin': Parental Bereavement And The Shadow Of Infant Damnation In Puritan Society," *Psychohistory Review* 6 (1977-1978): 4-24. Stannard, 61-6.
39. John Duffy, *The Healers. A History Of American Medicine* (Urbana, Chicago, London: University of Illinois Press, 1979), 16.
40. James H. Smylie, "The Reformed Tradition," in Ronald L. Numbers and Darrel W. Amundsen, eds., *Caring and Curing. Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Tradition*, foreword by Martin E. Marty (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 204-39.
41. Watson cites one of Bradstreet's poems to illustrate the Puritan belief in the fragility of their children; she notes that the Reverend Thomas Symmes (dates unknown), had collected several prescriptions for worms in children; and she points out that the throat distemper, probably diphtheria, was known as "the grim reaper of children." See Watson, 16, 81, 82.
42. See Thomas Thacher, *A Brief RULE to guide the common people of New-England how to order themselves & theirs in the Small-Pocks, or Measels* (Boston, 1667), in John Ruhrah, ed., *Pediatrics Of The Past*, foreword by Fielding H. Garrison (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1923), 365-9.

43. Ackerknecht, 200-1. Magner, 33.
44. C. John Sommerville, "English Puritans and Children: A Social-Cultural Explanation," *The Journal of Psychohistory. A Quarterly Journal of Childhood and Psychohistory* 5, no. 4 (Spring 1978): 113-4, 116-8.
45. Emerson, *John Cotton*, 125-31. Benjamin Labaree, *Massachusetts. A History* (Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1979), 77-8, 81. William Sloane, *Children's Books In England & America In The Seventeenth Century. A History and a Checklist, Together With The Young Christian's Library, the First Printed Catalogue of Books for Children* (New York: Columbia University King's Crown Press, 1955), 44. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay In New England*, 6 vols. (Boston: From The Press Of William White, 1853; New York: AMS Press, 1968), November 1647 session, II: 203. Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *The Puritan Tradition In America 1620-1730, Documentary History Of The United States* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), 242-4.
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NOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. William Bradshaw, *English Puritanisme: Containeing the Maine Opinions of the Rigidest Sort of those that are Called Puritanes in the Realme of England* (Amsterdam? 1605), in David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society In Early Modern England. A Sourcebook* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 135-6.
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3. Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 26.
4. Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought. An Introduction*, 2d ed. (Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1993), 237.
5. Collinson, 86.
6. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 160.
7. "A Model Of Christian Charity," *Winthrop Papers. Volume II 1623-1630* (first published in 1931 by the Massachusetts Historical Society; reissued, New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 294.
8. Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain 1471-1714*, 2d ed. (Harlow, Essex, England: Longman Group UK Ltd., 1985), 147-8.
9. Editors' introduction, Cressy and Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society*, 5-6.
10. Christopher Hill, *The English Bible and the Seventeenth-Century Revolution* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1994), 56-7. Although the Puritans esteemed the Geneva Bible, for ease of access I have used the Authorized Version published in 1611. Throughout this thesis all citations are from that version.
11. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 134.
12. Quoted by McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 140.
13. William Perkins was the son of a Warwickshire yeoman, and educated at Christ's College, Cambridge. Collinson calls Perkins "the prince of theologians." See Collinson, 125, 127.

14. Quoted by M. M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism. A Chapter In The History Of Idealism* Phoenix Books (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), 356.
15. Quoted by Knappen, 357.
16. Knappen, 358.
17. Quoted by Knappen, 355.
18. Quoted by McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 92.
19. *Ibid.*, 93-6.
20. John T. McNeill, ed., *Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion*, trans. and indexed by Ford Lewis Battles, vols. XX & XXI, The Library Of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), II. x. 1-4. According to editor McNeil, other Reformation scholars who made substantial contributions to the development of covenant theology were Zwingli, Oecolampadius, William Tyndal, Bucer, and Bullinger. See Calvin, *Institutes*, vol. XX. note 1, p.428.
21. William Perkins, *A Golden Chain Or The Description Of Theology Containing the order of the causes of salvation and damnation according to God's word. A view whereof is to be seen in the Table annexed*, in Ian Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, introduced by Ian Breward, The Courtenay Library Of Reformation Classics (originally published in 1590; Appleford, Abingdon, Berkshire, England: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 211.
22. *Ibid.*, 212-3.
23. Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of Willam Perkins*, 219. P. A. Lillback, "Covenant," in Sinclair B. Ferguson, David F. Wright, and J. I. Packer, eds., *New Dictionary Of Theology*, The Master Reference Collection (Downers Grove, Illinois 60515; Leicester, England: Intervarsity Press, 1988), 173-5. Calvin, *Institutes*, II. xi. 12.
24. "The Westminster Confession Of Faith, 1647," in Gerald Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 486-512. Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *The Puritan Tradition in America 1620-1730*, Documentary History Of The United States (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), 121.
25. "The Westminster Confession Of Faith, 1647," in Bray, ed., *Documents Of The English Reformation*, 492-3.
26. Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, rev. and

expanded ed., Image Books (New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Auckland: Doubleday, 1990), 28-9. Bernhard Lohse, *A Short History of Christian Doctrine From the First Century to the Present*, trans. F. Ernest Stoeffler, rev. American ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 153.

27. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 165. Calvin, *Institutes*, IV. xviii. 19. "The Thirty-Nine Articles, 1563," in Cressy and Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society*, 66.

28. Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, 214-5. Over a period of twenty years, *A Golden Chain* was translated into English, Spanish, Italian, and Dutch. Many Puritan preachers in both old and New England owned a copy of Perkins' *A Golden Chain*. See H. C. Porter, *Puritanism in Tudor England* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 266-7.

29. "The Westminster Confession Of Faith, 1647," in Bray, ed., *Documents Of The English Reformation*, 507.

30. Quoted by McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 162. Calvin, *Institutes*, IV. xiv. 1. Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, 215.

31. "The Westminster Confession Of Faith," in Bray, ed., *Documents Of The English Reformation*, 507.

32. Lohse, 153.

33. Calvin, *Institutes*, IV. xvii. 10. Lohse, 189.

34. Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, 216. "The Westminster Confession Of Faith," in Bray, ed., *Documents Of The English Reformation*, 509.

35. Patricia Ann Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction. The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 86-7.

36. "A View Of Popish Abuses Yet Remaining In The Church, 1572," in Cressy and Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society*, 83. Another contentious issue concerned the wearing of vestments: for a full discussion of the Puritan point of view see Knappen, 82-5.

37. "A View Of Popish Abuses Yet Remaining In The Church, 1572," in Cressy and Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society*, 84.

38. *Ibid.*, 85.

39. Bokenkotter, 28-9.

40. Augustine, *Concerning The City Of God against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (first published 1467, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1984), bk., XXI, ch. 14, p.991.
41. Lohse, 139.
42. Quoted by McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 170.
43. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 177.
44. Calvin, *Institutes*, IV. xvi. 22.
45. "The Thirty-Nine Articles, 1563," in Cressy and Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society*, 66-7.
46. Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, 219.
47. *Ibid.*, 187, 191-2.
48. McGrath, *Reformation Thought*, 124-5.
49. Accompanying chart, Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, no page number.
50. William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism Or, The Way To The New Jerusalem As Set Forth In Pulpit And Press From Thomas Cartwright To John Lillburne And John Milton, 1570-1643*, The Cloister Library, Harper Torchbooks (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), 86.
51. *Ibid.*, 88.
52. Quoted by Haller from John Downname's *The Christian Warfare* (London, 1604), 89.
53. Haller, 84.
54. According to Patrick Collinson, the number of Puritan graduates from the University of Oxford "has been persistently underestimated." Collinson found forty-two Puritans at Oxford between 1565 and 1575. John Field and Thomas Wilcox, famous for their authorship of the two versions of *Admonition to the Parliament*, were Oxford graduates. See Collinson, 129.
55. Collinson, 122-6. Haller, 57.

56. Haller, 66.

57. *Ibid.*, 134.

58. *Ibid.*, 23.

59. Quoted by Haller from Henry Smith's sermons, collected, edited, and published by Thomas Fuller after Smith died at an early age. Smith was educated at Oxford, and his sermons were so popular that, according to Fuller, "his Church was so crouded with Auditors, that Persons of good quality brought their own Pues with them, I mean their legs, to stand there upon in the Allies." See Haller, 29-30; also p.381, notes 31, 33, and 37.

60. Cotton Mather, *A Perfect Recovery* (Boston, 1714), 12, in *American Bibliography by Charles Evans* (first published 1903; New York: Peter Smith, 1941), microfiche, 1696.

