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Ministry of Higher Education
and Scientific Research
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Faculty of Arts and Languages
Department of English



وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

جامعة البليدة 2

كلية الآداب واللغات

قسم اللغة الانجليزية

Polycopié Pédagogique

Religious Foundation of the United States Puritan legacy

Matière :

AMERICAN STUDIES

(Semestre I)

NIVEAU

Master I

OPTION

Literature/ Civilisation

Enseignant : Dr. Lahlouh Amel

Matière enseignée pendant les Années Universitaires :

2015-2016

2016-2017

2017-2018

2018-2019

2019-2020

2020-2021

Course Description & objectives

This first semester course entitled- ***Religious Foundation of the United States of America***-covers early Puritan America. The central aim of this course, is an attempt to consider New England Puritanism as a basic tenet in shaping the American “mind.” It provides a rigorous and detailed engagement with particular aspects of the early literature of America.

This Heavy Religious foundation stresses the religious interpretation of the United States as a nation chosen by God, a New Israel destined for a providential mission of world redemption, has been a near-constant element in American exceptionalism. The persistence of such a notion is a clear indication of the nation’s deep roots in Protestant theology and practices.

Learning outcomes

- ✓ Identify major writers and works of Puritan America
- ✓ Understand the meanings of literary texts and their contexts, and explore texts beyond surface meanings to show deeper awareness of ideas and attitudes that shape America today.
- ✓ Distinguish among key ideologies and values that contributed in the making of American identity.
- ✓ Highlight the importance of Puritan culture as a cornerstone in the making of the United States.
- ✓ To develop the students’ intellectual maturity through engagement with, and response to, early American literature and civilization.
- To analyze the mechanisms of power and discrimination from literary perspectives as well as by using different approaches to literary texts. **The major objective**, I believe, is to awaken the students’ desire and interest in reading critically and develop a personal perspective by creating a classroom atmosphere that, hopefully, promotes and develops, respectively, open dialogue and tolerance of different cultures.

Grading method

1. Continuous assessment (Projet 50%)

- **Lecture attendance:** 10%
- **Assignment** 25%

Each module has a certain number of personal work, or research required (to be checked with coordinators)

- **- Participation and decipline** 15%

NB: The on-going assessment must at least consist of two different measures:

1. Quizzes, assignments, presentations, reports, etc...)
2. Test , should be **valid** covering major points and skills dealt with.

2. Final exam: 50%

Syllabus Schedule

LECTURE ONE : Puritan History:

Introduction to Puritan legacy and the Puritan vision of history as providential. Such a belief has shaped American history for generations and contributed in the making of the American self.

Text commentary : William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*: The Pilgrims' Providential vision of America

William Bradford's history *Of Plymouth Plantation* (1620-1647) constitutes a good example of the Puritan vision of providential history highlighting the millennial expectations of the early Founding Fathers about America .

LECTURE TWO: Puritan Religious exceptionalism :

Puritan New England's ideals and values in the rendering of a specifically American identity that is national character and culture. Accordingly an outcome of Puritan exceptionalism is the continuity of Puritan religious influence in the United States history throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth and twenty first century.

Text commentary : John Winthrop's *A Model of Christian Charity*

The latter is said to be the father of American exceptionalism because of his famous simile that the Massachusetts Bay Colony will be as a “*city on a hill.*”

Winthrop is, however no imperial exceptionalist, though aspects of his ideas prepare the way for others' imperialism.

LECTURE THREE : Puritan Literature and Postcolonial Discourse

It provides a framework for thinking about the theoretical and political implications of using "postcolonialism" as an umbrella term to designate the ensemble of writings by those subjects whose identities and histories have been shaped by the colonial encounter.

Texts:

Text commentary: William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation: The Representation of the Indian in Puritan Literature*

LECTURE FOUR: Puritan Captivity Narratives

Early colonial captivity narratives set the foundation of Puritan ideologies concerning native Americans. The following texts of Captivity narratives are selected to identify the religiously based commonalities concerning native Americans, which effectively contributed to their inhuman classification by the settlers.

Text commentary: Mary Rowlandson's Captivity Narratives.

LECTURE FIVE : Feminism in Puritan Literature

An accurate historical understanding of Puritan womanhood is essential to history, and America's in particular. Without understanding Puritan women, America loses a costly awareness of its heritage as their descendants. As one historian stated, "Without some understanding of Puritanism, it may safely be

said, there is no understanding of America.” The first established European-American women have significant messages and a defined legacy to give their descendants. Rewriting Puritan history endangers the worthy pursuit of discerning their true legacy.

The lecture stresses the Perception of women in Puritan society. Through historical and cultural perspectives with a special emphasis on their implications, Salem witchcraft trials remain the most mysterious of the Puritan legacy for the role of women in Colonial America.

Text commentary :

Different Puritan Texts written by Anne Bradstreet, Mary Rowlandson

The Scarlet Letter : A Feminist Reading .Analyzing Hester Prynne’s Feminist Consciousness in Nathaniel Hawthorne

LECTURE SIX : Puritan Massachusetts: Theocracy or Democracy

A Political Interpretation of Puritanism

In the 1630s, English Puritans in Massachusetts Bay colony created a self-government that went far beyond what existed in England . Some historians argue that it was a religious government or theocracy others claim it was a democracy.

Text Commentary: The Massachusetts Body of Liberties

LECTURE SEVEN : The Salem Witch Trials

The actions that would most seriously tarnish the historical reputation of the New England puritans, the Salem witchcraft episode of 1692, occurred after the collapse of puritan political control. The proceedings against accused witches were instigated by puritans, and the court that adjudicated the charges was comprised of puritans. It was a dark note that even more than their loss of government power signaled the end of the puritan era in America.

Text Commentary: Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*

LECTURE EIGHT: Puritanism and the Rise of Capitalism

An Economic Interpretation of Puritanism

This lecture explains the thesis of Max Weber, regarding the beginnings of capitalism and especially about the influence of Protestant or Puritan values, also known as Puritan ethics (Weber 1905, online), and American values (Levine and Adleman : 1994) toward the development of capitalism, which in the beginning had developed in conjunction with the history of the United States as a nationstate.

Text Commentary: Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*

Lecture one
PURITAN HISTORY

Learning outcomes and Objectives:

- Identify major historians and works of Puritan America.
- To shed light on the meaning and significance which the Puritans assigned to their action within the frame of **providential history**.
- The significance of **typological** readings of scripture.
- Analyze **William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*** .

1. Introduction:

This first lecture deals with history as developed by the Puritans. Their conception of history was based upon a well defined apocalyptic interpretation of history. It was a Christian philosophy of providential history according to which the Puritans viewed themselves as religiously exceptional, as God's elect nation favored by his Almighty providence and destined to complete the process of history.

The present lecture aims to shed light on the meaning and significance which the Puritans assigned to their action within the frame of providential history. My analysis of the Puritan view of providential history will take into consideration the significance of typological readings of scriptures in this kind of history as they occur in the famous Puritan historical texts. The implications of the key terms of "wilderness" and "errand into the wilderness" in sacred providential history, will equally be stressed. Finally I will look at the

importance of religious migration as pilgrimage from an old profane place to a new sacred place.

To achieve that purpose, we are going to analyze a popular work widely read and acknowledged as canonical text in American literary history as a whole, and Puritan New England's religious exceptionalism in particular. William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*.

2. The Significance of Typology in Puritan History:

As defined by Emory Elliot is the practice of “**explicating signs in the Old Testament as foreshadowing events in the New Testament.**” The Puritan historians, such as Cotton Mather and Edward Johnson “compared current events directly with Old and New Testament types, discovering parallels that elucidated how the scriptures were being fulfilled daily. **The Puritans in fact read biblical types to predict not just the events of the New Testament but also their own experience.** William Bradford himself is singled out as a biblical figure of Moses, the “leader of People in a Wilderness.” Yet this broad understanding of typology was not restricted to individual types. Identifying their community as the New Israel, The Puritans interpreted their group identity as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy. Thus, the Atlantic journey of the Puritans could be the antitype of the Exodus of the Israelites. For its part, “the New England colony, a new Zion, to which Christ may return to usher the millennium.”

3. Providential History

Besides identifying their community as New Israel, the Puritans further adopted **the American landscape** as the antitype to the type of **the Biblical Wilderness**. The wilderness constitutes a significant dimension within the course of providential history. **The Puritans used wilderness to describe their**

mission and pilgrimage as a holy one and giving to their experiment a sacred dimension in providential history. The Puritan migration holds meaning within the parameters of providential history only when associated to the term wilderness.

In fact, religious migration acquires its meaning in sacred providential history mostly because it prefigures the whole course of the sacred journey of the pilgrims favored by God's divine providence. Thus the Puritans' view of providential history gives a special importance to religious **migration as pilgrimage** . Pilgrimage reveals "separation" from a sinful place and "aggregation" to a holy one, detachment from corruption and attachment to a godly life.

- **The next lecture we are going to deal with William Bradford's text *Of Plymouth Plantation* and show how it stands as a clear example of the pilgrim's view of providential history.**

Text Commentary

William Bradford's *Of Plymouth Plantation*

THE PILGRIMS PROVIDENTIAL HISTORY OF AMERICA

William Bradford's history *Of Plymouth Plantation* (1620-1647) constitutes a good example of the Puritan vision of providential history:

- I will first concentrate on the importance of the belief in the millennial expectations of the early Founding Fathers, indeed mark their ultimate role as God's saints, saved and granted with the **Promised Land as an asylum** thanks to his Almighty providence.
- The next point clarifies the way in which William Bradford's text reflects the Puritan interpretation of events in terms of God's protecting providence and reinforces **Puritan typology**.
- Then I will assess the value of **religious migration** in terms of the Founding Fathers' **pilgrimage** from an old profane world into a sacred New World. Yet it is religious migration as directed and controlled by the very hand of God or God's divine providence. As such it is a redemptive migration based upon the salvation of God's elect people.
- The way William Bradford views the **wilderness** as the Pilgrim's greatest challenge in providential history will equally be stressed.

1- In *Of Plymouth Plantation*, William Bradford declared:

And God's blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the North parts. . . His grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways; the work of God was no sooner manifest in

them but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude.²⁰

I.e. England and Scotland . Unholy.(Bradford's notes)

- These lines make clear Bradford's belief that from the beginning of the Reformation in Europe and especially in England, "Satan hath raised, maintained and continued" to wage war "against the Saints". These people- the Separatists are forced to conform to the "unlawful and antichristian" religious practices by the "lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates." Therefore, England is the nation in which the Saints are "scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude", instead of being the sacred place of God's elect in providential history

2-For Bradford the Separatists were God's elect beset by cruel conditions during their voyage and settlement. In the following passage from *Of Plymouth Plantation*, we notice Bradford's efforts to associate the Plymouth colonists with the Israelites of the Bible and himself with the Biblical figure of Moses:

So they left that goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting place near twelve years; but they knew they were Pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits.(Hebrews 11:13-16)

3-The Pilgrims' journey across the ocean turns out to be allegorical since it symbolizes their Exodus from the profane Old World. In *Les Mythes Fondateurs de la Nation Américaine*, Elise Marienstrass stresses :

« Depuis les premiers Puritains, chez William Bradford déjà, L'océan a été le lieu où l'histoire se perdait, où les émigrants, traçant dans leurs chartes les traits de la société à venir, se construisaient une autre histoire, et échappaient aux mesures du temps Européennes. »

4- A famous passage from chapter nine explains quite well the hardships the Pilgrims encountered during their sacred mission:

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition. . . . Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation. . . .they had no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their whether beaten bodies; no houses or much less town to repair to seek for succor. . . If they looked behind, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. . . It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them or themselves.³⁶

Bradford here, views the Pilgrims' encounter with the American wilderness as their new home to dwell. The land is presented as if waiting for the chosen people of God to be taken hold of.

4. Conclusion

In this lecture, we had a careful analysis of William Bradford's history *Of Plymouth Plantation* in which we have revealed the early Pilgrims vision of the role in their nation's history as providential and the early Founding Fathers vision of America as historically providential. It has been the chief means by which America has imagined itself as living out an epic narrative of a providentially appointed nation established by God to bring ideals of liberty and democracy to the world.

Further Reading:

- Bercovitch, Sacvan. 1978. *The American Jeremiad*. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- ----- 1975. *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press.
- Elliott, Emory. (1975) *New England Puritan Literature, in Cambridge History of American Literature*, Volume 1.
- Miller, Perry. 1956. *The American Puritans: Their Prose and Poetry*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- ----- *Errand Into the Wilderness*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, Harvard.

Lecture Two : Puritan Religious Exceptionalism

Learning outcomes and Objectives:

- Identify Puritan New England's ideals and values in the rendering of a specifically American identity.
- Highlight the significance of Puritan religious exceptionalism and the continuity of Puritan religious influence in the United States history .
- The importance of Winthrop's *City Upon a Hill* metaphore in the making of American secular version of exceptionalism.

1. Introduction:

We have seen that Puritanism stressed the religious foundation of the United States of America and the importance, not to say, the monopoly, of Puritan New England's ideals and values in the rendering of a specifically American identity that is national character and culture. Accordingly an outcome of this belief is the continuity of Puritan religious influence in the United States history throughout the nineteenth and well into the twentieth and twenty first century political discourse.

Puritan exceptionalism has ever since held a firm place in the American collective memory, exemplified by its more contemporary resurrection in presidential speeches. Eventually to recount the evolution of the concept of American exceptionalism and to give a comprehensive account of the presence of such a theme in American presidential speeches is beyond the scope of this lecture.

2. American Exceptionalism : Towards a Definition

By American exceptionalism I mean the Americans shared conception of themselves as elect and their representation of America as the chosen nation destined by providence to fulfil the process of history and redeem the world. Such a belief in American exceptionalism has been widespread in the political culture and among the general American population. It is a belief articulated by every American president and held on to by every American citizen. This expression of American exceptionalism has been formulated and re-formulated throughout American history, from John Winthrop's "City upon a Hill" sermon to Abraham Lincoln's "last best hope on earth" to Woodrow Wilson's mission to spread democracy to Ronald Reagan's "shining city on a hill" to nearly every post-September 11 speech of George W. Bush

3. Studying American Exceptionalism

In fact, one of the difficulties encountered in studying American exceptionalism is the ambiguity surrounding the concept of itself, ambiguity illustrated by the varied uses of it. Much of the disagreement about American exceptionalism originates in the different understandings of it invoked by many scholars. For the purpose at hand, I want to distinguish among two different exceptionalist theses, theses that are reasonably distinct and have quite distinctive implications. I shall refer to these theses as *historical* exceptionalism and *behavioral* exceptionalism. *Historical* exceptionalism refers to claims about America's unique historical origins and development. It is primarily associated with arguments about the absence of socialism in America, arguments citing the lack of a feudal past, abundant land, diversity among the working classes owing to immigration, and a variety of other factors.¹ More generally, historical exceptionalism looks for explanations of differences between America and the

rest of the world (typically, Europe); in the constellation of facts and attributes that mark what Tocqueville, who first referred to America as exceptional, called the “point of departure”.²

Shafer writes that “American exceptionalism is the notion that the United States was created differently, developed differently, and thus has to be *understood* differently – essentially on its own terms and within its own context.”³ Numerous analytic difficulties beset scholarly efforts to assess America’s historical exceptionalism. The claim is trivial because practically no one disagrees. Besides, there is nothing distinctively American about it: all nations are in this respect “exceptional.” Noticing this point, Kammen, has called for “comparative exceptionalism” as a historical approach.⁴

A second claim found frequently in the literature refers to *behavioral* exceptionalism, the thesis that America’s actions, policies, and endeavors in international affairs are unique or distinctive. Ignatieff identifies three types of exceptionalist behavior in the arena of human rights. *Exemptionalism* refers to the American habit of negotiating multilateral agreements and regimes only if they allow exemptions for American citizens and practices; of attaching reservations to treaties and conventions; of delaying or refusing to ratify conventions at all; and, of refusing to provide for the implementation of those agreements it does sign and ratify in domestic law.⁵ Ignatieff *refers* to America’s habit “of [judging] itself by different standards than it uses to judge other countries and [judging] its friends by standards different than those it uses for its enemies”.⁶ Each of these claims concerns how US policies and actions are unique or different from those of other countries.

It is this version of exceptionalism, that is behavioral exceptionalism, that we shall be concerned with here – or at least, with one interpretation of it in the

American context, which we call *providential or Religious exceptionalism*. Providential exceptionalism refers to a commonplace American belief that theirs is a chosen nation, one upon which Providence has bestowed special blessings and which has been charged with a special world-historical mission to cultivate and promote its values. Providential exceptionalism is frequently conflated with both of the other kinds of exceptionalism. It has an obvious historical dimension: originating with the earliest British settlers in North America, its evolution can be traced through several centuries of American religious and later political rhetoric. If, as Kammen suggests, every country is different, America's difference might consist in this distinctive belief in its own difference; such a belief is itself a crucial fact of American history.⁷ Providential exceptionalism attempts to understand what motivates or shapes or informs America's exceptionalist behavior; it emphasizes the reasons animating American actions and attitudes rather than their uniqueness. In particular, we are interested in how America's self-understanding as a chosen nation – a “city upon a hill” in Winthrop's famous phrase – influences its policy and attitudes.

Endnotes:

¹ Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1996. *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged- Sword*. New York: W.W. Norton.

² Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2000. *Democracy in America*. Translated by H. C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop. Edited by H. C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.252.

³ Shafer, Byron E., ed. 1991. *Is America Different? A New Look at American Exceptionalism*. Oxford: Clarendon, p.933.

⁴ Kammen, Michael. 1993. The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration. *American Quarterly* 45 (1):43, p.946.

⁵ Ignatieff, Michael. 2005. Introduction: American Exceptionalism and Human Rights. In *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights.*, ed. Michael Ignatieff, 1-26. Princeton: Princeton University Press, p.936.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Kammen, Michael. 1993. The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration. *American Quarterly* 45 (1):43.p, 94

TEXT COMMENTARY**John Winthrop's *A Model of Christian Charity*:*****The Roots of American Exceptionalism***

Another comprehensive example of the Puritan's vision of providential exceptionalism is John Winthrop's sermon *A Model of Christian Charity*. The Puritan project has always been a staple in the American imagination, generally; understanding it is indispensable for apprehending fully the idea of American exceptionalism. *A Model of Christian Charity* is indeed a document that seeks to persuade peers to undertake a common task. It is an argument both justifying a venture and recruiting others to join in it.

For several reasons it might be said that the first document we are considering can by no means serve as an American symbol. First, it was written by Englishmen, in England, for an English audience. The men of the colonies at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay were Englishmen, too. Though in a strange land, they came to it with their English thoughts, habits, expectations, and goals. They saw themselves as Englishmen, as many in the colonies would for the next century and a half. Yet just as much, or perhaps even more so, the colonists at Massachusetts Bay saw themselves as Christians; they embarked upon a Christian mission, not an English one. We may call the "Reasons" a symbol of American exceptionalism because of what it represents.

When asserted that Winthrop was the first American exceptionalist, the claim almost invariably rests on the self-evidently exceptionalist quality of his phrase "city on a hill." In an extended consideration of the sermon, I will show that the phrase, "city on a hill," far from making a claim to exceptionalism, makes the opposite claim that the new colony—if it lives according to its initial mandate, or if it transgresses that mandate—will yield foreseeable, not

exceptional, results. Winthrop's exceptionalism is exemplary, not imperial. The work the colonists undertake is not private; yet it does exclusively belong to them, at least at this early stage. This is tied to the Puritan theory of history, which is tied to Winthrop's articulation of the covenant and its function in history. Hence, the claim that Winthrop's "city on a hill" phrase has *something* to do with American exceptionalism is right.

The context of the phrase "city on a hill" makes Winthrop's meaning fairly clear. It falls in the middle of his three rounds of blessing and cursing at the end of the enactment and divine ratification of the covenant. Rather than a statement, then, that some set of rules apply to some nations or churches but not to Massachusetts Bay— rather than a "comparative" sense of exceptionalism—it states something entirely different: the world is watching us and waiting to evaluate until we succeed or fail. It is a statement not of any radical freedom from the rules and constraints that apply to other peoples, but of the radical boundedness and circumscription of the colonists' lives that was just effected by the covenant. The phrase, rather than a license for the colony to tell the world how to live, is a dire warning of the terrible consequences that the *colonists* will face if they fail to live lives of complete Christian virtue. The passage is inwardly focused, a warning for the Puritans to live up to their agreement with God, not an outwardly focused justification for double standards or imperialism. The phrase is actually an allusion to scripture and its context there sheds further light on Winthrop's meaning. The reference is to Matthew 5:14, which is a verse from Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. In preaching to those present Christ says:

Blessed are ye when men revile you, and persecute *you*, and say all manner of evil against you for my sake, falsely. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven; for so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you. Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt have lost his savor, wherewith shall it be salted? It is thenceforth good for

nothing, but to be cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men. Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill, cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick, and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven . (Matthew 5:11-16.)

Tradition has long interpreted this passage as speaking to preachers— which Winthrop and most Puritans would have known well, does not depart from that tradition. Those who are reviled and persecuted on Jesus’ account are those who, by the nature of their office, would be constantly out in plain view. The words here are a recognition of that, and an exhortation not to shrink from their public ministry in the face of being reviled and persecuted. “A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid;” just so, a preacher is by definition a public person. His witness is out in the open, necessarily, and it is not incongruous with the role that Winthrop foresaw for the new colony.

Conclusion:

John Winthrop’s *A Model of Christian Charity* is said to be the father of American exceptionalism because of his famous simile that the Massachusetts Bay Colony will be as a “city on a hill.” Winthrop is, however no imperial exceptionalist, though aspects of his ideas prepare the way for others’ imperialism.

Further Readings:

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1996. *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*. New York: W.W. Norton.

- Tocqueville, Alexis de. 2000. *Democracy in America*. Translated by H. C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop. Edited by H. C. Mansfield and D. Winthrop. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.252.
- Shafer, Byron E., ed. 1991. *Is America Different? A New Look at American Exceptionalism*. Oxford: Clarendon, p.933.
- Kammen, Michael. 1993. The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration. *American Quarterly*
- Ignatieff, Michael. 2005. Introduction: American Exceptionalism and Human Rights. In *American Exceptionalism and Human Rights.*, ed. Michael Ignatieff, 1-26. Princeton: Princeton University

Lecture Three

Puritan Literature and Postcolonial Discourse

Learning Outcomes and Objectives:

- The lecture provides a framework for thinking about the theoretical and political implications of using "**postcolonialism**."
- Get the students familiar with Puritan writings by those subjects whose identities and histories have been shaped by the colonial encounter.
- Analyze some Puritan texts from a postcolonial perspective.
- Get to know **Captivity Narratives** as a significant Puritan literary genre.
- Representation of the **native Indian** in Puritan texts.

1. Introduction

Recent work in post-colonial studies by United States' scholars has stressed the relationship between post-colonial theory and the analysis of African American culture (DuCille 1996). In practice, the exponents of African American culture have often engaged with classic post-colonial theorists such as Fanon, though not always in an uncritical way. African American studies has been one of the most influential of recent intellectual, social and political movements not only affecting the US but also influencing many people who have suffered from oppression and racial discrimination in other parts of the world. It has had a widespread and often quite separate development from postcolonial studies to which it is related only in a complex and ambiguous way.

2. AFRICAN AMERICAN AND POST-COLONIAL STUDIES

Most post-colonial theorists who have engaged with the issue have seen the study of black culture in the Americas as, in part, the study of one of the world's major diasporas. In this respect, the history of African Americans has some features in common with other movements of oppressed diasporic peoples. Many groups were moved against their will from their homelands to serve the economic needs of empire in the societies that evolved from the wave of European expansion from the sixteenth century onwards. Comparative studies of these movements are a productive development in recent post-colonial theory, not least in the consideration of the different effects of these large-scale events on individual groups that such studies reveal. Early formulations of African American Studies in the United States and elsewhere reflected the complex relationship between the African source cultures and their adopted societies, as they interacted with other influences in the new regions to which Africans were taken (see *négritude*). The fact that the bulk of African peoples were shipped under conditions of slavery makes the relationship between that institution and the wider practices of imperialism central to an understanding of the origins of African American culture. It also sheds light on the violence that was often hidden beneath the civilizing rhetoric of imperialism (DuCille 1996). Beyond this prime fact of oppression and violence, however, the relationships between the newly independent American societies, the wider diasporic black movement, and the modern independence movements in Africa itself remain complex.

Of course, African American studies are also concerned much more directly with the history and continuing effects of specific processes of race-based discrimination within US society. In this regard, African American studies

investigates issues that share certain features with other US groups affected by racial discrimination, such as the Chicano community. These studies have relevance to movements for the freedom of indigenous peoples, such as Native American Indians or Inuit peoples, despite their very different historical backgrounds (one group being victims of invasive settlement and the other of slavery and exile). Distinctions also need to be made between these various groups and linguistically and racially discriminated groups such as Chicanos, a great many of whom are part of a more recent wave of immigration, though some, of course, are the descendants of peoples who lived in parts of the US long before the current dominant Anglo-Saxon peoples. Other groups, such as the descendants of French Creoles, also occupy places contiguous in some respects to these latter Spanish speaking peoples, though their history and their treatment within US society may have been very different. For this, and other reasons, critics have often hesitated to conflate African American studies or the study of any of these other groups with post-colonial theory in any simple way. The latter may offer useful insights, but it does not subsume the specific and distinctive goals and history of African American studies or Native American studies or Chicano studies as distinctive academic disciplines with specific political and social struggle in their own right.

Text Commentary**The Representation of the Indian in Puritan Literature****« Of Plymouth Plantation »**

The Indians have no counterparts in the Bible but the Puritans equated them with the **Canaanites or the Lost Tribes of the scripture**. Shifting the biblical context through which they understood the Native Americans, the Puritans likened them to the Canaanites or heathen peoples whom God sent as a **scourge to test the nation of Israel** and whose extermination was necessary for the fulfillment of his divine plan.

Bradford called the Indians “**savage**” and “**Brutish men**” who “**range up and down**, little otherwise than the wild beasts” and who are eager to fill the Pilgrims sides with arrows. He adds that God smote the Indians wonderfully. A clear evidence is the Separatists’ interpretation of the small pox epidemic which they attributed to a special grace from God. To them it seemed clear enough that the Almighty cleared the land of the natives to welcome His chosen people.

Squanto’s invaluable help is described by Bradford just as “a special instrument sent from God for their good beyond their expectation”. Bradford’s views about the Indians are made clearer when he tells us about an Indian attack on his people. Some explorers went out to explore the area around Cape Cod. As they were resting, the Indians attacked. “And withal, their arrows came flying amongst them”. He continues: “their men run with all their speed to recover their arms, as by the good province of God they did.” Bradford’s belief in his writing and the Pilgrims exceptionalism both affect his narration of the story. After telling us of the attack, he specifies that, by the grace of God, no separatist was wounded:

“ Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies, and give them deliverance; and by his special providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them, and on every side of them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricade, were shot through and through” .

Bradford’s hostility about the Indians again is reinforced by a brutal account of the Plymouth group’s **genocidal war against the Pequots** in chapter XXVIII . For Bradford the bloodiness and horror of the war seemed “a **sweet sacrifice** and they -the Puritans- gave praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them.