61. A Separatist congregation which met in the Plumbers' Hall in London is the only congregation known to have used the Geneva prayer book. See Collinson, 364. "The Act Of Uniformity, 1559," in Bray, ed., *Documents Of The English Reformation*, 330.

62. Collinson, 366.

63. *Ibid.*, 358.

64. *Ibid.*, 363.

65. Collinson, 367-70. "A View Of Popish Abuses Yet Remaining In The Church, 1572," in Cressy and Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society*, 85.

66. Collinson, 356-7.

67. *Ibid.*, 13-4.

NOTES

CHAPTER TWO

1. William Wood, *New Englands Prospect* (London, 1634), Number 68, *The English Experience Its Record In Early Printed Books Published In Facsimile* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd; New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 9.

2. Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *New England's Prospect. William Wood*, The Commonwealth Series, Winfred E. A. Bernhard, gen. ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), 2-4. In the modern version of William Wood's *New Englands Prospect*, the editors have modernized the spelling and punctuation. Wood appears to be following the practice established by Richard Hakluyt (1551/1552-1616) who aimed to make his writings a practical guide for explorers and potential emigrants. His practice of using information supplied by navigators or men who had experienced conditions in foreign lands lent an air of authenticity to his work. See Jack Beeching, ed., *Hakluyt. Voyages and Discoveries. The Principal Navigations Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*, introduction by Jack Beeching, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), 11, 12, 15, 24. Several historians of colonial America have found that New England was indeed a healthy place in the seventeenth century for the rearing of children. In his study of seventeenth-century Andover, Greven found the death rate among children and adolescents to be lower "than might be expected." He attributed the high survival rate of infants and children to the absence, in Andover, of epidemics such as the outbreaks of smallpox which, in the seventeenth century, periodically devastated Boston. See Philip J. Greven, Jr., "Family Structure in Seventeenth-Century Andover, Massachusetts," in Michael Gordon, ed., *The American Family in Social-Historical Perspective* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973), 78-81. Similarly, Kenneth A. Lockridge, in a comparative study, attributed the increase in population at Dedham--not to immigration from outside--but to the better housing and diet which ensured the survival of infants. See Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town. The First Hundred Years. Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736*, A Norton Essay In American History (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), 65-7.

3. Editor Vaughan, *New England's Prospect*, 4, 5.

4. James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal "History Of New England" 1630-1649*, Original Narratives Of Early American History, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946), 1: 80-1.

5. In all, 80,000 men, women, and children left England between 1629 and 1640, an emigration coinciding with the years of Charles' dismissal of Parliament, and Laud's prosecution of the Puritans. Of this estimated 80,000 people, other than the 21,000 who emigrated to New England, approximately 20,000 left for Ireland; 20,000 for the Netherlands; and another 20,000 for the West Indies. See David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's*

Seed. Four British Folkways In America (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 16-7.

6. T. H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," *William and Mary Quarterly* XXX (1973): 190-4.

7. "Records Of The Governor And Company Of The Massachusetts Bay In New-England," in Alexander Young, ed., *Chronicles of The First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay 1623-1636* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1746; A Da Capo Reprint Edition, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 117.

8. *Winthrop's Journal*, I: 45.

9. Roger Lockyer, *Tudor and Stuart Britain 1471-1714*, 2d ed. (Harlow, Essex, England: Longman Group UK Ltd., 1985), 231, 241, 243. Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), Professor of Divinity at Leiden University between 1603 and 1609, taught that since the New Testament had revealed the existence of a loving God, such a God would not arbitrarily consign some people to everlasting damnation irrespective of a lifetime of good works. The *Remonstrance*, a posthumous document drawn up by the followers of Arminius, declared that salvation was contingent upon the performance of good works, a position contrary to Puritan theology. See Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation, The Pelican History Of The Church* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), 220-1.

10. "The King's Declaration Of Sports, 1633," in David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society In Early Modern England. A Sourcebook* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 145, 147. Lockyer, 243.

11. "Archbishop Laud's Visitation Of Leicestershire, 1634," in Cressy and Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society*, 155-7; "Richard Montague's Articles Of Enquiry For The Diocese Of Norwich, 1638," in *Ibid.*, 157-68.

12. "Archbishop Laud's Visitation," in *Ibid*, 157. "Richard Montague's Articles," in *Ibid*, 160-1, 162, 165.

13. "Archbishop Laud's Visitation," in *Ibid*, 155-6.

14. Thomas Shepard, "The Autobiography," in Michael McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot. Puritan Spirituality In Thomas Shepard's Cambridge*, rev. and expanded ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 51, 53, 56, 64-5. The account of Shepard's encounter with Laud is in the form of a letter which editor McGiffert reproduces from Thomas Prince, *A Chronological History of New England, in the form of Annals...new ed.* (Boston, 1826), pp.338-39. See note 23, in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 51.

15. William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647*, Introduction by Francis

Murphy, Modern Library College Editions (New York: distributed by McGraw-Hill, 1981), 25, 26, 27, 29-30.

16. *Ibid.*, 25,26.

17. John White, *The Planters Plea* (London, 1630), No. 60, *The English Experience Its Record In Early Printed Books Published In Facsimile* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd; New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), 23, 24. John White was a founding member of the Dorchester Company and, later, a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company. See Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbanco, eds., *The Puritans In America. A Narrative Anthology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1985), 75.

18. "Graves's Contract," in Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters*, 56-7. "Thomas Graves to ?, September 1629," in Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629-1638*, The Commonwealth Series, Winfred E. A. Bernhard, gen. ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 40. J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence 1628-1651*, Original Narratives Of Early American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 77. Edward Johnson was born in Canterbury, England and left for New England in 1630, possibly sailing on the *Arbella*. He was a leading political figure at Woburn from the town's foundation in 1642 until his death. See editor Jameson, 5-6.

19. In all, the Reverend Francis Higginson sent back to England three reports, in the form of letters, describing, respectively, the voyage, advice to prospective emigrants, and his early impressions of conditions in Massachusetts Bay. See editor Emerson's note, in *Letters From New England*, 12.

20. "The Rev. Francis Higginson to His Friends at Leicester, September 1629," published as *New-Englands Plantation. Or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Countrey* (London, 1630), in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 34-5.

21. *Ibid.*, 29-30, 34-5. Higginson may have become familiar with Galen's theories during the course of his university education. Higginson began his studies in 1602 at St. John's College, Cambridge, where the curriculum combined studies in medicine and divinity, and where the Regius Professor of Physic lectured on Galen four times a week. However, Higginson did not complete his studies at St. John's but graduated from Jesus College with a B. A. in 1610 and an M. A. in 1613. Nonetheless, Higginson may still have been one of those Cambridge Puritans who prudently decided to study divinity and medicine in order to have at hand the means of a livelihood in the event of being silenced. See A. H. T. Robb-Smith, "Cambridge Medicine," in Allen G. Debus, ed., *Medicine In Seventeenth Century England* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1974), 328, 335. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding Of Harvard College* (Cambridge,

Massachusetts:Harvard University Press, 1935), 380-1. Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, "Medical Practitioners," in Charles Webster, ed., *Health, medicine and mortality in the sixteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 199. Patricia Ann Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction. The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 1. Had not Francis Higginson died prematurely in August 1630, he may have left some evidence that he was one of the New England preacher-physicians, the subjects of Watson's study.

22. Robert Montraville Green, *A Translation Of Galen's Hygiene (De Sanitate Tuenda)*, introduction by Henry E. Sigerist (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1951), 35. Other seventeenth-century writers who remarked on the freshness of the air of New England include Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley in his letter to the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln. Dudley assured those who were thinking of emigration to New England that they could expect "a pure air to breathe in." See "Thomas Dudley to the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln, March 12 and 28, 1630/1," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 75. Higginson asserted that "the temper of the air of New-England is one special thing that commends this place." See "The Rev. Francis Higginson to His Friends at Leicester, September 1629," published as *New-Englands Plantation. Or, A Short and True Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that Countrey*, 3d ed. (London, 1630), in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 34. Thomas Welde, in a letter to his former parishioners at Tarling, spoke of "such an air." See "Thomas Welde to his Former Parishioners at Tarling, June/July 1632," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 96. John White maintained that "no Countrey yeelds a more propitious ayre for our Temper then *New England*..." See *The Planters Plea*, 23. John Winthrop also believed the air in New England to be worthy of comment. "Here is sweet air," he wrote in a letter to his son, John Winthrop Jr. See "John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr., July 23, 1630," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 51.

23. See editor Emerson's comment, *Letters From New England*, 29.

24. Higginson, *New-Englands Plantation* in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 30.

25. *New Englands First Fruits* (London, 1643), reproduced in Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding Of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1935), 420-446.

26. See Morison, 168.

27. *New Englands First Fruits*, in Morison, 432.