Conclusion

William Bradford emphasizes the settler’s complex attitude toward “the savages”—a complexity stemming from their mixed feelings: on the one hand, their fear of the unknown, on the other hand, some measure of intellectual curiosity regarding the Natives. In the following extract, for example, Bradford describes an inconclusive episode of attempted contact with the aliens:

[The settlers] saw five or six persons with a dog coming towards them. These were savages; but they fled into the woods, and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speak with them, and partly to discover if there might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indians, perceiving that they were followed, again forsook the woods, and ran away on the sands as hard as they could, so that our men could not come near them. (30)

Bradford’s dehumanization of the Indians is not limited to his depiction of the elusive savages hiding in the woods, unable to communicate and constituting a threat. He even goes as far as to randomly attribute the strange sounds and noises coming from the woods to animals or to “savages.”

Further Reading:

- Slotkin, Richard. (1985). *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization, 1800-1890*. New York: Atheneum.
- Said, E. (1978) *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London: Penguin (1991).
- Russell, L. (2001) *Colonial Frontiers: Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies*, Manchester: Manchester University Press.

LECTURE FOUR

PURITAN CAPTIVITY NARRATIVES

Learning Outcomes and Objectives:

- Identity “**captivity narratives**” as a significant Puritan literary genre
- To highlight the way Early colonial captivity narratives set the foundation of Puritan ideologies concerning native Americans.
- To identify the religiously based commonalities concerning native Americans, which effectively contributed to their 3inhuman classification3 by the settlers and the genocide of the native’s culture.

1. INTRODUCTION:

The Indian voice is a literary Puritan production, which forms part of the language of Puritan literature and provides clues about the Puritan ideological discourse. To obtain justice for the Native American victims of colonial history in North America ,therefore, the focus is more on the symbolism and the narrative process of the text itself than on the actual historicity of first literature written by the Puritans about the native Indians.

The most obvious difficulty in this respect is to adequately differentiate between actual history and literary myth. According to Sacvan Bercovitch, the Puritan conquest of the New World is a

conquest by arms and conquest by the word—the ‘discovery of America’ is the modern instance par excellence of how these two kinds of violence are entwined; how metaphor becomes fact, and fact,

metaphor; how the realms of power and myth can be reciprocally sustaining; and how that reciprocity can encompass widely disparate outlooks.

One must therefore make sense of the true nature of the encounter between the Puritans and the Indians before beginning to discuss the specific genre of captivity narratives as described earlier.

2. The Indian in Puritan Literature:

The Indian voice is a literary Puritan production, which forms part of the language of captivity and provides clues about the Puritan ideological discourse and literature. To obtain justice for the Native American victims of colonial history in North America, therefore, the focus is more on the symbolism and the narrative process of the text itself than on the actual historicity of the captivity narratives. One of the concerns of this lecture is the rhetoric used by the former white captives or the “ghostwriter” who wrote on their behalf to represent the Indians as well as the rhetoric the white writers of the narratives attributed to the Indians as a part of their speech. My corpus focuses on captivity narratives by or about former Puritan hostages, most prominently that—archetypal and extremely famous—by **Mary White Rowlandson**.

Most of these accounts relate the European settlers’ encounter with the natives and very often deal with captivity experience at the hands of the Indians. Such are, among others, narratives of this nature by Cabeza de Vaca (1542), Juan Ortiz (1557), Hans Staden (1557), and Job Hortop (1591). Although these narratives include significant passages dedicated to the captivity experience of their authors, and although one finds them in some of the modern selections of captivity narratives, according to Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, they “never became an important genre in and of themselves, although they

were certainly familiar enough to the reading public and could appear as interpolate tales” (391). In their categorization of captivity narratives as a literary genre, Armstrong and Tennenhouse even exclude two famous seventeenth-century captivity accounts by John Smith and by the Jesuit Father Isaac Jogues. In their own understanding of the genre, captivity narratives (the ones that would gradually evolve into the genre of the English novel) were “not produced by emissaries of church or state” and in them the “captives tend to be European settlers from ordinary backgrounds who wanted to find a home in North America” (392). Therefore, although captivity per se, as a phenomenon, obviously predates the specific experience of the white Christian settlers at the hands of the Indians during the conquest of the New Continent, the emergence of the theme as a literary genre essentially emerged—or at least was conceptualized as such—at that time, particularly with Rowlandson’s narrative.

However, if one sees Rowlandson’s narrative in the broader context of Puritan literature, it is obvious that her writing goes well beyond the scope of her personal story and embraces the whole Puritan community as suggested by Richard Slotkin: “[In Puritan captivity narratives], a single individual, usually a woman, stands passively under the strokes of evil, awaiting rescue by the grace of God. The sufferer represents the whole chastened body of Puritan society” (94). Therefore, although Rowlandson was not an official emissary of the Puritan parish, she must nonetheless be seen as a typical emanation of a community strongly rooted in a shared religious faith. It follows, as I will demonstrate, that her writing reflects and sponsors significant social, political, and religious goals in the general interest of the Puritan religious elite.

In the text commentary, I use the word “**discourse**” in its ideological meaning, i.e., the dominant religious, political and social ideology within a particular social group, namely that of the seventeenth-century New England

Puritans. Accordingly, the main narratives I will be discussing in this study were written by Puritans—either by the former captives themselves or by influential members of the congregation acting on their behalf.

TEXT COMMENTARY

Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682)

Rowlandson's *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682) is to be the central narrative in the corpus of this study as it ranks among the best known specimens of the genre. In this retrospective account, Rowlandson shares her experience of eleven weeks' captivity in the wilderness among the Indians as a consequence of the Indian attack on her town, Lancaster, in 1676 during King Philip's war. The text is organized in twenty "removes," consisting in "departures from one place to the next. Over half of these departures 'remove' Rowlandson deeper into the wilderness and farther from home" (Logan 256). The notion of departure and travel reminds of travel accounts which appeared during the early modern period of the European exploration and colonization of the New Continent.

Rowlandson provides a detailed description of the Indian practice of powwowing, but at the end of her description, she allows herself to express subjective comments:

When they went, they acted as if the devil had told them that they should gain the victory; and now they acted as if the devil had told them they should have a fall. Whither it were so or no, I cannot tell, but so it proved, for quickly they began to fall, and so held on that summer, till they came to utter ruin. They came home on a Sabbath day, and the Powaw that kneeled upon the deer-skin came home (I may say, without abuse) as black as the devil. (64)

Here also, Rowlandson remains faithful to her double narrative voice (one describing the events, and the other commenting on them). Accordingly, the commenting voice does not only reflect on the captive's personal experience, but is also influenced by her preconceptions of the Indians and their habits. I have shown in the second section of this study that most of Rowlandson's passages describing the Indian way of life always relate in one way or another to her own personal experience. For instance, she voices her initial contempt of Indian food before eventually growing used to it.

Rowlandson's narrative thus does not only depict her physical and moral predicament as a white captive, but it also conjures the more abstract and less frequent representation, or misrepresentation, of the Indian voice—a voice held, as it were, in another form of “captivity,” that of its biased rendering in the writings of the former victim. So how does the Indian “voice” literally come across in Rowlandson's narrative? What kind of discourse does Rowlandson as a testimonial author attribute to her former abductors? To what extent does Rowlandson distort the truth not only in her description of the events, but even more so in the words she puts in the Indians' mouths?

CONCLUSION:

To answer these questions, one may first consider how the “Indian voice” is represented or misrepresented. In approaching it, should one only address the dialogues between the protagonists, or also deal with other forms of non-verbal communication present in Rowlandson's text.

Race was a prevalent theme in American Puritan Literature. The captivity narratives commits to highlighting major stereotypes concerning Native Americans , found in early Puritan literature. The Indians were represented as “bloodthirsty”, “savage”, “barbarians”. These gross misrepresentations of the

indigenous people of North America not only reflect the popular opinion held by dominant white society, they also contribute to the various forms of damage to include genocide of the Indian culture.

Further Readings:

- Barker Martin(1995). *The Lasting of the Mohicans: History of an American Myth*. University Press of Mississippi.
- Slotkin Richard.(1973). *Regeneration Through Violence: The Myth of th American Frontier*. Wesleyan University Press.

LECTURE FIVE

FEMINISM IN PURITAN LITERATURE

Learning Outcomes and Objectives:

- Identify an accurate historical understanding of Puritan womanhood.
- The role of Puritan women in American literary tradition
- . Develop a **feminist** reading to significant Puritan texts.

1. INTRODUCTION:

The lecture stresses the Perception of women in Puritan society. Through historical and cultural perspectives with a special emphasis on their implications, Salem witchcraft trials remain the most mysterious of the Puritan legacy for the role of women in Colonial America

2 Feminism in Literature

Since the early 20th C **feminist criticism** has grown to embody a vast series of concerns: a rewriting of literary tradition and history; **theories of sexuality and sexual difference, drawing on psychoanalysis, Marxism, and the social sciences; the representation of women in male literature; the role of gender** in literature. Some feminists have urged the need for a **female language**, while others have advocated appropriating and modifying the inherited language of the male oppressor.

In fact, there are many definitions of feminism. First, Merriam Webster Dictionary defines it as || the belief that men and women should have equal rights and opportunities — or organized activity in support of women's rights and interests .

The theory, which opens the relationship between the cultural and psychological inscription of the female body and female difference in language and text, is a work of **feminist literary theory that originated in France in the early 1970s** through the work of theorists including **Hélène Cixous, Monique Wittig, Luce Irigaray, Chantal Chawaf, Catherine Clément, and Julia Kristeva**.

“L’écriture féminine” or “women’s writing” as a theory foregrounds the importance of language for the psychic understanding of the self by **undermining patriarchal** discourse. Feminists argue that a feminine language would be more smooth and full of femininity, beauty and emotion, to be different from male’s language.

TEXT COMMENTARY

Historians have made a great attempt in the past fifty years of colonial American historiography to understand the mind of the seventeenth and eighteenth century Puritan woman in America. Who was she? What did she want? How did she think of herself and her role? How did she view men? How did men view her? Since the surge of feminism in the 1960s, several answers have been offered to these questions, primarily among female historians. However, feminist historiography revises the Puritan woman's experience by placing it under the social construct of patriarchy. Feminism argues that male authority—what they term the patriarchy—has suppressed women throughout history. Guided by this tenet, scholars in the feminist school define early American history in terms of either women's suppression or women's liberation, as they do with every era of history. Because Puritan women focused their primary attentions in the domestic sphere, many feminist scholars deduce that such women must have empowered themselves in other outlets or endured repressive male authority. Some historians go so far as to say that Puritanism laid the foundation for nineteenth-century feminism in America.

Primary sources are most helpful in understanding the thoughts of women such as Anne Bradstreet, Sarah Goodhue and Margaret Winthrop. Though

The feminist perspective is becoming the most common historical interpretation of the Puritan woman's experience, coinciding with the increasing popularity of women's studies and gender history. Ann-Louise Shapiro states that one of the tenets of feminist historiography is "to theorize the importance of differences in the past, and to write its history." One significant problem with this a priori approach of "insist[ing] upon the feminine focus" is running "the risk of narrowing and distorting the full cultural and autobiographical significance" of—not only the poetry and prose of well-documented women

like Anne Bradstreet—but also of many other obscure or overlooked accounts of the Puritans.

In many instances, the feminist interpretation contradicts the Puritan woman's genuine experience. In terms of broad Puritan studies, Francis Bremer notes that many in the field of history have been negligent, Intellectual history in general and religious history in particular, are still pursued by researchers in divinity schools and literature departments, but less commonly in history departments. Even those engaged in recent public debates over the role of religion in U.S. life and government neglect the study of the Puritan past that is so relevant to these issues. Many misunderstandings remain in broad Puritan studies, and more research needs to be done in the narrower study of Puritan women in seventeenth and eighteenth century America.

4. Women in Puritan Society:

This lecture intends to show that Puritan women enjoyed their roles, as wives, mothers and homemakers, and they were not chained to these roles by patriarchal oppression. Puritan women did not conceive of their roles as imprisoning; androgynous roles and identities did not appeal to them as it has in a post-1960s American culture. Contrary to what many scholars have argued, most Puritan women were content, fulfilled and found significant purpose in what has been termed “traditional women's roles.” Second to serving Christ, a woman committed to a husband—both her equal in personhood and called to a man's unique role as leader, protector and provider. She also considered raising children a privilege and a joyous co-labor between the wife and husband. The Puritan woman also incorporated her skills in the home (praised in passages such as Proverbs 31) and in some instances—remarkably during the time period— education and writing poetry.

Though the Puritan women seem to have some important social roles, the Puritan society is par excellence a **patriarchal society**. There were some limitations on the rights of women in the Puritan society. Women were not allowed to vote the legislative body that governed the early colony. The Puritans, like many societies back then, believed that women were culturally inferior to men. Married women were expected to follow the edicts of their husbands and were unable to interact with local government on their own. In addition, married women were unable to sue for divorce.

After having read **Nathaniel Hawthorne's The Scarlet Letter**, the reader can easily deduce that **Hester** is a rebellious character and represents in many respects the **Feminist principles**.

5. Anne Bradstreet's Poetry from a Feminist Perspective:

Women such as **Anne Bradstreet, Sarah Goodhue, Margaret Winthrop and Mary Rowlandson** provide the most extensive documentation from a female perspective, thus their accounts serve as representative of the Puritan woman's experience rather than exceptional. In fundamental ways, the Puritan women's mindset differed from that of most modern feminists. Dedicating to causes outside of themselves, living lives committed to the Word of God, anticipating a judgment before a holy God and desiring a glorious eternity, Puritan men and women encouraged womanhood according to the standards of Scripture. They upheld equality of the sexes in marriage and society, valuing covenant love and submission as essential for obedience, enjoyment and order. Puritans held a high view of women and respected women's character and abilities, though influences of a misogynic worldview would take time to overcome. Historians need to understand the Puritan woman according to her own desires and worldview, not

their own; then and only then will America understand Puritan womanhood and its importance.