28. *Ibid.*, 305, 411-3.

29. *Ibid.*, 421, 423.

30. White, 25.

31. *New Englands First Fruits*, in Morison, 440-1

32. "John [?] Pond to William Pond, March 15, 1630/1," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 64, 66. According to editor Emerson, the identity of the writer cannot be ascertained with certainty because the letter was unsigned and two Pond brothers are known to have travelled to Massachusetts Bay. See editor Emerson, 63. Pond most likely spoke of the emigrants who had come from "Sudbrey" because the Reverend John Wilson (c. 1588-1667), had been the Lecturer at Sudbury and had attracted the attention of church officials for his non-conformity. He emigrated in 1630. See Morison, *The Foundation Of Harvard College*, 408. Winthrop recorded Wilson's arrival on 26 May 1630 in his journal. See *Winthrop's Journal*, I: 80. In a letter to his son, John Winthrop Jr., Winthrop asked to be commended to "William Ponde," the father of the letter writer. See "John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr., September 9, 1630," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 59.

33. "Thomas Dudley to the Lady Bridget, Countess of Lincoln, March 12 and 28, 1630/1," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 67, 70, 71. Thomas Dudley had been the Earl of Lincoln's steward before he emigrated to New England. His daughter, Anne Dudley, married Simon Bradstreet and is renowned, today, for her poetry.

34. *Ibid.*, 77.

35. Morison, *The Founding Of Harvard College*, 408.

36. "Thomas Dudley to the Lady Bridget," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 73, 76. Captain Roger Clap (1609-1691) recorded in his memoirs the lack of provisions during the early days of settlement. According to Clap, "in our beginning many were in great straits for want of provision for themselves and their little ones." Clap, like Pond, wrote to his father requesting that he send out more provisions. But "after the first winter," Clap remembered, "we were healthy." See "Captain Roger Clap's Memoirs," in Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters*, 351-2, 353.

37. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 12, 23. Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 35. "Thomas Welde to his Former Parishioners at Tarling, June/July 1632," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 95. Although William Bradford argued that the health of the immigrants had to be taken into consideration when coming to a decision to leave Leiden, he did not follow up on this point in his history of Plymouth Plantation. He did include in his description of the Atlantic crossing the sicknesses of two "lusty" young men. However, the stories appear didactic in nature, illustrating how God cared for the righteous but condemned the reprobate to damnation. See Bradford, 66, 68.

38. Kenneth F. Kipple, "The History of Disease," in Roy Porter, ed., *The*

Cambridge Illustrated History of Medicine (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 46.

39. "John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr., September 9, 1630," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*," 58.

40. "John Winthrop to John Winthrop Jr., July 23, 1630," in *Ibid.*, 51. In another letter Winthrop requested that John Jr. tell "old Ponde," that is, the father of the letter writer named Pond, that he must send over "more provisions, for much of that he brought was spoiled by the way." "John Winthrop to John Winthrop, Jr., September 9, 1630," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 58.

41. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 23. "Richard Mather's Journal," in Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters*," 458, 479.

42. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 23; "Richard Mather's Journal," in Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters*," 477; *Winthrop's Journal*, I: 58

43. Kipple, "The History of Disease," *The Cambridge Illustrated History of Medicine*, 46. Kipple says that the classic symptoms of "spongy, bleeding gums" do not appear until after 30 weeks of a diet deficient in vitamin C.

44. "Thomas Graves to ?, September 1629," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 40; "Thomas Dudley to Lady Bridget," in *Ibid.*, 71.

45. "Richard Mather's Journal," in Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters*, 477; "Thomas Graves to ?," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 40; Bradford, 85; "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 23.

46. "John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop, November 29, 1630," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 61. "John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop, March 28, 1631," in *Ibid.*, 86. *Winthrop's Journal*, I: 58. Also, Winthrop advised Margaret to bring with her on the Atlantic voyage "a gallon of juice of scurvy grass to drink a little [of], five or six mornings." See "John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop, July 23, 1630," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 47. This letter suggests that Winthrop was familiar with the use of scurvy grass recommended by Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1654) in his herbal. See Nicholas Culpeper, *Culpeper's Complete Herbal & English Physician Enlarged*, a reprint of the 1814 London edition of *Culpeper's Complete Herbal* (Glenwood, Illinois: Meyerbooks, Publisher, 1990), 169-70.

47. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Emerson, ed.,

Letters From New England, 23; *Winthrop's Journal*, 1: 30, 31, 40; "Richard Mather's Journal," in Young, ed., *Chronicles of the First Planters*, 462.

48. Johnson, 57.

49. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 15, 16.

50. Lois N. Magner, *A History of Medicine* (New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1992), 221.

51. Watson, 42. The spelling of the title of Thomas Thacher's pamphlet is inconsistent in the sources. I have used the spelling used in the Boston, 1702, printing. See *American Bibliography* by Charles Evans, 14 vols. (first published 1903, New York: Peter Smith, 1941), microfiche, 1096.

52. Higginson, *New-Englands Plantation*, in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 34-5.

53. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in *Ibid*, 16.

54. *Ibid*, 16.

55. Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 35, 57, 59, 63.

56. *Ibid.*, 63, 64.

57. *Ibid.*, 36, 37, 65.

58. *Ibid.*, 37, 38.

59. Alexandra Walsham, "'Out Of The Mouths Of Babes And Sucklings': Prophecy, Puritanism, And Childhood In Elizabethan Suffolk," in Diana Wood, ed., *The Church And Childhood*, vol.31, Studies in Church History (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 291, 296. In a slightly different vein, Cotton Mather, in his chapter on infantile diseases in *The Angel of Bethesda*, urged parents to reflect on the effects of original sin on the health of their infants. "When you see your *Infant-Children* Languishing under *Distempers*, Lett the Sad Sight awaken *suitable Reflections* in you," he admonished. Parents were to consider how Adam's sin, having been transmitted through all humankind, manifested itself in the diseases infants suffered. See Cap. LIX. *Infantilin. Or, Infantile-Diseases*, in Gordon W. Jones, ed., *The Angel of Bethesda By Cotton Mather* (Barre, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972), 271

60. Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 37, 38, 63.

61. G. M. Lukken, *Original Sin In The Roman Liturgy. Research Into The Theology Of Original Sin In The Early Sacramentaria And The Early Baptismal Liturgy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 299-300, 302. Magner, 75.
62. "Augustine on Fallen Human Nature," in Alister E. McGrath, ed., *The Christian Theology Reader* (Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1995), 219.
63. John T. McNeil, ed., *Calvin: Institutes Of The Christian Religion*, trans. and indexed by Ford Lewis Battles, vols. XX and XXI, *The Library Of Christian Classics* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), III. viii. 5.
64. Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 38, 39.

NOTES

CHAPTER THREE

1. "John Winthrop's Religious Experience," *Winthrop Papers 1498-1628*, 2 vols. (first published in 1929 by the Massachusetts Historical Society; reissued New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), 1:155.
2. *Ibid.*, 161.
3. Robert C. Winthrop writes that in 1628 John Winthrop recorded in his spiritual diary "his gratitude to God on his recovery from a serious illness," and for his own and his children's "escape...from some casual dangers which they had encountered." In 1629 John Winthrop recorded the survival of himself and his children from danger. See Robert C. Winthrop, ed., *Life And Letters Of John Winthrop*, 2 vols. (a Da Capo reprint edition of the first edition published in Boston in 1864-1867; New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), 11:160, 161.
4. David D. Hall, ed., *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638. A Documentary History*, introduction and notes by David D. Hall (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 3, 6. J. N. D. Anderson, "Law," in Sinclair B. Ferguson, David F. Wright, and J. I. Packer, eds., *New Dictionary Of Theology*, The Master Reference Collection (Downers Grove, Illinois 60515; Leicester, England: Intervarsity Press, 1988), 377. W. R. Godfrey, "Law And Gospel," in *New Dictionary Of Theology*, 379. Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared. Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life*, 2d ed., new preface, new introduction by David D. Hall (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 27-8.
5. Larzer Ziff, *The Career Of John Cotton. Puritanism and the American Experience* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962), 111-2. Ziff's citation is from Cotton's *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace* (London, 1659), 97-8.
6. Alister E. McGrath, *Reformation Thought. An Introduction*, 2d ed. (Oxford UK & Cambridge USA: Blackwell, 1993), 54, 60.
7. John Cotton, *A Treatise of the Covenant of Grace*, in Phyllis M. Jones and Nicholas R. Jones, eds., *Salvation in New England. A Selection from the Sermons of the First Preachers* (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1977), 45.
8. *Ibid.*, 52, 53, 54. Here, Cotton invokes Matthew 12: 20. "A bruised reed shall he not break, and smoking flax shall he not quench, till he send forth judgment unto victory."
9. Thomas Shepard, *The Sound Believer. A Treatise Of Evangelical Conversion. Discovering The Work Of Christ's Spirit In Reconciling Of A Sinner To God*, in John Adams

Albro, ed., *The Works*, 3 vols. (Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971), 1:117. Shepard began writing *The Sound Believer* in Yorkshire, England, and completed it in New England. See Jones and Jones, eds., *Salvation in New England*, 61-2.