The Puritans believed that God ordained marriage, witnessing the establishment of a covenant wherein both husband and wife committed to loving and remaining faithful to one another for life. God united Adam and Eve as husband and wife at creation, sanctioning marriage and commanding them to “be fruitful and multiply.” **Bradstreet directly quotes Genesis 2:23, after God created Eve and gave her to Adam: “This at last is bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called woman, because she was taken out of man.”** Bradstreet describes the union with her husband as spiritual and physical, in the following verse of Genesis 2: **“Therefore a man shall leave his father and his mother and hold fast to his wife, and they shall become one flesh.”** Marriage as a creation ordinance and the union of man and woman both physically and spiritually is universal in Puritan theology. Laurel Ulrich writes, “The role of consort was based on a doctrine of creation which stressed the equality of men and women, an ideal of marriage which transcended legal formulations, and a concept of love which was spiritual, yet fully sexual.” The Puritans wrote that those who speak “reproachfully of it [marriage] do both impeach God’s Wisdom and Truth.” Unlike the Catholics, the Puritans thought of marriage and sexuality therein to be holy, though they did not consider it a sacrament. Rather, marriage was a solemn obligation and joyous privilege, wherein “If husband and wife failed to love each other above all the world, they not only wronged each other, they disobeyed God.” Throughout Scripture, there are more details given on the specific commands, blessings and practical applications for husbands and wives, as in Ephesians 5, Colossians 3, Song of Songs, 1 Peter 3, Titus 2, Proverbs 5 and 1 Corinthians 7. In these passages, the husband is called to “love his wife,” even “as his own body,” to “rejoice in the

wife of his youth.” The wife is instructed to “respect” her husband and to “submit to him.” Conscious of these commands, Puritans were articulate and detailed concerning how husbands and wives were supposed to treat one another, with affectionate love and kindness as the basis of all thoughts, actions and words. Sources evidence what Edmund S. Morgan stated, “all good Puritans tried to exemplify them [marital duties] in their daily lives.”

6. Hawthorn’s The Scarlet Letter: A Rebellious Puritan Woman

After having read The Scarlet Letter, the reader can easily deduce that Hester is a rebellious character and represents in many respects the Feminist principle.

Being a **rebellious spirit, self-reliant, self-confident** and strong mind makes of Hester a Feminist character. She represents a full feminist consciousness that enables women to survive and live in dignity no matter what their deeds are. When she walks from prison to the scaffold, she holds her head high and remains in full public view without shedding a tear, her heart is happy. Her face reveals no thought of fear or shame. Hester decides not to remove the Scarlett letter. It is her decision to continuously wear this letter. The letter turns from a symbol of disgrace and punishment into a symbol of pride, courage and distinction. The A becomes a mark of distinction of Hester, as if Hester as an individual woman versus a whole patriarchal society.

Hester's place within the Puritan community changes from a **traditional puritan woman** into someone who defies an established system. Hester liberates herself from a whole social system: from authority and from man’s submission. This procedure can be seen as the realization of true emancipation. This latter has been achieved only in the late 19th C and the beginning of the 20th C.

CONCLUSION:

the limitation of primary sources is unfortunate, historians Douglas Wilson and Edmund Morgan argue that that these women were representatives of the Puritan woman's experience. The fullest accounts written from the female perspective are by women who delighted in their husbands, children and God. Thus these accounts represent the Puritan women whose voices are in the past. In its historical context, the Puritan mindset is fundamentally different from the modern, secular mindset. As J.I. Packer has argued, Puritanism is a worldview, a "total Christian philosophy" strongly founded in the Protestant Scriptures and the Reformed doctrines and confessions. One need only read part of a Puritan text to discern their commitment to reading, writing and internalizing Scripture. The advance of social history has actually undermined this aspect of Puritanism as a total Christian philosophy, passing over many important texts fundamental to Puritan thinking and living. As David Hall points out, seminary historians are the ones who have grasped theology "as a system of interrelated parts," the importance of creeds and confessions in Puritanism, and the centrality of "that great storehouse of ideas, the Bible." "According to this point of view," he writes, "any seventeenth century text is situated in a multi-layered field of reference." With those important texts, there are adequate resources that clearly articulate the Puritan mindset, both male and female.

LECTURE SIX

PURITAN MASSACHUSETTS: THEOCRACY OR DEMOCRACY?

A political interpretation of Puritanism

Learning Outcomes and Objectives:

- Develop a political interpretation of Puritanism.
- Identify major characteristics of a theocratic government.
- Interpretation of the Massachusetts Body of Liberties.

1. Introduction:

In 1534, King Henry VIII of England broke with the Roman Catholic Church and established the Church of England (the Anglican Church). This Protestant church rejected the authority of the Catholic Pope but kept many practices of Roman Catholicism, such as worship rituals, many sacraments (sacred customs such as baptism), and bishops who governed the church.

By 1600, a growing group of Anglican Church members, or Anglicans, thought their church was too much like the Catholic Church, which they condemned as a false church. Many Anglicans were called Puritans because they wanted to purify the church and make it simpler.

A key difference between the Puritans and the other Anglicans was over the afterlife and how one was saved from the fires of hell. The Anglican Church taught that a believer in Christ had to follow church teachings and sacraments in

order to be saved. Most Puritans, however, adopted the teachings of John Calvin, a major leader of the Protestant Reformation in Europe.

Calvin taught that God alone chose or elected those who would receive salvation and those who would not. The Puritans believed God would give them outward signs of their salvation (being saved), such as success in life or an appearance of godliness. The Anglican Church, however, rejected Calvin's teaching. The Puritans gathered in different groups and made a covenant (formal agreement) with God to obey his will as revealed in the Bible. In these "covenant communities," they focused on Bible reading, preaching, and following God's biblical laws.

2. Errand into the Wilderness:

Back in England, the Puritans were increasingly troubled that so many people did not follow God's laws as written in the Bible. The Puritans feared that God would punish England. They also suffered under the rule of King Charles I who ignored English liberties and enforced the Anglican religion.

In 1630, shortly before the first group of about 400 Puritans sailed to America, Winthrop delivered a speech that spelled out their religious mission. He placed great emphasis on the need for everyone to unify and help one another for the "common good." Winthrop also described a special covenant between the Puritans and God to advance God's will in the colony. Winthrop said they would live together to "work out our salvation under the power and purity of His holy ordinances [laws]." But, most importantly, Winthrop said they would create a model for an uncorrupted church and godly society. He borrowed a phrase from the Bible: "we shall be a City upon a Hill." If this undertaking were to fail, he warned, many would speak evil of God, and the colony "shall surely perish."

Thus, Winthrop described the Puritans' main mission to Massachusetts Bay as setting an example of "godly rule." Those left behind in England would see God's will at work, follow God's laws, and be saved. Later, Puritans called this their "errand into the wilderness."

3. The Congregational Church On June 12, 1630, after a two month voyage aboard four ships, the Puritans landed at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. At this time, Salem was a poor settlement of huts crowded between the sea and thick forest. Governor Winthrop, however, decided to establish a new town, named Boston that soon became the capital of the colony.

The Puritans first focused on establishing their churches. A group gathered together to form a "covenant community," pledging to obey God's laws. Every gathering, called a congregation, elected its own minister and decided its own church rules. Thus, each Congregational Church was independent and self-ruling, unlike the Anglican Church with its governing bishops. One disadvantage of this independence was the possibility of division. This could threaten the colony's unity that Winthrop thought was so important.

The Puritans in Massachusetts Bay believed in a separation of church and state, but not a separation of the state from God

4. The General Court

The first government in the colony was set up according to the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Only about a dozen company stockholders, including Winthrop, came to the colony on the first voyage. Under the company's charter, they were designated "freemen," and only they were permitted to vote for government officers. At their first meeting in August 1630, the stockholder freemen confirmed Winthrop as governor, chose a deputy governor, and selected seven assistants to enact the colony's laws. The assistants

also acted as the colony's judges and the highest court of appeals. Thus, the nine company officers were also the colony's government, called the General Court.

In October, the nine officers held their first General Court. Governor Winthrop urged that the public be invited. Winthrop convinced the other officers to declare all those adult males present as freemen. The new freemen were allowed to vote their consent for the seven assistants who then selected the governor (Winthrop again) and his deputy. Winthrop believed that the government should be based on the consent (full agreement) of the governed. The October General Court ended by inviting any other adult males to apply for "freemanship." At the General Court the next year, over 100 men took the oath to become new freemen with the right to elect the assistants. The General Court passed a law.

Church and State

The Puritans in Massachusetts Bay believed in a separation of church and state, but not a separation of the state from God. The Congregational Church had no formal authority in the government. Ministers were not permitted to hold any government office. Nevertheless, the Puritans expected the government to protect the Church by punishing sins, including blasphemy (cursing God), heresy (false religious beliefs), and adultery. John Cotton, a Puritan minister, further explained the nature of Puritan government. Cotton wrote that the Bible approved governments led by kings or an aristocracy of the best people, but it did not approve democracy. Cotton warned against the tendency of men to let power go to their heads. "It is necessary, therefore, that all power that is on earth be limited," he wrote. Puritan lawmaking touched all aspects of life. The General Court lawmakers set prices for goods and wages to control inflation. They regulated the sale of alcohol and banned smoking and card playing.

Text Commentary

The Massachusetts Body of Liberties

Body of Liberties:

In 1635, the General Court's town deputies established a committee to prepare a written code of laws for the colony. The code would include traditional English

liberties but also reflect God's laws. In 1641, after several drafts, the General Court accepted "The Massachusetts Body of Liberties," containing 98 provisions. Most of document's provisions actually made up a bill of rights. Many of these provisions included principles that later found their way into the U. S. Bill of Rights (see sidebar above). Other provisions went beyond our Bill of Rights. They declared equality before the law for all (including foreigners), and prohibited wife-beating, slavery, as well as cruelty to children, servants, and farm animals. Another section listed twelve death-penalty offenses based on the Bible, such as blasphemy, premeditated murder, adultery, being a witch, and rebelling against the state. In practice, however, the Puritans seldom used the death penalty.

DISCUSSION AND WRITING:

Below are seven excerpt from the numbered provisions of the "Massachusetts Body of Liberties." Try to match the liberty in each excerpt with a similar right found in one or more of the ten amendments of the U.S. Bill of Rights.

1. "No man's life shall be taken away. . . nor in any way punished. . . [or] no man's goods or estate shall be taken away. . . unless it be by virtue of. . . some express law of the country warranting the same. "

8. “No man’s cattle or goods. . . shall be. . . taken for any public use. . . without such reasonable prices and hire as the ordinary rates of the country do afford. . . .”

18. “No man’s person shall be restrained or imprisoned. . . before the law has sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient security. . . for his appearance, and good behavior in the meantime. ”

26. “Every man that finds himself unfit to plead his own cause in any court shall have liberty to [use] any man against whom the court does not except, to help him. ”

29. “In all actions at law it shall be the liberty of the plaintiff and defendant by mutual consent to choose whether they will be tried by the bench or by jury. . . . The like liberty shall be granted to all persons in criminal cases.”

42. “No man shall be twice sentenced by civil justice for one and the same crime, offense, or trespass.”

70. “All freemen called to give any advice, vote, verdict, or sentence in any court, council, or civil assembly shall have full freedom to do it according to their true judgments and consciences ”

Activity:

Self-Government in Puritan Massachusetts Theocracy: a government under the rule of God and His laws
Democracy: a government under the rule of the people and laws made by them or their representatives
 Was the government in Puritan Massachusetts a theocracy, a democracy, or neither? Form small groups to investigate, discuss, and decide this question.

1. Each group will prepare two lists of evidence from the article. One list of evidence will support the view that Puritan Massachusetts was a theocracy. The other list will support the view that it was a democracy.
2. Each group will then discuss the two lists to see if one of them has the stronger evidence. The group may decide that both lists are equal in strength.
3. Finally, each group will decide how to answer the question above and prepare to defend their answer before the class.

LECTURE SEVEN

THE SALEM WITCH TRIALS

Learning Outcomes and Objectives:

- Develop the most seriously tarnish historical reputation of the New England puritans, the **Salem witchcraft episode of 1692**.
- Identify the reasons behind the collapse of puritan political control.
- Highlight intolerance and the limitations of Puritanism.
- Analysis *of A. Miller's The Crucible*.

INTRODUCTION:

The Salem Witchcraft Trials have cast a spell over historians and non-academics alike. This episode invokes images of religious bigotry, unbridled abuse of power, discrimination, and persecution as well as the perils of a society possessed by irrational fears. Yet, the Trials are fascinating because no one explanation of the event has ever been universally accepted. Numerous theories have tried to elucidate the causes of the Hysteria from ergot poisoning to actual witchcraft. Throughout American history, people have summoned Salem as a warning against actions they perceive as bogus “witch hunts”. The numerous historical, social, and literary interpretations reflect the many dimensions of this drama and demonstrate that no one all-compassing explanation can contain Salem’s spirit. The Witchcraft trials are ultimately alluring because they are open to many interpretations for many purposes, namely to use the past to explain the present.

2. Witchcraft : A Historical Perspective

Belief in witchcraft was universal in the early modern world, part of a worldview that perceived the devil as a malevolent force that could both possess and afflict men as well as women. Unexplained phenomena such as the death of livestock, human disease, and hideous fits suffered by young and old suggested the agency of the devil or someone in league with the devil—a witch. The same system of belief included folk techniques to tell fortunes, discover lost property, heal the sick, and ward off witches. The puritans who first settled New England had been familiar with possession, affliction, and exorcisms in England.

Witch hunts were common throughout Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with thousands of women and men being accused of being Satan's agents and executed. England's

The Salem episode began with the observation of frightening symptoms experienced by a handful of girls and young women in an already bitterly contentious rural community outside of the town of Salem. The failure of the community's physician to find a medical explanation for their affliction led many to conclude that the devil was at work. Like other residents of Massachusetts, the people of the village were troubled by fears of Indian attacks on the frontier, the recent political upheavals, and uncertainty about the colony's future. Further uncertainty about the legitimacy of the colony's interim government inhibited the quick legal disposition of charges. When the newly appointed royal governor William Phipps arrived, the jails were already full of accused men and women awaiting trial. Phipps appointed a special court to hear and judge the accusations. The chief judge, William Stoughton, chose to accept as valid a type of testimony—spectral evidence—that had not previously been allowed in New England witchcraft trials and was generally condemned by all

authorities on the subject. Before calmer heads prevailed on Governor Phipps to bring the proceedings to a halt, fourteen women and five men had been hanged as witches.

Having begun as a movement to transform individuals, communities, and nations through words and example, puritanism achieved political power in the seventeenth century in both Puritanism England and New England. Their experiments to reshape society by imposing a set of beliefs and practices on citizens forced puritans to confront issues that they had not previously had to consider, leading to new considerations about their faith and lifestyle. The effort to impose reform failed. But in England and America, puritans and puritanism did shape attitudes toward personal responsibility, the individual's participation in government, and the importance of education that continue to define our culture.

TEXT COMMENTARY**Arthur Miller's The Crucible**

The most-renowned, fictional interpretation of the Witchcraft Hysteria is Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*. For some people, this play is their first introduction to the events and the play shapes their perceptions of both the Trials and the anti-Communist McCarthy hearings of the 1950's. Miller wrote the play as a criticism of the hearings. McCarthy attacked Hollywood and Miller's friends because of their leftist or Communist political views. Miller immediately saw the parallels between the two events. He saw two societies possessed by fear that had fallen under the influence of a demagogue (Parris and McCarthy) that exploited that fear for political gain. Miller's play dealt with the issue of unbridled government authority in the characters of Samuel Parris and Judges Hathorne and Danforth.

The play also manufactured a love triangle between one of the accusers, Abigail Williams, and John and Elizabeth Proctor. Miller made Abigail seventeen years old and John in his mid-thirties, the same age as Miller when he wrote the play. In truth, John was in his sixties at the time and Abigail was only 11. But, Miller himself believed there really was a relationship between the two in reality.^{xxxiii} The love triangle in the play bears a strong resemblance to the love triangle with Marilyn Monroe in Miller's personal life at the time, thereby adding him to the list of people using Salem as therapy.

Not only was Miller guilty of projecting his own unsupported beliefs and his personal life into the play, but also he used a technique that entertainers frequently use when creating historically based works. The purpose of entertainment is obviously entertainment not education. Many writers invoke

dramatic license in order to make a historical period more recognizable and comprehensible to their audience.

The love triangle served two purposes. First, the relationship delegitimized the accusers, symbolized by Abigail, when he shows them motivated by vengeful jealousy and ambition. Miller inserted a final coup de grace at Abigail and thereby other accusers at the end. He invented a legend that has Abigail becoming a Boston prostitute after the trials, completing the audience's disdain at the whole process.^{xxxiv} The love triangle serves a second, more important purpose. It makes Salem 1692 seem more modern and comprehensible to the audience and strengthens Miller's allegory. The play was met with mixed reviews. Some praised its message and the courage of the author. Critics, like Eric Bentley, derided the allegory as naïve and trivializing the very real danger of communism. Famous playwright, Clifford Odets, ridiculed the play as "just a story about a bad marriage." However, Miller scored two, important victories against McCarthy. By modernizing Salem, Miller drew the connection between these two events for people in the 1950s. Also, Miller's play has shaped the interpretations of both events and their interconnection for subsequent generations. He not only manipulated how people would perceive those events in the present but also ensured that his interpretation would be the popular version of history in the future.

The Witchcraft Hysteria has been summoned often as a cautionary tale in American politics. Inherent in the warning is the belief that neither religion nor any type of fanaticism mix well with politics. Church and state must be separate. In the 1800's, critics of the Mormons scorned the Mormon fusion of the church and politics. Slave owning Southerners, citing the falsehood of Salem burning witches, condemned New England-based Abolitionists as another incarnation of Yankee witchburners. In this way, Southerners used the fire image to link

Abolitionist zeal with witch-burning fires. This perception caught on in the North as well and influenced how national history was written.

Because 19th Century Americans viewed the Puritans through the lens of the Trials, the Pilgrims were elevated at this time as the symbolic founding fathers of America. Jamestown, VA was similarly demoted because of slavery and because post-Civil War, Northern historians were reluctant to credit Southerners with foundation of the country.

The term “witch hunt”, thanks to the Salem Hysteria, has an instant recognizable, political meaning. To call an investigation a witch-hunt is to delegitimize it and charge both the investigator and accuser with fraud. The McCarthy’s hearings faced that accusation.

More recently, President Bill Clinton’s supporters claimed the various scandals, particularly Monica Lewinsky, were “witch hunts”. First Lady Hillary Clinton even went so far as to call the scandal a “right-wing conspiracy”, denigrating his accusers as cabal with dubious evidence. (She has since altered her meaning).

Child-abuse investigations are frequently called “witch-hunts” and there are similarities between these episodes and 1692 Salem. First, the accusers are children. This aspect raises the question of whether actual abuse took place, whether the child made up the story in order to get attention, or whether they are merely telling adults what they want to hear. The McMartin case in California in 1983 saw religious-minded parents falsely charging a day care with using their children in a number of bizarre Satanic and sexual rites. When Massachusetts Governor Jane Swift was pardoning five of the Salem witches on Halloween, 2001, she was criticized for failing to pardon a sex offender named Gerald

Amirault whose conviction was controversial. One writer drew the similarity between this case and the 1692 accusations.

CONCLUSION:

Yet, these analogies are only as good as their similarities to the event. For example, Jean-Paul Satre's Marxist interpretation of *The Crucible*, where the rich use the trials to exploit the poor, fails because in reality the reverse happened.^{xli} Moreover, to link a dubious threat like 1692 witchcraft to modern terrorist, cannot ignore the unquestionable reality of 9/11.

The terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent war on terrorism in the form of the Patriot Act have given Salem new life as a political allegory. Both 9/11 and the Witch Trials possess similarities. Both examples are battles against an invisible enemy that strikes and disappears. The terrorists' ability to hide within American society invokes the image of "the enemy among us" fueling distrust of the "others" in American society, namely Muslim-Americans who like Parris' slave, Tituba, are perceived as bringing corrupting influences (like religious extremism, ironically) to America and perceived to be incapable of assimilation.

LECTURE EIGHT

ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE PURITAN EXPERIENCE

Learning Outcomes and Objectives:

- Highlight the influence of Protestant **or Puritan values**, also known as Puritan ethics toward the development of **capitalism**.
- Develop an economic interpretation of the Puritan experience in America.
- Stress the importance of Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*

1. Introduction:

The twentieth century also saw an attempt to link puritanism to broader movements in the shaping of the modern world. Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930 in its English translation) suggested that the psychological effects of predestinarian theology fostered an ethic that fueled economic growth in England and America. While Weber's specific argument has been rejected by most historians, a general link between puritanism and capitalism is still an element in many treatments of the puritans.

2. Puritanism and Protestant Ethics:

We have seen previously that "Puritanism" and the word "Puritan" itself comes from the word "purify", meaning "to purge". Puritanism in the context of this paper is the religious movement of European origin, more specifically from

England, which then spread to America through the European migration to America in the 17th century. Puritanism cannot be separated from the Reformation movement from the Roman Catholic Church, which was spearheaded by Martin Luther in Germany in the year 1517. It was John Calvin of Geneva through his work titled *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1530) who spread the Luther Reformation spirit across Europe and eventually in America. “The most characteristic and influential form of Protestantism in the two centuries following Reformation is that which descends, by one path or another, from the teaching of Calvin.” (Tawney 1960: 91) Calvin's philosophy, popularly called Calvinism, is considered to be influential in shaping American culture, especially the value system, thinking patterns, and the character of the American people later on. “This somber and severe religious leader elaborated Luther's ideas in ways first profoundly affected the thought and character of generations of Americans yet unborn. Calvinism became the dominant theological credo not only of the New England Puritans but of other American settlers as well...” (Bailey and Kennedy 1994: 41) The effect of the growth of the Reformation was also felt in England where in the Church of England a Puritan movement occurred (1660) which aimed to find the middle ground of the two extremes of Roman Catholicism and Reformation Protestantism.

Like the Reformation movement which brought up Protestantism, this movement assumed that the Bible was the only source for religious living. The development and transformation of Puritan teachings make up the most fundamental movement in 17th century United States (Tawney 1960: 165). The followers of Puritanism, commonly known as Puritans, in the 17th century began to migrate from Europe to America, to a continent which they considered a new land (the New World). They created the New England colonies of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut,

which later became states. They believed that this New World was the Promised Land, the Canaan that was promised by God, to which they had to arrive as Moses had when crossing the Red Sea to Israel. Fanfani (2003: 148) adds that According to Max Weber, Protestantism encouraged the development of capitalism by introducing into the world the idea of vocation, by which each individual was bound to devote all his powers to the field of work to which he was called, in the conviction that this was his sole duty towards God.

3. American Values :

Values in this case mean perspectives and ways of thinking, acting, and communicating, which are products of cultural values. Notes made by foreign anthropologists regarding American values as summarized by Levine and Adelman (1994: 12-13) can be explained as follows:

1. Personal control over the environment – People can control their environment, and on a certain level can direct their goals.
2. Change – People will go into stagnation if they do not change.
3. Control over time (“Time flies”) – Time goes by so fast that it seems to fly. People are pressed for time and so they try to control it.
4. Equality and egalitarianism – All men are created equal.
5. Individualism and privacy – Individual needs are prioritized over the needs of the many.
6. Self-help – People must try to improve their own quality of life with their own strength; they must “pull themselves up by their own bootstraps”.
7. Future orientation – People see toward the future rather than the past.

8. Action and work orientation – Work defines someone. People ask someone by asking “What do you do?” This value contains the American Dream, the dream that everyone can achieve material change and success.

9. Informality – This is reflected in the use of first names without titles, casual clothing, and lack of formal rituals.

10. Directness, openness, and honesty – People are direct, informal, open, and truthful.

11. Materialism – People are more inclined to focus on material success than spiritual success.

In addition to Levine and Adelman, Weaver (1999) in his *American Cultural Values* explains that American values can be described as: (1) Risk-Taking. Immigrants to the US were willing to leave their homes to go half way around the globe while knowing that 20 percent of them would die en route. They risked their lives to go to the new world where there was religious and political freedom.

The willingness of the individual to take risks is a basic aspect of the American culture even today; (2) Upward Economic Mobility. Calvinism was revolutionary in Europe in the 1700s because it did not support the economic status quo. The Calvinists believed that God rewards the individual who works hard, and that one can easily move from one economic class to another through individual effort; (3) Egalitarianism, Individual Achievement and Action. Free enterprise, market capitalism and political liberalism were built upon assumptions of individual achievement, social mobility within a class system, and an anti-government philosophy. These ideas also grew in the greenhouse environment of an America with an abundance of natural resources, limited population and a continually expanding economy; and, (4) Self-reliance and

Independence (Frontier or Pioneer Values). Most worked hard to save money to take advantage of economic opportunities in the West where there was land, natural resources, gold and employment. These pioneer values were added to the European Calvinist values to form the core cultural values of America. For Americans, the cowboy is a Calvinist on horseback and represents the dominant values of this society Weaver (1999: 9-15).

4. Puritanism, American Values, and Capitalism as a Cultural System

In the beginning of the 20th century, over a century ago, Max Weber in 1905 advanced a thesis which has been discussed by sociologists even up to now, that the emergence of capitalism is because of the spiritual values of Puritanism. He proposes that Protestant ethics which are present in several Puritan sects such as Calvinism, Pietism, Methodism, and the Baptism movement are the triggers for the appearance of the capitalist spirit.

“We thus take as our starting point in the investigation of the relationship between the old Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism the works of Calvin, Calvinism, and the other Puritan sects.” (Weber 1905, Online).

The values of Puritanism are certainly not necessarily the cause of the appearance of the capitalist spirit because the capitalist spirit has actually developed along with the history of people in this world. However, some aspects of Puritanism are believed collectively to be the variable that leads to the rise of capitalism.

“'The capitalist spirit' is as old as history, and was not, as has sometimes been said, the offspring of capitalism. But it was found in certain aspects of later

Puritanism a tonic which braced its energies and fortified its already vigorous temper (Tawney, 1960: 1965). **In addition to instilling the importance of education, discipline, an ascetic ways of life, and keeping a standard of morality, one of the most important teachings of Puritanism is the viewpoint of hard work, which is influenced by work ethics, also called the Protestant Ethics.** This teaching motivates people to work hard and to be materially successful. This work ethic comes from the Puritan colonies in New England, as a result of their faith that material success is a sign of something that is loved by God. Those who are materially successful and are able to become people who are beneficial people are “the elect” or “the chosen people” who would be admitted into heaven (Levine and Adelman 1994: 255).

So people at that time would engage themselves in competition to work hard to become chosen to be able to enter heaven. **This spiritual value is what Weber considers to be a supporting variable of the appearance of capitalism in the 17th century.** Meanwhile, the American values that culturally support the broader spread of capitalism are values like personal control over the environment, change, control over time, individualism and privacy, self-help, action and work orientation, and materialism. Capitalism often brings a better life than socialism. Positive values such as hard work, democracy, and competition are characteristic of capitalism. The American core culture which gives a chance for people to achieve their highest dreams is also a positive value of capitalism because it appreciates hard work and individual achievement. Successful individuals become more attentive to the difficulties faced by other people.