10. James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal "History Of New England" 1630-1649*, Original Narratives Of Early American History, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946), I:195. Hall, ed., *The Antinomian Controversy*, 5.

11. Regarding Cotton's role in the Antinomian Controversy, Hall says: "In the traditional view...Anne Hutchinson assumes the leading role as the chief antagonist of the orthodox party. But in the new documents [i.e., those Hall collected together for his book, *The Antinomian Controversy*] the major figure is John Cotton." See Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, p.4. See Jones and Jones, eds., *Salvation in New England*, 47. Jones and Jones cite Cotton, *A Treatise of a Covenant of Grace*(1659), 43.

12. John Winthrop, *A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines*, in Hall, ed., *Antinomian Controversy*, 200. Hall says the first edition of Winthrop's history was published in England in 1644. The book ran to four editions, the last in 1692.

13. Winthrop, *A Short Story*, in Hall, ed., 230.

14. Thomas Hooker, *The Soul's Vocation*, Doctrine 3, in Jones and Jones, eds., *Salvation in New England*, 82. *The Soul's Vocation or Effectual Calling to Christ* was published in 1638 in London. See Jones and Jones, eds., *Salvation in New England*, 186.

15. Winthrop, *A Short Story*, in Hall, ed., 271-2.

16. Thomas Shepard, "The Autobiography," in Michael McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot. Puritan Spirituality In Shepard's Cambridge*, rev. and expanded ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 41-3. The date of Shepard's spiritual autobiography is uncertain. The manuscript was found among his papers at his death. See McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, ix. "To My Dear Children," in Jeannine Hensley, ed., *The Works Of Anne Bradstreet*, foreword by Adrienne Rich, The John Harvard Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press Of Harvard University Press, 1967), 240. Between 1656 and 1657, and again between 1661 and 1662, Bradstreet recorded her religious experiences in a notebook. She probably wrote "To My Dear Children," her spiritual autobiography, in the spring of 1656 when she was suffering from what she expected to be a fatal illness. See Ann Stanford, *Anne Bradstreet: The Worldly Puritan. An Introduction to Her Poetry* (New York: Burt Franklin & Co., 1974), 81-2, 126. Winthrop may have been contemplating the publication of his spiritual autobiography. An extant letter from Thomas Shepard recommended against publication on the grounds that it would be "an easy thing for a subtile adversary to take advantages at woords...." See "Thomas Shepard To John Winthrop," in *Winthrop Papers. Volume 111. 1631-1637* (The Massachusetts Historical Society, 1943),

327. The editors estimate the date of the letter to be ca. 15 December 1636. See p. 332.

17. William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism Or, The Way To The New Jerusalem As Set Forth In Pulpit And Press From Thomas Cartwright To John Lilburne and John Milton, 1570-1643*, The Cloister Library, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), 75, 100, 101-3.

18. Bradstreet, "To My Dear Children," in Hensley, ed., *The Works*, 240.

19. Haller, 97. One of the conventions of spiritual autobiography was to record, regularly, incidents of God's mercy. See Haller, 97.

20. Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39.

21. *Ibid.*, 34, 38, 39.

22. Haller, 104, 108, 110.

23. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana; Or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England; From Its First Planting, In The Year 1620, Unto The Year Of Our Lord 1698*, 2 vols. (reproduced from the edition of 1852; New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), II:35-36.

24. Owen C. Watkins, *The Puritan Experience. Studies in Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Schocken Books, 1972), 56.

25. Bradstreet, "To My Dear Children," in Hensley, ed., *The Works*, 240. Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 42.

26. Bradstreet, *Ibid.*, 241. Shepard, *Ibid.*, 42.

27. Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. and with an introduction by R. S. Pine-Coffin (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1961), 1. xi. Shepard was familiar with Augustine. See Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 79.

28. D. W. Amundsen, "Suffering," *New Dictionary Of Theology*, 667.

29. John T. McNeil, ed., *Calvin: Institutes Of The Christian Religion*, trans. and indexed by Ford Lewis Battles, vols. XX and XXI, The Library Of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), III. viii. 2. William Perkins, *A Golden Chain Or The Description Of Theology Containing the order of the causes of salvation and damnation according to God's word*, in Ian Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*,

introduced by Ian Breward, *The Courtenay Library Of Reformation Classics* (first published, 1590; Appleford, Abingdon, Berkshire, England: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 243.

30. Elizabeth Oakes' confession, 10 May 1648, in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 205, 206.

31. Thomas Brooks, *The Silent Soul; With Sovereign Antidotes Against The Most Miserable Exigents; Or, A Christian With An Olive-Leaf In His Mouth, When He Is Under The Greatest Afflictions* (Boston, reprinted 1728), 226, 227, *American Bibliography* by Charles Evans, 14 vols. (first published, 1903, New York: Peter Smith, 1941), microfiche, 3000.

32. *Ibid.*, 227, 232.

33. *Ibid.*, 30.

34. Amundsen, "Suffering," *New Dictionary Of Theology*, 668.

35. Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology. An Introduction*, 2d ed. (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1997), 403.

36. Calvin, *Institutes*, III. i. I. ; III. viii. I.

37. John Bowker, *Problems of Suffering in Religions of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 49.

38. *Ibid.*, 46. Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, 243. Brook's controlling theme was the necessity of bearing one's afflictions in silence.

39. Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, 244.

40. "John Winthrop's Christian Experience," *Winthrop Papers*, 1:156-7.

41. William Perkins, "The Whole Treatise Of The Cases Of Conscience," in Thomas F. Merrill, ed., *William Perkins 1558-1602. English Puritanist. His Pioneer Works On Casuistry: "A Discourse Of Conscience" And "The Whole Treatise Of Cases Of Conscience,"* introduced by Thomas F. Merrill (Nieuwkoop, Netherlands: B. De Graaf, 1966), 88.

42. Perkins, "The Whole Treatise," in Merrill, ed., *William Perkins 1558-1602*, 102.

43. *Ibid.*, 102.

44. "John Winthrop's Christian Experience," *Winthrop Papers*, 1:155.
45. Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 42, 43. Bradstreet, "To My Dear Children," in Hensley, ed., *The Works*, 241.
46. Patricia Caldwell, *The Puritan Conversion Narrative. The Beginnings of American Expression*, Cambridge Studies In American Literature And Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 26. Caldwell understands the conversion narrative as a "subgenre" of the spiritual autobiography.
47. George Selement & Bruce C. Woolley, eds., *Thomas Shepard's Confessions*, vol. 58, Publications Of The Colonial Society Of Massachusetts (Boston: The Society, 1981). In their introduction, Selement and Woolley say that some colonial New England ministers prohibited women from making a public confession on the grounds of biblical precedence, in particular, 1 Cor. 14:13, "Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak...."; and, 1 Tim. 2:12, "but I suffer not a woman to teach, not to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence." See p. 2. Edmund S. Morgan, *Visible Saints. The History of a Puritan Idea* (New York: New York University Press, 1963), 93.
48. In teaching passivity within the context of a man's covenantal relationship with God, Cotton burdened himself with an unreconcilable contradiction given that such a relationship necessarily implies volition and a mutual interchange of benefits. See Ziff, *The Career of John Cotton*, 186.
49. The seventy-one confessions of faith which I examined were published in four different sources. George Selement and Bruce C. Woolley edited fifty-one of Shepard's confessions. See *Thomas Shepard's Confessions*, note 45. Between 1648 and 1649, Shepard recorded sixteen confessions in a small notebook, transcribed in 1991 by Mary Rhinelander McCarl with the help of Michael McGiffert. McCarl found that one of the confessions was in the hand of someone other than Shepard. Also, on the evidence of the neatness of the handwriting and the existence of a "separate leaflet" stitched into the notebook, McCarl suggests that Shepard wrote up these confessions from a separate copy and probably selected them for their exemplary value. See Mary Rhinelander McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record of Relations of Religious Experience, 1648-1649," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 27 (1970), 432-4. In 1994 Michael McGiffert included in *God's Plot*, in addition to Shepard's spiritual autobiography and his journal, thirty-three confessions of faith. All those McGiffert selected had already been published either by McCarl, or by Selement and Woolley. In addition, Michael Wigglesworth recorded four relations of faith in his private diary. For the latter see Edmund S. Morgan, ed., *The Diary Of Michael Wigglesworth 1653-1657* (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1970), 107-25. One explanation for the appearance of mention of childhood and youthful sickness in Wigglesworth's relations is that he may have encouraged his congregation to think of sickness as a part of salvation. Wigglesworth not only practised both divinity and medicine but also his own health was so poor that he had

to give up his ministry. See Patricia Ann Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction. The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 57-8.

50. Mary Angier Sparrowhawk's confession, in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 168. Nathaniel Eaton's confession, in *Ibid*, 161.

51. Jane Holmes' confession, in *Ibid.*, 174, 177.

52. Bowker, 49-50.

53. Mistress Gookin's confession, McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record," 458.

54. Bradstreet, "To My Dear Children," in Hensley, ed., *The Works*, 241.

55. "The Westminster Confession Of Faith, 1647," in Gerald Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 491, 492.

56. Shepard, "The Autobiography," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 79.

57. Bowker, 50.

58. Calvin, *Institutes*, III. viii. 5. Perkins, *A Golden Chain*, in Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, 244. Bowker, 50. Darrel W. Amundsen and Gary B. Ferngren, "The Early Christian Tradition," in Ronald L. Numbers and Darrel W. Amundsen, eds., *Caring and Curing. Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions*, foreword by Martin E. Marty (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 44. James H. Smilie, "The Reformed Tradition," in Numbers and Amundsen, eds., *Caring and Curing*, 208-9.

59. Captain Gookin's confession, McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record," 454.

60. R. W. A. Letham, "Assurance," *New Dictionary Of Theology*, 51. Bernard Lohse says that the Reformation should not only be understood as "a reaction against certain abuses and certain instances of decadence" in the late Medieval church but also as a recognition of the church's failure "to satisfy man's desire for genuine assurance of salvation." See Bernard Lohse, *A Short History of Christian Doctrine*, trans., F. Ernest Stoeffler, rev. American ed. (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1985), 159.

61. Samuel Wakeman, *A Young Man's Legacy To The Rising Generation: Being a Sermon Preached upon the Death and at the Desire of John Tappin of Boston; Who deceased at Fairfield 10th of October 1672. being in the Nineteenth year of his Age* (Cambridge, 1673), 45, *Evans' American Bibliography*, microfiche, 183.

62. See Jones and Jones, eds., *Salvation in New England*, 13. Pettit, 16.
63. Shepard, *The Sound Believer*, in Albro, ed., *The Works*, I:117.
64. *Ibid.*, 119-20.
65. Goodwife Stevenson's confession, McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record," 442.
66. Shepard, *The Sound Believer*, in Albro, ed., *The Works*, I:120.
67. Goodwife Stevenson's confession, McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record," 442-3.
68. Shepard, *The Sound Believer*, in Albro, ed., *The Works*, I:121.
69. Goodwife Stevenson's confession, McCarl "Thomas Shepard's Record," 442, 443.
70. See Jones and Jones, eds., *Salvation in New England*, 14.
71. Shepard, "The Journal," in McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot*, 129-30.
72. McCarl identifies a John Champney as one of Shepard's lay leaders. See McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record," 433.
73. In his introduction to *The Diary Of Michael Wigglesworth*, Morgan says that Wigglesworth recorded all the relations of faith in shorthand. In order to identify these passages for his readers, Morgan uses italics. Morgan also retained Wigglesworth's punctuation or rather, lack of it. In order to retain Wigglesworth's practice I have placed a period outside the quotation marks where Wigglesworth omitted to punctuate his sentences. See Morgan's introduction, pp. xiv-xv.
74. "Joseph champney's relation," in Morgan, ed., *The Diary Of Michael Wigglesworth*, 122.
75. "John Green's Relation," in *Ibid*, 118.
76. Captain Gookin's confession, McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record," 452.
77. "The relation of Mr Collins," in Morgan, ed., *The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth*, 110.
78. Bowker, 51. Goodwife Stevenson's confession, McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record," 442.

79. "The relation of Mr Collins," in Morgan, ed., *The Diary of Michael Wigglesworth*, 110.

80. Wakeman, 43.

81. *Ibid.*, 44.

82. *Ibid.*, 45.

NOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

1. James Janeway, *A Token For Children Being An Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives and Joyful Deaths of Several Young Children* (Boston, 1700), 5, *American Bibliography* by Charles Evans, 14 vols. (first published 1903; New York: Peter Smith, 1941), microfiche, 914.

2. William Sloane, *Children's Books In England & America In The Seventeenth Century. A History and a Checklist, Together With The Young Christian's Library, the First Printed Catalogue of Books for Children* (New York: Columbia University, King's Crown Press, 1955), 167.

3. Janeway, title page. Sloan, 50-1.

4. Sloan, 44. Stannard suggests that the *New England Primer* may have succeeded *A Token For Children* in popularity. See David Stannard, *The Puritan Way Of Death. A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 65.

5. Sloane, 44-5. *Evans' American Bibliography*, 1: 327.

6. Cited by Sloan, 4. See note I, p. 89. William Haller, *The Rise of Puritanism, Or, The Way To The New Jerusalem As Set Forth In Pulpit And Press From Thomas Cartwright To John Lilburne And John Milton, 1570-1643*, The Cloister Library, Harper Torchbooks (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1957), 94-5.

7. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, The Ecclesiastical History Of New England, From Its First Planting, In The Year 1620, Unto The Year Of Our Lord 1698*, 2 vols. (reproduced from the edition of 1852; New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), 11: 153, 157. The Puritan preachers published tracts, sermons, and treatises whose purpose was didactic. See Haller, 92-3.

8. Janeway, title page. The catalogue of books reproduced in Sloan's study of seventeenth-century literature for children deals with the religious education of children superintended by adults. The title page of *The Young Christian's Library* claims that the works selected comprise "A COLLECTION Of Good and Useful BOOKS, Proper to be given to Young Persons by Their PARENTS, In Order to their Christian Education and Improvement." See Section 111 of Sloane's book following p. 232.

9. Janeway, Point 2 of the preface. No page number.

10. Russell, Jeffrey Burton, *The Prince of Darkness. Radical Evil and the Power of Good in History* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1988), 167. Keith Thomas also argues that the Reformation strengthened the concept of the existence of the Devil. See Keith Thomas, *Religion And The Decline Of Magic. Studies In Popular Beliefs In Sixteenth- And Seventeenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1971), 560-1.

11. Elaine Pagels, *The Origin of Satan*, Vintage Books (New York: Random House, 1995), 39, 41-42. Pagels points out that "in the Hebrew Bible, as in mainstream Judaism to this day, Satan never appears as Western Christendom has come to know him, as the leader of an 'evil empire,' an army of hostile spirits who make war on God and humankind alike."

12. Russell, Jeffrey Burton, *Satan. The Early Christian Tradition* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1981), 16-18.

13. William Perkins, *A Golden Chain Or The Description Of Theology Containing the order and causes of salvation according to God's word. A view whereof is to be seen in the Table annexed*, in Ian Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, introduction by Ian Breward, The Courtenay Library Of Reformation Classics (first published, 1590; Appleford, Abingdon, Berkshire, England: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 183.

14. *Ibid.*, 183, 185.

15. *Ibid.*, 237-43. The idea that Christians and the Devil were engaged in combat received extensive treatment at the hands of English Puritan divines. Haller lists seven works all of which, he claims, were widely read, See Haller, 152.

16. "Downham or Downname, John," *Dictionary Of National Biography*, Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, eds., 22 vols. (London: Smith, Elder, 1908-1909), V: 1301-2. John Downname, *The Christian Warfare* (London, 1604), Number 653, *The English Experience Its Record In Early Printed Books Published In Facsimile* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd; Norwood, New Jersey: Walter J. Johnson, Inc., 1974), microfiche, DA 310 .E54 Group 10, Cards 22-8.

17. Downname, *The Christian Warfare*, 7.

18. *Ibid.*, 8.

19. *Ibid.*, 9.

20. *Ibid.*, 7.

21. Samuel Willard, *The Christians Exercise By SATANS Temptations* (Boston, 1701), 51, *Evans' American Bibliography*, microfiche, 1033. Allen Carden, *Puritan Christianity In America. Religion and Life In Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts* (Grand Rapids, Michigan 49516: Baker Book House, 1990), 228.

22. Willard, 40.

23. *Ibid.*, 51, 78.

24. *Ibid.*, 44-5.

25. "John Winthrop to Margaret Winthrop, July 23, 1630," in Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629-1638* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1976), 46.