TEXT COMMENTARY**Max Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*****Introduction:**

The most fateful force in modern life is capitalism. The impulse to acquisition has existed always and everywhere and has in itself nothing to do with capitalism. Capitalism is the pursuit of profit, and forever renewed profit, by means of continuous, rational, capitalistic enterprise. This enterprise must be continuous, because in a capitalistic society, anyone who did not take advantage of opportunities for profit-making would be doomed to extinction.

A capitalistic economic action rests on the **expectation of profit by the utilization of opportunities for exchange**, on (formally) peaceful chances for profit. Where this is rationally pursued, calculations in terms of money are made, whether by modern bookkeeping or more primitive means. Everything is done in terms of balances of money income and money expenses. Whether the calculations are accurate, or whether the calculation method is traditional or by guess-work affects only the degree of the rationality of capitalistic acquisition.

Characteristics of modern Western capitalism: **rational industrial organization** (that is, attuned to a regular profit and not to political nor irrational speculative opportunities for profit); **separation of business from the household; rational bookkeeping. Capitalistic adventurers** (in search of booty, whether by war or exploitation) have existed everywhere, but only in the modern West has developed... the rational capitalistic organization of (formally) free labor.

Religious Affiliation and Social Stratification :

Catholics show a stronger propensity to remain in their crafts, and become master craftsmen, while Protestants are attracted to a larger extent to the upper ranks of skilled labor and administrative positions in factories. Protestants own a disproportionate share of capital. All other things equal, Protestants have been more likely to develop economic rationalism than Catholics. Weber seeks the explanation in 'the permanent intrinsic character of their religion,' and not only in their temporary external historico-political situations.

The Reformation meant not the elimination of the church's control over everyday life, but a substitution of a new form of control for the previous one. While the Catholic church was fairly lax, Calvinism 'would be for us the most absolutely unbearable form of ecclesiastical control of the individual which could possibly exist.'

Protestantism must not be understood as joy of living or in any other sense connected with the Enlightenment. Early Protestantism (e.g., Luther, Calvin) had nothing to do with progress in an Enlightenment sense. Not all Protestant denominations had an equally strong influence on the development of members' business acumen and spirit of hard work.

The Spirit of Capitalism:

The spirit of capitalism is "an historical individual: a complex of elements associated in historical reality which we united into a conceptual whole from the standpoint of their cultural significance" (47).

In order to arise, the spirit of capitalism had to struggle with its 'most important opponent,' traditionalism. For instance, workers will respond to an increase in piece rates by doing less work, collecting the usual amount of

money, and going home early. Men do not "by nature" wish to earn more and more money, they simply wish to live as they are accustomed to and to earn as much as is necessary for that purpose.

Another way of attempting to increase productivity is to lower wages or piece rates, so that workers must work harder and longer to earn the same amount as before. This method has its limits. It (and capitalism) requires a surplus population which can be hired cheaply in the market. Also, too large a surplus population can encourage the development of labor intensive methods, rather than more efficient methods: low wages do not equal cheap labor. And, if you pay people too little, their efficiency and attentiveness decreases.

Thus, it would be better if labor were performed as if it were an absolute end in itself. This can only be the process of a long and arduous education (for example, being raised Pietist). Capitalism "now in the saddle" can fairly easily recruit the required workers, but this was not always the case.

Luther's Conception of The Calling

The idea of a calling -- a life-task, a definite field in which to work -- is peculiar to Protestants. Protestantism had a further new development, which was the valuation of the fulfillment of duty in worldly affairs as the highest form which the moral activity of an individual could assume. The only way of living acceptably to God was solely through the fulfillment of the obligations imposed upon the individual by his position in the world (his calling), NOT by trying to surpass worldly morality by monastic asceticism (80).

Remember important part of Reformation: By faith, not works, shall ye be saved. You are justified by faith, etc. So all those indulgences earned by crawling on your knees up stairways, etc. don't get you anything.

For the time being (before Calvin et al. got hold of it), the idea of the calling remained traditionalistic and its only ethical result negative: worldly duties were no longer subordinated to ascetic ones; obedience to authority and acceptance of things as they were, were preached.

A List of Students Assignments:

- **The Protestant Reformation in Europe**
- **The Separatists and the Puritans: A Comparative study**
- **Clash of Cultures: The Puritans and the Native Americans**
- **Otherness in Puritan Literature**
- **Feminism in Puritan Literature**
- **Religious Intolerance in Puritan America**
- **Hawthorne's The Scarlet Letter**
- **The Salem Witch Trials**
- **Anne Hutchinson: Revolutionary Religious Leader**
- **Marry Rowlandson's Captivity Narratives**
- **John Winthrop's A Model of Christian Charity**

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Bill of Rights in Action



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PURITAN MASSACHUSETTS: THEOCRACY OR DEMOCRACY?

IN THE 1630S, ENGLISH PURITANS IN MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY CREATED A SELF-GOVERNMENT THAT WENT FAR BEYOND WHAT EXISTED IN ENGLAND. SOME HISTORIANS ARGUE THAT IT WAS A RELIGIOUS GOVERNMENT, OR THEOCRACY. OTHERS CLAIM IT WAS A DEMOCRACY.

In 1534, King Henry VIII of England broke with the Roman Catholic Church and established the Church of England (the Anglican Church). This Protestant church rejected the authority of the Catholic Pope but kept many practices of Roman Catholicism, such as worship rituals, many sacra-



Wikimedia Commons

JOHN F. PARAMINO'S Relief sculpture is the Founders Memorial in Boston, Massachusetts. It shows Boston's first resident, William Blackstone, greeting John Winthrop.

ments (sacred customs such as baptism), and bishops who governed the church.

By 1600, a growing group of Anglican Church members, or Anglicans, thought their church was too much like the Catholic Church, which they condemned as a false church. Many Anglicans were called Puritans because they wanted to purify the church and make it simpler.

A key difference between the Puritans and the other Anglicans

was over the afterlife and how one was saved from the fires of hell.

The Anglican Church taught that a believer in Christ had to follow church teachings and sacraments in order to be saved. Most Puritans, however, adopted the teachings of John Calvin, a major leader of the Protestant Reformation in Europe. Calvin taught that God alone chose or elected those who would receive salvation and those who would not. The Puritans believed God would give them outward

signs of their salvation (being saved), such as success in life or an appearance of godliness. The Anglican Church, however, rejected Calvin's teaching.

The Puritans gathered in different groups and made a covenant (formal agreement) with God to obey his will as revealed in the Bible. In these "covenant communities," they focused on Bible reading, preaching, and following God's biblical laws.

GOVERNANCE

This edition of *Bill of Rights in Action* focuses on governance. The first article examines self-government in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The second article reviews Cleopatra's means of restoring the dynasty of the Ptolemies. The final article presents connections between the U.S. Constitution and the first state constitutions.

U.S. History: Puritan Massachusetts: Theocracy or Democracy?

World History: Who Was the Real Cleopatra?

U.S. History: How the First State Constitutions Helped Build the U.S. Constitution

Next Issue of *Bill of Rights in Action* Will Be Available Only Electronically (see page 16)

Errand into the Wilderness

Back in England, the Puritans were increasingly troubled that so many people did not follow God's laws as written in the Bible. The Puritans feared that God would punish England. They also suffered under the rule of King Charles I who ignored English liberties and enforced the Anglican religion. ►

Born in 1588, John Winthrop was the son of a large landowner. He attended college at Cambridge and managed his father's lands. He also studied law and became a minor legal official of the king. At about the time he married in 1605, he got caught up in the Puritan movement.

In 1629, King Charles granted a charter to a group of merchants who wanted to establish a trading colony in New England. The charter formed the Massachusetts Bay Company. Most of the stockholders, including John Winthrop, were Puritans.

At an organizational meeting, the stockholders voted to transfer the company itself to the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They also made as its main purpose a place for Puritans to live under "godly rule." Finally, they elected John Winthrop as governor of the colony. Under the king's charter, the company stockholders had the sole authority to create a government for the colony.

In 1630, shortly before the first group of about 400 Puritans sailed to America, Winthrop delivered a speech that spelled out their religious mission. He placed great emphasis on the need for everyone to unify and help one another for the "common good."

Winthrop also described a special covenant between the Puritans and God to advance God's will in the colony. Winthrop said they would live together to "work out our salvation under the power and purity of His holy ordinances [laws]."

But, most importantly, Winthrop said they would create a model for an uncorrupted church and godly society. He borrowed a phrase from the Bible: "we shall be a City upon a Hill." If this undertaking were to fail, he warned, many would speak evil of God, and the colony "shall surely perish."

Thus, Winthrop described the Puritans' main mission to Massachusetts Bay as setting an example of "godly rule." Those left behind in England would see God's will at work, follow God's laws, and be saved. Later, Puritans called this their "errand into the wilderness."

The Congregational Church

On June 12, 1630, after a two-month voyage aboard four ships, the Puritans landed at Salem in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. At this time, Salem was a poor settlement of huts crowded between the sea and thick forest. Governor Winthrop, however, decided to establish a new town, named Boston that soon became the capital of the colony.

The Puritans in Massachusetts Bay believed in a separation of church and state, but not a separation of the state from God.

The Puritans first focused on establishing their churches. A group gathered together to form a "covenant community," pledging to obey God's laws. Every gathering, called a congregation, elected its own minister and decided its own church rules. Thus, each Congregational Church was independent and self-ruling, unlike the Anglican Church with its governing bishops. One disadvantage of this independence was the possibility of division. This could threaten the colony's unity that Winthrop thought was so important.

Becoming a member of a Congregational Church was not easy.

Individuals had to testify before the congregation and attempt to prove that they had been elected by God for salvation. According to the Puritans, those who failed this test or refused to apply for church membership were destined for hell.

The General Court

The first government in the colony was set up according to the charter of the Massachusetts Bay Company. Only about a dozen company stockholders, including Winthrop, came to the colony on the first voyage. Under the company's charter, they were designated "freemen," and only they were permitted to vote for government officers.

At their first meeting in August 1630, the stockholder freemen confirmed Winthrop as governor, chose a deputy governor, and selected seven assistants to enact the colony's laws. The assistants also acted as the colony's judges and the highest court of appeals. Thus, the nine company officers were also the colony's government, called the General Court.

In October, the nine officers held their first General Court. Governor Winthrop urged that the public be invited. Winthrop convinced the other officers to declare all those adult males present as freemen. The new freemen were allowed to vote their consent for these seven assistants who then selected the governor (Winthrop again) and his deputy. Winthrop believed that the government should be based on the consent (full agreement) of the governed.

The October General Court ended by inviting any other adult males to apply for "freemanship." At the General Court the next year, over 100 men took the oath to become new freemen with the right to elect the assistants. The General Court passed a law, however,

restricting future freemanship and the right to vote only to Congregational Church members in order to guarantee a “godly” government.

Perhaps the first tax revolt in North America occurred in 1631 when members of the Congregational Church in Watertown near Boston protested a tax to build fortifications to protect the colony. The Watertown minister and congregation objected when the General Court enacted the tax without the consent of the people.

Governor Winthrop calmed the revolt. He pointed out that all freemen now had the right to elect

the General Court assistants. However, the General Court in 1632 ordered each town to choose two representatives to discuss their views about taxes with the governor and assistants.

In that same year, the General Court authorized all freemen present to directly elect the governor and deputy governor. But the General Court assistants still held the power to make all laws.

In 1634, the newly empowered freemen at the General Court demanded to see the Massachusetts Bay Company charter. The freemen discovered that the lawmaking power was granted to all freemen, not just the assistants.

Governor Winthrop argued against the new freemen participating in the lawmaking process. Electing the General Court officers should be enough, he said. He claimed that having a large number of freemen passing the laws would be impractical.

Eventually, Winthrop and the other General Court officers gave in. From 1634 on, the towns of the colony each elected freemen-deputies to share power with the assistants to pass laws and approve taxes. At first, the assistants and deputies acted together in a single-house legislature.



Wikimedia Commons/Brooklyn Museum

MARY DYER was a Quaker and supporter of Anne Hutchinson. In 1660, Dyer was executed on Boston Commons for disobeying Puritan anti-Quaker laws.

Winthrop became embroiled in another General Court controversy. In 1642, he agreed with the General Court assistants that they should have a “negative voice,” which is a veto over laws approved by the town deputies. “If the negative voice was taken away,” he warned, “our government would be a mere democracy.”

Winthrop typically preferred compromise to resolve differences. He finally proposed that both the assistants and deputies must get each other’s consent for a law to pass. This was an early kind of “check and balance” that later became a major part of the U. S. Constitution. In 1644, the assistants and deputies agreed to separate the General Court into a two-house legislature.

Non-church members could petition the government, participate in town meetings, and, after 1647, vote for town officers. They could not vote for members of the General Court. Massachusetts voters still made up a far larger percent of the population than in England where social rank and property ownership severely limited the people’s right to vote.

Church and State

The Puritans in Massachusetts Bay believed in a separation of church and state, but not a separation of the state from God. The Congregational Church had no formal authority in the government. Ministers were not permitted to hold any government office. Nevertheless, the Puritans expected the government to protect the Church by punishing sins, including blasphemy (cursing God), heresy (false religious beliefs), and adultery.

John Cotton, a Puritan minister, further explained the nature of Puritan government. Cotton wrote that the Bible approved governments led by kings or an aristocracy of the best people, but it did not approve democracy. Cotton warned against the tendency of men to let power go to their heads. “It is necessary, therefore, that all power that is on earth be limited,” he wrote.

Puritan lawmaking touched all aspects of life. The General Court lawmakers set prices for goods and wages to control inflation. They regulated the sale of alcohol and banned smoking and card playing.

In 1636, they established Harvard College, the first school of higher learning in the American colonies. In 1642, they required all parents to teach reading to their children so they could understand the Bible.