26. *Winthrop's Journal "History Of New England" 1630-1649*, James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Original Narratives Of Early American History*, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946), I: 83-4.

27. John Winthrop, *A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines*, in David D. Hall, ed., *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638. A Documentary History*, introduction and notes by David D. Hall (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), 273.

28. *Ibid.*, 217, 276.

29. Richard S. Dunn, James Savage, and Laetitia Yeandle, eds., *The Journal of John Winthrop 1630-1649*, The John Harvard Library (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1996), 253. James Kendall Hosmer omitted the details of Mrs. Hutchinson's monstrous birth when he edited Winthrop's journal in 1908. See *Winthrop's Journal*, 277, note 2. Accordingly, I decided to use the latest edition, edited by Dunn, Savage, and Yeandle for all the citations regarding the monstrous births. In order to distinguish between the two editions of Winthrop's journal, I refer to the version edited by Dunn, Savage, and Yeandle as *The Journal of John Winthrop*. I should like to thank the supervisor of this thesis, Dr. Bruce C. Daniels, for the generous loan of his copy of *The Journal of John Winthrop*.

30. *The Journal of John Winthrop*, 264-6. Margaret V. Richardson and Arthur T. Hertig, "New England's First Recorded Hydatidiform Mole," *New England Journal of Medicine* 260 (March 1959): 544-545.

31. John Sadler, *The Sicke Womans Private Looking-Glasse* (London, 1636), Number 891, *The English Experience Its Record In Early Printed Books Published In Facsimile* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd; New Jersey: Walter J. Johnson, Inc.,

1977), 135. Katharine Park and Lorraine J. Daston, "Unnatural Conceptions: The Study of Monsters in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France and England," *Past & Present*, 92, August 1981, 26.

32. Another widely-held explanation for the appearance of monsters and monstrous births was maternal imagination. Marie-Hélène Huet explores this theme in *Monstrous Imagination* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1993). I should like to thank Dr. Carol J. Harvey of the Department of French Studies and German Studies, the University of Winnipeg, for bringing this work to my attention. John Sadler, in *The Sick Womans Private Looking-Glasse*, lists "depraved conceptions," and a defective womb in addition to woman's imagination as causes of monstrous births. See Sadler, 133, 137, 138.

33. *The Journal of John Winthrop*, 253, 255.

34. Park and Daston, 23.

35. *The Journal of John Winthrop*, 255, 257 Edward Johnson uses the earthquake to control the writing of the first of several chapters devoted to the monstrous births. For example, Johnson heads Chapter Three: "Of the great Earthquake in New England, and of the woeful end of some erroneous persons...." See J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence 1628-1651*, Original Narratives Of Early American History (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 185.

36. Janeway, title page.

37. Park and Daston, 34. Sadler, 135.

38. *The Journal of John Winthrop*, 254.

39. Johnson, 187.

40. Park and Daston, 34. Winthrop, *A Short Story*, 214, 215. Regarding Anne Hutchinson's religious errors, Mather wrote: "the *erroneous gentlewoman* herself, convicted of holding about *thirty* monstrous opinions, ...was delivered of about *thirty* monstrous births at once. See *Magnalia*, II: 519.

41. Thomas Shepard, *The Church Membership Of Children, And Their Right To Baptism....*(Cambridge, 1663), in John Adams Albro, ed., *The Works*, 3 vols. (Hildesheim, New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1971), III: 495, 496, 497. Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family. Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England*, enlarged, new rev. ed., The Academy Library, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, 1996), 96. Morgan cites John Cotton who explains: "These Babes are flexible and easily bowed; it is far more easy to train them up to good things now, than in their youth and riper years."

John Cotton, *Practical Commentary upon John*, p.92. The belief that children were especially vulnerable to Satan's attacks was also current in sixteenth-century England. See Alexandra Walsham, "'Out Of The Mouths of Babes and Sucklings': Prophecy, Puritanism, and Childhood in Elizabethan Suffolk," in Diana Wood, ed., *The Church And Childhood*, vol. 31, *Studies In Church History* (Oxford: Published for The Ecclesiastical History Society by Blackwell Publishers, 1994), 296.

42. Janeway, 20, 28.

43. *Ibid.*, 75, 76, 77.

44. Winthrop's second wife, Thomasine Clopton (1583-1616), received a visit from Satan before she died from the complications of childbirth. Interestingly, Winthrop says that before she died, Thomasine spat at Satan. Spitting at the Devil dates from the time of the early Christian Fathers and was understood as a way of showing one's contempt. Spittle was also believed to have healing powers and to be efficacious in driving out the Devil. See G. M. Lukken, *Original Sin In The Roman Liturgy. Research Into The Theology Of Original Sin In The Roman Sacramentaria And The Early Baptismal Liturgy* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973), 227, 238. Thomasine's experience indicates that although the Puritans officially rejected many of the liturgical rites accompanying baptism, in practice, they continued to believe in the efficacy of some of the devices earlier deemed protective. See "Death Of Thomasine Clopton Winthrop, 1616," in *Winthrop Papers*, I: 186. "Margaret Winthrop To John Winthrop, Jr.," in Robert C. Winthrop, ed., *Life And Letters Of John Winthrop*, 2 vols. (a Da Capo Press reprint edition first published in Boston in 1864-1867; New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), I: 81.

45. Charles Lloyd Cohen, *God's Caress. The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 9. E. Brooks Holifield, *The Covenant Sealed: The Development Of Puritan Sacramental Theology In Old And New England, 1570-1720* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 39-40.

46. John T. McNeil, ed., *Calvin: Institutes Of The Christian Religion*, trans. and indexed by Ford Lewis Battles, vols. XX and XXI, *The Library Of Christian Classics* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), III.ii.7.

47. Willard, 9. Norman Pettit argues that the English Puritan divines were never able to resolve satisfactorily the spiritual status of humankind between the unregenerate and the regenerate state. He argues that Perkins made the most definite statement by claiming that a person becomes a "Child of God" at the very beginning of conversion. See Norman Pettit, *The Heart Prepared. Grace and Conversion in Puritan Spiritual Life*, 2d ed., new preface, new introduction by David D. Hall (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 61.

48. Janeway, 14. Morgan, *The Puritan Family*, see note 39, p. 174. Michael

McGiffert, ed., *God's Plot. Puritan Spirituality In Thomas Shepard's Cambridge*, expanded, rev. ed. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994), 141, 183.

49. "John Winthrop To John Winthrop, Jr.," *Winthrop Papers Volume I, 1498-1628* (first published in 1929 by The Massachusetts Historical Society; revised by Russell & Russell, New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), I:272.

50. Janeway, 5.

51. Thomas Shepard, *The Church Membership Of Children*, in Albro, ed., *The Works*, III: 495.

52. Lukken, 191-4.

53. *Ibid.*, 198-9.

54. H. Shelton Smith, *Changing Conceptions Of Original Sin. A Study In American Theology Since 1750* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995), 1, 4-5. "The Westminster Confession Of Faith, 1647," in Gerald Bray, ed., *Documents of the English Reformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994), 492.

55. Thomas Shepard, *The Sincere Convert: Discovering The Small Number Of True Believers, And The Great Difficulty Of Saving Conversion...* (Cambridge, 1664), in Albro, ed., *The Works*, I: 25.

56. Janeway, 85.

57. *Ibid.*, 41, 42.

58. *Ibid.*, 43.

59. Russell, *The Prince of Darkness*, 168.

60. Henry Barclay Swete, *Church Services And Service-Books Before The Reformation* (London: Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1896), 123. The "Use of Sarum," a church service book, was in use in England from the thirteenth century until replaced by *The Book Of Common Prayer* instituted in accordance with the 1549 Act of Uniformity. The Sarum book contained services for Baptism, Confirmation, the Purification of Women, the Solemnization of Marriage, and the care of the sick and dying. See Swete, 7, 13, 123.

61. Lukken, 211, 213, 230. Swete, 140.

62. Lukken, 231. Swete, 140.

63. Swete, 141-2.
64. Lukken, 238. Swete, 135-6.
65. "Rose Hickman's Memoir Of Protestant Life Under Mary," in David Cressy and Lori Anne Ferrell, eds., *Religion & Society In Early Modern England. A Sourcebook* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 29, 31.
66. The renunciation of the Devil followed the *Ephphatha* and took the following form: "Dost thou renounce Satan?" "I renounce." "And all his works?" "I renounce." "And his pomps?" "I renounce." "Pomps" were festive occasions which included the carrying of idols signifying a triumphant procession of the Devil. By renouncing the *pompa diaboli* at the celebration of baptism, the candidate left the procession of the Devil and joined the army of Christ. See Josef A. Jungman, *The Early Liturgy To The Time Of Gregory the Great* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 80.
67. "The Ministration Of Publick Baptism Of Infants, To Be Used In The Church," *The Book Of Common Prayer* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, n.d.), 294, 295, 295-6.
68. Cotton Mather, *BONIFACIUS. AN ESSAY Upon The GOOD, That Is To Be Devised And Designed, BY THOSE Who Desire To Answer The Great End Of Life....* (Boston, 1710), 54, *Evans' American Bibliography*, microfiche, 1754.
69. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia*, II: 161-2.
70. Thomas Shepard, *The Church Membership Of Children*, in Albro, ed., *The Works*, III: 517, 536.
71. The abundance of educational material designed for children included Cotton's famous catechism, *Milk For Babes. Drawn Out of the Breasts of both Testaments. Chiefly, for the spirituall nourishment of Boston Babes in either England: But may be of like use for any Children* (Boston, 1646), reproduced in Everett Emerson, *John Cotton* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1965), 125-131. Cotton's catechism was first published in 1646. In the seventeenth century it was reprinted nine times. A second immensely popular work was the *New England Primer*, reproduced in Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *The Puritan Tradition in America, Documentary History Of The United States* (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), 242. Vaughan says the *New England Primer* was first published in Cambridge in the 1680s after being imported from England for many years. In addition, on 11 November 1647, the General Court ordered all towns with fifty or more households to provide a school to teach children to read. Reading the Scriptures was believed to keep Satan at bay. See Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records Of The Governor And Company Of The Massachusetts Bay In New England*, 6 vols. (Boston: From The Press Of William White, 1853; New York: AMS Press 1968), II: 203.

72. Janeway, Point 4 of the preface, no page number.
73. In *The Puritan Way Of Death*, Stannard discussed the work of several colonial American historians who have attempted to calculate the child mortality rate and concluded that "two or three" of any parents' children would die before the age of ten. See pp. 55-6 for the complete discussion.
74. Gordon W. Jones, ed., *The Angel of Bethesda By Cotton Mather* (Barre, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972), 6.
75. Elliot N. Dorff, "The Jewish Tradition," in Ronald L. Numbers and Darrel W. Amundsen, eds., *Caring and Curing. Health and Medicine in the Western Religious Traditions*, foreword by Martin E. Marty (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986). 14.
76. Darrel W. Amundsen and Gary B. Ferngren, "The Early Christian Tradition," in *Caring and Curing*, 54. John Bowker, *Problems of Suffering in Religions of the World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 51.
77. Thomas, 563.
78. Cotton Mather, *The Angel of Bethesda*, 28, 33. Increase Mather cited by Patricia Anne Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction. The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 23.
79. Janeway, 14, 16.
80. *Ibid.*, 19.
81. *Ibid.*, 46, 47.
82. *Ibid.*, 50, 51.
83. *Ibid.*, Point 10 of the preface, no page number.
84. *Ibid.*, Points 1 and 3 of the preface.
85. *Ibid.*, Point 4 of the preface.
86. *Ibid.*, Point 8 of the preface.
87. *Ibid.*, Point 12 of the preface.
88. Russell, *Satan*, 63.

89. Russell points out that the “the idea that a demon and a good angel struggled for the spirit of a dying person became a topos in Christian literature and art. See Russell, *Satan*, note 47, p. 71.

90. Janeway, Point 7 of the preface.

91. Satan was believed to design his temptations to coincide with the vulnerability of the tempted. See Willard, 32.

92. Russell, *Satan*, 36.

93. Janeway, 28.

NOTES

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, ed., *Records Of The Governor And Company Of The Massachusetts Bay In New England*, 6 vols. (Boston: From The Press Of William White, 1854; New York: AMS Press, 1963), 4 June session, V: 484.
2. 29 May 1644 session, *Records Of The Governor*, II: 71.
3. 10 October 1666 session, *Records Of The Governor*, IV: Part II, 321.
4. George Brown Tindall with David E. Shi, *America. A Narrative History*, Third Edition, 2 vols. (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1992), I: 154-5.
5. Keith Thomas, *Religion And The Decline Of Magic. Studies In Popular Beliefs In Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century England* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books Ltd., 1971), 90-1.
6. John T. McNeill, ed., *Calvin: Institutes Of The Christian Religion*, trans. and indexed by Ford Lewis Battles, vols. XX and XXI, The Library Of Christian Classics (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1960), I. xvi. 2.
7. Calvin, *Institutes*, I. xvi. 7.
8. William Perkins, *A Golden Chain Or The Description Of Theology. Containing the order of the causes of salvation and damnation according to God's word*, in Ian Breward, ed., *The Work Of William Perkins*, introduction by Ian Breward, The Courtenay Library Of Reformation Classics (first published 1590; Appleford, Abingdon, Berkshire, England: The Sutton Courtenay Press, 1970), 183.
9. Thomas, 91, citing *Certaine Sermons*, 176.
10. Gordon W. Jones, ed., *The Angel of Bethesda By Cotton Mather* (Barre, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society and Barre Publishers, 1972), 5.
11. Cotton Mather, *A Perfect Recovery. The VOICE Of The Glorious GOD, Unto Persons, Whom His Mercy Has Recovered From SICKNESS* (Boston, 1714), 40, 53, 54, *American Bibliography by Charles Evans*, 14 vols. (first published 1903; New York: Peter Smith, 1941), microfiche, 1696.
12. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Everett Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England. The Massachusetts Bay Colony, 1629-1638*, The Commonwealth Series, Winfred E. A. Bernhard, gen. ed. (Amherst: University of

Massachusetts Press, 1976), 15, 16.

13. "Edmund Browne to Sir Simonds D'Ewes, September 7, 1638," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 224, 226.

14. James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal "History Of New England,"* Original Narratives Of Early American History, 2 vols. (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946), II: 326.

15. March 1647-8 session, *Records Of The Governor*, II: 237. John Ballard Blake, *Public Health in the Town of Boston 1630-1822* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 18.

16. 16 May 1649 session, *Records Of The Governor*, III: 168. Blake, 63.

17. Lois N. Magner, *A History of Medicine* (New York, Basel, Hong Kong: Marcel Drekker, Inc., 1992), 176, 306. Girolamo Fracastoro, *Contagion, contagious diseases and their treatment* (1546), in Thomas D. Brock, ed., *Milestones in Microbiology 1546 to 1940*, trans. Thomas D. Brock (Washington, DC: ASM Press, 1999), 70, 71, 72. Without citing the Latin word Fracastoro actually used, Thomas D. Brock writes that the "word for the infectious or contagious principle...can best be translated into English as 'germ'. But as Blake notes, Fracastoro used the word *seminaria* to denote the means of infection. See Blake, page 12.

18. Blake, 12. Patricia Ann Watson, *The Angelical Conjunction. The Preacher-Physicians of Colonial New England* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1991), Table 3.1, 76-7.

19. Cotton Mather, *The Angel of Bethesda*, 43, 44, 45. Although Mather is not known to have owned a copy of Fracastoro's treatise he did own a copy of *Scrutinium physico-medicum* whose author, Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680), proposed that the plague was caused by very small organisms. See editor Jones' note 8, p. 335.

20. Magner, 306.

21. Mather, *The Angel of Bethesda*, xi, 43, 46, 94.

22. *Ibid.*, see editor Jones' note 10, p. 348.

23. Cited by Thomas, 99.

24. Watson, 15.

25. Benjamin Wirt Farley, *The Providence of God* (Grand Rapids, Michigan

49516: Baker Book House, 1988), 17.

26. John Downname, *The Christian Warfare* (London, 1604), Number 653, *The Early English Experience Its Record In Early Printed Books Published In Facsimile* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, Ltd; Norwood, New Jersey: Walter J. Johnson Inc., 1974), 157, 159, microfiche, DA 310 .E54 Gp 10, cards 21-28.

27. Cotton Mather, *A Perfect Recovery*, 25. D. W. Amundsen, "Suffering," in Sinclair B. Ferguson, David F. Wright, and J. I. Packer, eds., *New Dictionary Of Theology, The Master Reference Collection* (Downers Grove, Illinois; Leicester, England: Intervarsity Press, 1988), 667.

28. Cited by Watson, 14. In his history of Puritan New England, Edward Johnson spoke of God's "rods" in his summary of the events of 1651. The appearance of sickness "in so healthy a country", he argued, "...cannot but speak loud in the ears of God's people, who desire to hear the rod..." See J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence 1628-1651, Original Narratives Of Early American History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910), 255. See also 3 November 1675 session, *Records Of The Governor*, V: 59. In part, the minutes read: "whereas the most wise and holy God, for seuerall yeares past, hath not only warned us by his word, but chastized us with his rods, inflicting vpon us many generall (though lesser) judgments, but we haue neither heard the word nor rod as we ought...."