As judges, the assistants formed juries, conducted civil and criminal trials, and decided sentences for those convicted of crimes. Punishments included fines, whipping, confinement to stocks, banishment, and death.

In the mid-1630s, Roger Williams openly preached Separatist ideas, calling for the Puritans to denounce the Anglican Church as “anti-Christian.” He also argued that the colony’s government should have no role at all in religious matters. Tried for what the colonial government called “dangerous opinions,” he was banned from the colony. He then established the colony of Rhode Island that promoted religious freedom.

Around the same time, Anne Hutchinson was tried for heresy when she spoke out against the Puritan belief in outward signs of God’s salvation. One must look inward to find God’s “Holy Spirit,” she said. She was found guilty, excommunicated, and then banished (sent away). She joined Williams in Rhode Island.

The Massachusetts Bay Puritans opposed the idea of religious toleration. In addition to Williams and Hutchinson, they banned Catholics, Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers when they attempted to openly worship and preach. John Winthrop approved the banishments, believing they were necessary to prevent disunity in the colony.

Body of Liberties

In 1635, the General Court’s town deputies established a committee to prepare a written code of laws for the colony. The code would include traditional English

The Massachusetts Body of Liberties

Below are seven excerpts from the numbered provisions of the “Massachusetts Body of Liberties.” Try to match the liberty in each excerpt with a similar right found in one or more of the ten amendments of the U. S. Bill of Rights.

1. “No man’s life shall be taken away. . . nor in any way punished. . . [or] no man’s goods or estate shall be taken away. . . unless it be by virtue of. . . some express law of the country warranting the same ”
8. “No man’s cattle or goods. . . shall be. . . taken for any public use. . . without such reasonable prices and hire as the ordinary rates of the country do afford. ”
18. “No man’s person shall be restrained or imprisoned. before the law has sentenced him thereto, if he can put in sufficient security for his appearance, and good behavior in the meantime ”
26. “Every man that finds himself unfit to plead his own cause in any court shall have liberty to [use] any man against whom the court does not except, to help him. ”
29. “In all actions at law it shall be the liberty of the plaintiff and defendant by mutual consent to choose whether they will be tried by the bench or by jury The like liberty shall be granted to all persons in criminal cases.”
42. “No man shall be twice sentenced by civil justice for one and the same crime, offense, or trespass.”
70. “All freemen called to give any advice, vote, verdict, or sentence in any court, council, or civil assembly shall have full freedom to do it according to their true judgments and consciences.....”

liberties but also reflect God’s laws. In 1641, after several drafts, the General Court accepted “The Massachusetts Body of Liberties,” containing 98 provisions.

Most of document’s provisions actually made up a bill of rights. Many of these provisions included principles that later found their way into the U. S. Bill of Rights (see sidebar above).

Other provisions went beyond our Bill of Rights. They declared equality before the law for all (including foreigners), and prohibited wife-beating, slavery, as well as cruelty to children, servants, and farm animals.

Another section listed twelve death-penalty offenses based on the Bible, such as blasphemy, premeditated murder, adultery, being a witch, and rebelling against the state. In practice, however, the Puritans seldom used the death penalty.

Decline of Puritan Power

By the 1640s, the Massachusetts Bay government had evolved from a company’s board of officers to an elected representative system based on the consent of the governed. The Puritans accomplished this independent of the king and Parliament, and it was far ahead of what existed in England. Over time, the Puritans grew to cherish their nearly complete independence from England. They also tended to be skeptical about any government, including their own.

After 1660, King Charles II and his brother James II, who succeeded Charles, tried to impose royal rule over Massachusetts Bay. A royal court cancelled the colony’s charter, resulting in strong political resistance and a rebellion in Boston.

After William and Mary came to the English throne in 1689, Massachusetts finally agreed to a new compromise charter. It kept the

General Court's elected town deputies who chose a Governor's Council to replace the assistants. But the king appointed the governor who could veto any law passed by the General Court. The new charter also ended the restriction that limited voting only to Congregational Church members and replaced it with a property-ownership requirement.

John Winthrop's vision of "a city upon a hill" faded after he and the first generation of Puritan leaders died. Gradually, more non-Puritan

immigrants came to Massachusetts with interests and purposes other than religious ones. The king demanded religious toleration for Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers. Some saw Puritan "godly rule" as just another kind of tyranny.

The Puritans' religious mission, "the errand into the wilderness," was largely unfulfilled. Nevertheless, they developed important political and legal ideas that contributed to the founding of the United States more than a century later.

Puritan Jeremiad and American Myth: Sacvan Bercovitch's Study in the Puritan Rhetoric and Imagination

Key words: The Puritan jeremiad; American myth; Typology; Ideological consensus

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Abstract

Sacvan Bercovitch is the most influential and prominent Americanist and literary and cultural critic after Perry Miller. In a close textual reading of classic Puritan texts, Bercovitch concludes that the major legacy of Puritan New England is not religious, or moral, or institutional, but in the realm of rhetoric. Rhetoric for Bercovitch is more than verbal ornamentation. It is a set of aesthetic devices that constitute a particular structure of perception, a particular pattern of thought and mode of expression. Bercovitch tries to grasp the imaginative structure and symbolic pattern of American thought underlying in rhetorical devices and believes that the Puritan rhetoric is the primary force that drives and shapes the American imagination. Bercovitch analyzes the Puritan jeremiad, a particular Puritan literary mode, to be a case of his study in the Puritan rhetoric. By the rhetorical device of typology, the Puritans identified America as the new promised land foretold in Scripture. Their migration to New England was a flight from another Babylon or Egypt; their conflicts with the Indians were foreshadowed by Joshua's conquest of Canaan; and New England would in due time be the site of new Jerusalem. Considered as "a kind of imperialism by interpretation" by Bercovitch, the Puritan typology enables the immigrants to usurp the very meaning of the story of the ancient Jews. The Puritan jeremiad survives the decline of Puritanism and persists throughout the 18th and 19th century in all forms of the literature. It bespeaks an "ideological consensus" and helps sustain the myth of America through three hundred years of turbulence and change in American history.

INTRODUCTION

Sacvan Bercovitch, the Powell M. Cabot Professor of American literature at Harvard University from 1984 to 2001, is perhaps the most influential and prominent Americanist and literary and cultural critic of his generation. Bercovitch's interpretation of the Puritan rhetoric and imagination is considered as the most important innovation after Perry Miller in early American literature studies and in American studies. He has received the Distinguished Scholar Award for Extraordinary Lifetime Achievement in Early American Literature (2002), the Jay B. Hubbell Prize for Lifetime Achievement in American Literary Studies (2004) and the Bode-Pearson Prize for Lifetime Achievement in American Studies (2007). Among his many books are *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*, *The American Jeremiad*, and *The Rites of Assent: the Symbolic Construction of America*. He was also the general editor of the multi-volume *The Cambridge History of American Literature*.

When Bercovitch began his academic career in the 1960s, American Puritanism was "an esoteric sub-sub-field usually under the province of social, intellectual, and religious history" (Bercovitch, 1975, p.ix) and did not draw due attention from critics. Critics believed the Puritans wrote in a plain style and rebelled against ornament in any form. When Bercovitch read the Puritan writers, he astonishedly found that the Puritan literature "abounded in images, analogies, symbols,

tropes, and allusions and had recourse to every kind of rhetorical device". (Bercovitch, 1975, p.ix) This discovery arouses Bercovitch's interest in American Puritan rhetoric. Rhetoric for Bercovitch is more than verbal ornamentation. "It is a set of aesthetic devices that constitute a particular structure of perception, a particular pattern of thought and mode of expression. It is highly figural, working on the basis of type and trope, allegory and symbol." (Harlan, 1991, p.953) By a close textual reading of classic Puritan texts, Bercovitch concludes that the major legacy of Puritan New England is not religious, or moral, or institutional, but in the realm of rhetoric (Bercovitch, 1974, p.7).

Bercovitch analyzes American Puritan jeremiad, a particular form of the sermon in the seventeenth-century New England, to be a case of his study in the Puritan rhetoric and imagination. Considered as a mode of denunciation, the jeremiad was an ancient formulaic refrain in Europe. In the 17th century, it was imported to Massachusetts from the Old world. Later, it was combined with the rhetoric of mission and became "America's first literary type." (Miller, 1953, p.29) The Puritan jeremiad survives the decline of Puritanism and persists throughout the 18th and 19th century in all forms of the literature. It bespeaks an "ideological consensus" and helps sustain the myth of America through three hundred years of turbulence and change.

1. THE RHETORIC OF MISSION IN THE PURITAN JEREMIAD

Bercovitch refers to the Puritan jeremiad as "the political sermon tended at every public occasion (on days of fasting and prayer, humiliation and thanksgiving, at covenant-renewal and artillery-company ceremonies, and, most elaborately and solemnly, at election-day gatherings)." (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.4) The Puritan jeremiad is the product of the first-generation colonists. Within the first decade of settlement, the Puritan ministers were already thundering denunciation of the iniquities of the Bay colony such as "false dealing with God, betrayal of covenant promises, the degeneracy of the young, the lure of profits and pleasures." (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.4) Anxious about the moral decay of the colony, the Puritan ministers developed the European jeremiad into a special form of sermon. They warned in the sermon that if people did not acknowledge their sins and promise reform, the punishment was forthcoming. Despite its denunciation of the iniquities, the Puritan jeremiad was characterized by its unswerving faith in the Puritan errand. The Puritans believed they were a peculiar people and their mission a peculiar one. They were a company of Christians not only called but chosen by God as instruments of a sacred historical design. Their church-state was to be a model to the world of Reformed Christianity and a prefiguration of New Jerusalem to come (Bercovitch, 1978a, pp.7-8).

Bercovitch points out that as early as in 1630, the rhetoric of mission began with the sermons delivered by John Cotton and John Winthrop to the Arbella passengers. For example, in the sermon entitled *A Model of Christian Charity*, Winthrop "located the venture within a configuration extending from Ararat, Sinai, and Pisgah to the New World city on a hill, and...to Mount Zion of the Apocalypse." (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.8) In *God's Promise to His Plantations*, Cotton believed that America was the new promise land, reserved by God for his new chosen people as the site for a new heaven and a new earth (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.9). By analysing the earliest Puritan jeremiads, Bercovitch sums up the characteristics of the distinctive American literary type: first, a precedent from Scripture that sets out the communal norms; then, a series of condemnations that detail the actual state of the community and finally a prophetic vision that unveils the promises and announces the good things to come (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.16).

The Puritan jeremiad owes its uniqueness to the rhetoric of mission. The traditional European model was a lament over the ways of the world. It decried the sins of the people—a community, a nation, a civilization, mankind in general—and warned God's wrath to follow. It thus held no hope towards the future of the human world (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.6). By contrast, the Puritan jeremiad inverted the doctrine of vengeance into a promise of ultimate success of the mission. Bercovitch believes that the Puritans' cries of declension and doom is part of a strategy designed to revitalize the errand: "they believed God's punishments were corrective, not destructive. His vengeance was a sign of love, a father's rod used to improve the errant child. In short, the punishments confirmed their promise." (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.8)

2. THE PURITAN TYPOLOGY AND THE MYTH OF AMERICA

The Puritan rhetoric is grounded on Bible. The Puritans were believers in the Word. They replaced "the rituals of church" with "the rituals of the Word". (Bercovitch, 1982, p.7) The Puritans' obsession with Scripture was manifest in various forms of verbal outpouring such as sermons, treatises, diaries, poems and biographies, etc. In those obsessive verbal rituals, the Puritans tried to fill their colonial venture with meanings by themselves and out of themselves. They found in the Bible the proof of "America" in the verses of "the migration of a holy remnant to a new Zion, the outcast woman in the wilderness who bears the man-child and the revelation of a new heaven and a new earth." (Bercovitch, 1982, p.10) The Puritans announced America was legible in God's promises and they came to America not to usurp but to reclaim what was already theirs by promise (Bercovitch, 1982, p.10).

It is typology that shapes the Puritan imagination. Typology is a particular form of rhetoric. According to Bercovitch, it is “the historiographic-theological method of relating the Old Testament to the life of Christ (as antitype) and through him, to the doctrines and progress of the Christian Church.” (Bercovitch, 1967, p.167) For example, Jonah’s three days in the whale typologically parallels Christ’s three days in the tomb, and Job’s patience prefigures Christ’s forbearance on the cross. The New England Puritans developed this method into a distinctively American one. They believed that as the Old Testament foreshadowed the New Testament, all of history after the Incarnation foreshadowed the Christ’s second coming. (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.14). Hence, from Moses to John the Baptist to the Puritan preachers, from Israel in Canaan to New Israel in American wilderness, from Adam to Christ to the second Adam of the Apocalypse, there was a relationship of analogy.

The Puritan typology infuses the symbolic meaning into the term “America” and constructs the American myth. In May 1670, Reverend Samuel Danforth delivered an election-day sermon entitled *A Brief Recognition of New England’s Errand into the Wilderness*, which was considered as the community expression of a whole generation. Danforth condemned the colonists’ shortcomings and justifies their afflictions. Yet what did not change was his faith in the founders’ dream. Danforth compared the Puritan’s migration to the American wilderness to Jews’ Exodus experiences and insisted that the only remedy which God prescribed for the prevention and healing of the immigrants’ apostasy was “their calling to remembrance God’s great and signal love in manifesting himself to them in the wilderness, in conducting them safely and mercifully, and giving them possession of their promised inheritance.” (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.12) Like the wilderness through which the Israelites passed to the promised land, the American wilderness is endowed special symbolic meaning. It witnesses the Puritans’ progress towards the fulfillment of their destiny and towards the American city of God.