29. "General Observations For The Plantation Of New England," *Winthrop Papers, Volume 11 1623-1630* (first published in 1931 by the Massachusetts Historical Society; New York: Russell & Russell, 1968), II: 111, 113.

30. John White, *The Planters Plea* (London, 1630), Number 60, *The English Experience Its Record In Early Printed Books Published In Facsimile* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum Ltd; New York: Da Capo Press, 1968), title page and p. 25. John White was one of the founders of the Dorchester Company and the Massachusetts Bay Company. See Alan Heimert and Andrew Delbanco, eds., *The Puritans In America. A Narrative Anthology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1985), 75.

31. Johnson, 39, 40.

32. Winthrop, "General Observations," *Winthrop Papers*, II: 112.

33. White, 14.

34. Johnson, 40-1, 79. The New-England Puritans appear to have been familiar with the concept of immunity. In *The Angel of Bethesda* Mather noted that smallpox and "several other Fevers" struck only once. See p. 97.

35. John Winthrop, "A Model Of Christian Charity," *Winthrop Papers*, II: 294. In seeking to understand how they had erred in carrying out their special commission, the New-England Puritans were following a well-established practice. Whenever misfortune struck, the proper response was to search the conscience for evidence of lapses in moral behaviour. See Thomas, 96.
36. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 16.
37. Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana: Or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England, From Its First Planting. In The Year 1620, Unto The Year Of Our Lord 1698*, 2 vols. (reproduced from the edition of 1852; New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), II: 490, 495-507, 508-521, 522-536, 537.
38. *Winthrop's Journal*, 1: 283-4.
39. 19 October 1658 session, *Records Of The Governor*, IV: Part I, 345-6, 347-8.
40. *Ibid.*, 348. Puritan parents had an obligation to teach their children to read and write because these two skills were considered fundamental to a child's religious education. See Chapter IV "The Education of a Saint," in Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family. Religion and Domestic Relations in Seventeenth-Century New England*, new ed., rev. and enlarged, The Academy Library, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), 87-108.
41. Winthrop, "A Model Of Christian Charity," *Winthrop Papers*, II: 294, 295.
42. Perry Miller, The Jeremiad, Chapter II in *The New England Mind From Colony To Province* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962), 30. Miller argues that the jeremiad took shape in the 1640s, and that "the theme was first fully set forth by Michael Wigglesworth in 1662," in his poem "God's Controversy with New England. However, Sacvan Bercovitch argues, convincingly, that "the jeremiad was an ancient formulaic refrain...imported to Massachusetts in 1630 from the Old World." See Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 5-7.
43. Watson, 14. Richard Crowder, *No Featherbed to Heaven. A Biography of Michael Wigglesworth, 1631-1705* (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1962), 115.
44. The origins of smallpox are unknown but three Egyptian mummies dating between 1570 and 1085 BCE show evidence of the disease. Sanskrit medical writings indicate the existence of smallpox in India as early as 1500 BCE. Smallpox also existed in China from 250 BCE onwards, and in Greece from c. 400 BCE. See Chapter One, *Variola Rex*, in Donald R. Hopkins, *Princes and Peasants, Smallpox in History*, foreword by George

I. Lythcott (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983), 1-21.

45. Cotton Mather, *The Angel of Bethesda*, 93, 94.
46. E. Brooks Holifield, *The Covenant Sealed: The Development Of Puritan Sacramental Theology In Old And New England, 1570-1720* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 143, 147. Williston Walker, ed., *The Creeds And Platforms Of Congregationalism*, introduction by Douglas Horton (first published by Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893; Philadelphia, Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1969), 245-247.
47. 22 May 1646 session, *Records Of The Governor*, II: 154, 155.
48. *A PLATFORM OF CHURCH DISCIPLINE GATHERED OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD...*(Cambridge, 1649), in Walker, ed., *The Creeds And Platforms*, 221-2, 224.
49. *PROPOSITIONS CONCERNING THE SUBJECT OF BAPTISM...* (Cambridge, 1662), in *Ibid.*, 328.
50. Editor Walker, *The Creeds And Platforms*, 249-50. Alden T. Vaughan, ed., *The Puritan Tradition in America 1620-1730*, Documentary History Of The United States (New York, Evanston, San Francisco, London: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1972), 115-6.
51. Johnson, 256-7.
52. 3 November 1675 session, *Records Of The Governor*, V: 59.
53. Editor Walker, *The Creeds And Platforms*, 412-3. "Petition To The Legislature," reproduced in part in *Ibid.*, 414.
54. *THE NECESSITY OF REFORMATION...* (Boston, 1679), in *Ibid.*, 428, 429.
55. Mark Van Doren, ed., *Samuel Sewall's Diary* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1963), 53-4.
56. Thomas Thacher, *A Brief RULE To guide the Common People of New-England how to order themselves & theirs in the Small-Pocks, or Measels* (Boston, 1677), reproduced in John Ruhrah, ed., *Pediatrics Of The Past*, foreword by Fielding H. Garrison (New York: Paul B. Hoeber, Inc., 1925), 365, 366.
57. Cotton Mather, Capsula LIX. *Infantilin. or, Infantile-Diseases*, 271- 279; and Capsula XX. *Variolae triumphatae*, *The Small-Pox Encountred*, 93-116, both in *The Angel of Bethesda*. Cotton Mather, *A Perfect Recovery*, 3, 8, 58, 59.

58. Watson, 15.
59. *Samuel Sewall's Diary*, 95-6.
60. *THE NECESSITY OF REFORMATION*, in Walker, ed., *The Creeds And Platforms*, 427-8.
61. *Ibid.*, 427. Stanford M. Lyman, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Society and Evil* (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1978), 136.
62. Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins. An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 1952), 75. Winthrop, "A Model Of Christian Charity," *Winthrop Papers*, II: 294. *THE NECESSITY OF REFORMATION*, in Walker, ed., *The Creeds And Platforms*, 424.
63. Lyman, 141. 3 November 1675 session, *Records Of The Governor*, V: 59-60.
64. Crowder, 116-7. Cotton Mather, *A Perfect Recovery*, 56.
65. Thomas Shepard Jr., *Eye-Salve* (1672), in Heimert and Delbanco, eds., *The Puritans In America*, 249.
66. F. L. Cross, "Fasts and fasting," in E. A. Livingstone, ed., *The Oxford Dictionary Of The Christian Church*, 3d ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 600.
67. "A TABLE OF THE VIGILS, FASTS, AND DAYS OF ABSTINENCE, TO BE OBSERVED IN THE YEAR," *The Book Of Common Prayer...* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, n.d.), 24.
68. William Perkins, *The Whole Treatise Of The Cases Of Conscience*, in Thomas F. Merrill, ed., *William Perkins 1558-1602. English Puritanist. His Pioneer Works On Casuistry: "A Discourse Of Conscience" And "The Whole Treatise Of Cases Of Conscience,"* introduction by Thomas F. Merrill (Nieuwkoop: B. De Graaf, 1966), 153.
69. 30 March 1683 session, *Records Of The Governor*, V: 388. "Francis Higginson to His Friends in England, July 24, 1629," in Emerson, ed., *Letters From New England*, 17, 18.
70. Cotton Mather, *A Perfect Recovery*, 7.
71. *THE NECESSITY OF REFORMATION*, in Walker, ed., *The Creeds And Platforms*, 427. Johnson, 254-5.

72. Mather, *A Perfect Recovery*, 7, 36, 38, 41, 44, 46.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

In their eagerness to promote their point of view, and to exhort others to the adoption of their beliefs, Puritans on both sides of the Atlantic created a huge body of literature much of which was published contemporaneously. In addition, the fascination scholars have had, and still do have, for all things Puritan, has led to an accumulation of a superabundance of secondary studies based on that rich Puritan legacy. The end-result, at least as it appears to one student of Puritan history, is the existence of a somewhat daunting body of both primary and secondary sources, the very size of which precludes all but a fraction being called upon to form the basis of a thesis. Of the secondary sources which contributed to my understanding of the various aspects of Puritan thought pertinent to this thesis, their identification is self-evident by means of the notes and the bibliography. However, the nature and location of the primary sources do warrant some comment in addition to their notational and bibliographical identification. The majority of the primary sources which I examined during the course of the research for this thesis were in the form of published, edited anthologies, or monographs. Thus, I have been the beneficiary of easily accessible primary materials some of which remained unpublished during the lifetime of the writer. Also, I have been the beneficiary of individual editor's insights into the significance of the published material. Then, Charles Evans' monumental compilation of all the materials printed in the United States of America from the time of the first printing press, has meant access to Puritan printed works, in microfiche format, which so far have remained beyond the scope of modern re-publication.

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