Danforth also mentioned John the Baptist in the jeremiad:

John was greater than any of the prophets that were before him, not in respect of his personal graces and virtues, but in respect of the manner of his dispensation...the Baptist was the harbinger and forerunner. All the prophets saw Christ afar off, but the Baptist saw him present, baptized him, and applied the types to him personally. (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.13)

According to Bercovitch, the figural use of John the Baptist is a characteristic of the New England pulpit, and part of the Puritan legacy to American rhetoric. (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.13) The Puritan writers such as Thomas Hooker, Edward Johnson, Increase Mather and Jonathan Edwards all interpret John as a typological forerunner of their own mission to prepare the way for Christ in the American wilderness (Bercovitch, 1978a,

p.13). Like John the baptist, New England itself becomes a harbinger of things to come. As John prefigures Christ, the Bay Colony is a light proclaiming the coming of the Messiah, a herald sent to prepare the world to receive the long-expected kingdom.

The Puritan typology is a rhetorical strategy by which the Puritans envisioned the meaning of their errand into the wilderness. By the imaginative energy of typology, they identified America as the new promised land foretold in Scripture. Their migration to New England was a flight from another Babylon or Egypt; their conflicts with the Indians were foreshadowed by Joshua’s conquest of Canaan; and New England would in due time be the site of new Jerusalem. Considered as “a kind of imperialism by interpretation” (Bercovitch, 1975, p.xi) by Bercovitch, the Puritan typology enables the immigrants to usurp the very meaning of the story of the ancient Jews (Bercovitch, 1978a, pp.10-11).

The typology of American mission persists in the eighteenth-century jeremiads. By contrast with the Puritans, the Yankee heirs in the 18th century no longer strictly rooted their exegeses in biblical texts. The Yankee ministers and political leaders incorporated Bible history into the American experiences such as the War of Independence and the Westward Movement. As Bercovitch says, “they substituted a regional for a biblical past, consecrated the American present as a movement from promise to fulfillment, and translated fulfillment from its meaning within the closed system of sacred history into a metaphor for limitless secular improvement.” (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.94) Though the jeremiad in the 18th century lost its strict grounding in Scripture, it still based on old metaphors, images and symbols of the Puritan jeremiad. For example, in a jeremiad entitled *The Conquest of Canaan*, Timothy Dwight, signer of *The Declaration of Independence*, celebrated America as “the second blissful Eden bright”. He compared George Washington to Joshua the Israelite leader who battled for the promised land. In his opinion, Joshua served as harbinger of a “greater dispensation,” to reveal Washington as the Christ-like “Benefactor to Mankind”, directing a “more fateful conflict” on “new Canaan’s promised shores.” (Bercovitch, 1978b, p.130) The typology of mission also fed into the rhetoric of the French and Indian War. By clothing imperialism as holy war, the clergymen extended the typology to accommodate commercial and territorial aspirations. They summoned the colonists to an Anglo-Protestant errand into the Catholic wilderness. The French were the “offspring of that Scarlet Whore” and French Canada the “North American Babylon” and the invasion itself a “grand decisive conflict between the lamb and beast”. The victory of the war was “the accomplishment of the scripture-prophecies relative to the Millennial State.” (Bercovitch, 1978b, p.147)

3. IDEOLOGICAL CONSENSUS AND THE SYMBOL OF AMERICA

Bercovitch believes the ritual of the jeremiad bespeaks an "ideological consensus" (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.176) in moral, religious, economic, social, and intellectual matters. Bercovitch is influenced by Max Weber in his use of the term "ideology". Weber's "ideology" is different from that of Karl Marx. For Marx, ideology is a false consciousness and a system of belief that represent the interests of the dominant social class. Weber criticizes Marx for his one-sided materialist conception of causality, which reduces ideology to a product of economic interests. In *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*, Weber places ideology as a positive force that has enabled and inspired the emergence of a new economic system. Inspired by Max Weber, Bercovitch talks about ideology in an "anthropological sense":

I mean by ideology the ground and texture of consensus—the system of ideas inwoven into the cultural symbology through which 'America' continues to provide the terms of identity and cohesion in the United States. ...ideology is basically conservative, but it is not therefore merely repressive. As a general principle, ideology functions best through voluntary consent, when the network of ideas through which the culture justifies itself is internalized rather than imposed, and embraced by society at large as a system of belief. (Bercovitch, 1993, p.355)

The power of consensus is nowhere more evident than in the symbolic meaning that the jeremiads infuses into the symbol of America. However, America is not an overarching synthesis which denies any difference. Instead, it is so inclusive as to contain diverse and contradictory outlooks. According to Bercovitch, the symbol of America is an enclosed and bipolar system (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.178). America is represented as either "world's fairest hope or man's foulest crime, American heaven or universal hell." (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.194) The ambivalent attitude towards America is manifest in the major works of American classic writers such as Emerson and Thoreau. American classic writers tend to see themselves prophets crying in the wilderness. They lament a declension and celebrate American ideals at the same time. Henry Thoreau's *Walden* is a typical nineteenth-century jeremiad. Thoreau describes his life at Walden through a series of opposites which affirm the typology of American mission: Concord's Puritan fathers versus its present profane inhabitants; America's sacred pioneer economy versus Franklin's secular way to wealth; the true American, Henry Thoreau, versus John Field living by some derivative old-country mode in this primitive new country (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.186). Although Thoreau condemns the evil practices in his society, he does not think these as defects of the American Way but sees them rather as an aberration of the stiff-necked chosen people. His denunciation is a ritual to appeal his neighbors to comply with the terms of the New World destiny. The symbol of America both sustains

and restricts the Americans' imagination. It sets free great creative energies of American writers and becomes the source of their images, metaphors and symbols. Meanwhile, it confines their imagination to the terms of the American myth, barring them from paths that led beyond the boundaries of American culture (Bercovitch, 1978a, p.180).

CONCLUSION

As a Canadian immigrant, Bercovitch is attracted by the question that how a country, despite its arbitrary territorial boundaries and its bewildering mixture of race and genealogy, can believe in something called America's mission and can invest that patent fiction with all the emotional, spiritual, and intellectual appeal of a religious quest. His study in the Puritan rhetoric enables him to find an answer to the question. Typology was the rhetorical strategy by which New England finds its redemptive future figured forth in the types and tropes of the Bible. With the imaginative energy of typology, the Puritans infuse a prophetic meaning into "America" and construct an officially endorsed American myth. Typology is the elementary adhesive that bound very facet of New England culture into a comprehensive structure of perception, association, and expression. By analyzing the typology of mission in the Puritan jeremiad, Bercovitch has found the fundamental structure that underlies the American imagination.

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EXCERPTS FROM WILLIAM BRADFORD'S JOURNAL: "Of Plymouth Plantation"



Their Safe Arrival at Cape Cod

But to omit other things (that I may be brief) after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they¹were not a little joyful...

Being thus arrived in a good harbor, and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element...

But here I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition; and so I think will the reader, too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies; no houses or much less town to repair to, to seek for succor.² It is recorded in Scripture as a mercy to the Apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them,³ but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject-to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and **desolate** wilderness, fall

¹ **they**: Bradford refers to the Pilgrims in the third person, even though he is one of them

² **succor**: help; relief

³ **It is....refreshing them**: reference to biblical account of the courteous reception of the Apostle Paul and companions by the inhabitants of Malta (Acts 27:41—28:2)

of wild beasts and wild men—and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah⁴ to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little **solace** or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face, and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage **hue**. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world.

THE FIRST ENCOUNTER

Being thus arrived at Cape Cod the 11th of November, and necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation (as well as the master's and mariner's importunity); they having brought a large shallop⁵ with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up; but being much bruised and shattered in the ship with foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending.

After this, the shallop being got ready, they set out again for the better discovery of this place, and the master of the ship desired to go himself. So there went some thirty men but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats. There was also found two of the Indians' houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them, but the people were run away and could not be seen. Also there was found more of their corn and of their beans of various colors; the corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give the Indians full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them as, about some six months afterward they did, to their good content.⁶

And here is to be noted a special **providence** of God, and a great mercy to this poor people, that here they got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none nor any likelihood to get any till the season had been past, as the sequel did manifest. Neither is it likely they had had this, if the first voyage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered

⁴ **Pisgah**: the mountain from whose peak Moses saw the Promised Land (Deuteronomy 34: 1–4)

⁵ **shallop**: open boat used in shallow waters

⁶ **purposing...content**: intending to repay the Nauset Indians whose corn and beans they took, as they in fact did, to the Indians' satisfaction, six months later.

with snow and hard frozen; but the Lord is never wanting unto His in their greatest needs; let His holy name have all the praise.

The month of November being spent in these affairs, and much foul weather falling in, the 6th of December they sent out their shallop again with ten of their principal men and some seamen, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape Cod. The weather was very cold and it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed. The next night they landed and made them a barricado⁷ as usually they did every night, with logs, stakes, and thick pine boughs, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward⁸, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (making their fire in the middle and lying round about it) and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages, if they should surround them; so being very weary, they betook them to rest. But about midnight they heard a hideous and great cry, and their **sentinel** called "Arm! arm!" So they bestirred them and stood to their arms and shot off a couple of muskets, and then the noise ceased. They concluded it was a company of wolves or such like wild beasts, for one of the seaman told them he had often heard such a noise in Newfoundland.

So they rested till about five of the clock in the morning; for the tide, and their purpose to go from thence, made them be stirring betimes. So after prayer they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning it was thought best to be carrying things down to the boat. But some said it was not best to carry the arms down, others said they would be the readier, for they had lapped them up in their coats from the dew; but some three or four would not carry theirs till they went themselves. Yet as it fell out, the water being not high enough, they laid them down on the bank side and came up to breakfast.

But presently, all on the sudden, they heard a great and strange cry, which they knew to be the same voices they heard in the night, though they varied their notes; and one of their company being abroad came running in and cried, "Men, Indians! Indians!" And withal, their arrows came flying amongst them. Their men ran with all speed to recover their arms, as by the good providence of God they did. In the meantime, of those that were there ready, two muskets were discharged at them, and two more stood ready in the entrance of their

⁷ **barricado**: barrier for defense

⁸ **leeward**: on the side sheltered from the wind

rendezvous⁹ but were commanded not to shoot till they could take full aim at them. And the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four had arms there, and defended the barricado, which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw the men run out of the rendezvous toward the shallop to recover their arms, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some running out with coats of mail on, and cutlasses¹⁰ in their hands, they soon got their arms and let fly amongst them and quickly stopped their violence...

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies and give them deliverance, and by His special providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them and on every side of them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot through and through. Afterwards they gave God solemn thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows and sent them into England afterward by the master of the ship, and called that place the First Encounter.

The Starving Time

But that which was most sad and lamentable was, that in two or three months' time half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvy¹¹ and other diseases which this long voyage and their inaccommodate condition had brought upon them. So as there died some times two or three of a day in the foresaid time, that of 100 and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. And of these, in the time of most distress, there was but six or seven persons who to their great commendations, be it spoken, spared no pains night nor day, but with abundance of toil and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed and unclothed them. In a word, did all the homely and necessary offices for them which dainty and queasy stomachs cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, showing herein their true love unto their friends and brethren; a rare example and worthy to be remembered. Two of these seven were Mr. William Brewster, their reverend Elder, and Myles Standish, their Captain and military commander, unto whom

⁹ **rendezvous:** gathering place...the Pilgrims' encampment, here.

¹⁰ **coats of mail and cutlasses:** armor made of joined metal lengths; short, curved swords

¹¹ **scurvy:** disease caused by lack of vitamin C

myself and many others were much beholden in our low and sick condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons as in this general calamity they were not at all infected either with sickness or lameness...

Indian Relations

All this while the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show themselves **aloof** off, but when any approached near them, they would run away; and once they stole away their tools where they had been at work and were gone to dinner. But about the 16th of March, a certain Indian came boldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand but marveled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastern parts where some English ships came to fish, with whom he was acquainted and could name sundry of them by their names, amongst whom he had got his language. He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the east parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of the people here, of their names, number and strength, of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them. His name was Samoset. He told them also of another Indian whose name was Squanto, a native of this place, who had been in England and could speak better English than himself.

Being after some time of entertainment and gifts dismissed, a while after he came again, and five more with him, and they brought again all the tools that were stolen away before, and made way for the coming of their great Sachem¹², called Massasoit. Who, about four or five days after, came with the chief of his friends and other attendance, with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom, after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this 24 years) in these terms:

1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of their people.
2. That if any of his did hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender, that they might punish him.
3. That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should do the like to his.
4. If any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; if any did war against them, he should aid them.

¹² **Sachem:** chief

5. He should send to his neighbors confederates to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.
6. That when their men came to them, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them.¹³

After these things he returned to his place called Sowams¹⁴, some 40 miles from this place, but Squanto continued with them and was their interpreter and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corn, where to take fish, and to **procure** other **commodities**, and was also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them till he died.

First Thanksgiving (1621)

They began now to gather in the small harvest they had, and to fit up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health and strength and had all things in good plenty. For as some were thus employed in affairs abroad, others were exercised in fishing, about cod and bass and other fish, of which they took good store, of which every family had their portion. All the summer there was no want; and now began to come in store of fowl, as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And besides waterfowl there was a great store of wild turkeys, of which they took many, besides venison, etc. Besides they had about a peck¹⁵ a meal a week to a person, or now since harvest, Indian corn to the proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty here to their friends in England, which were not **feigned** but true reports.

¹³ **He should...peace:** Massasoit was to send representatives to inform other tribes of the compact with the Pilgrims so other tribes might also keep peace with them.

¹⁴ **Sowams:** near site of present-day Barrington, Rhode Island

¹⁵ **peck:** unit of measurement equal to eight dry quarts

A Representative of the New Female Image—Analyzing Hester Prynne's Feminist Consciousness in *The Scarlet Letter*

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Abstract—*The Scarlet Letter* is generally considered to be Nathaniel Hawthorne's best work and one of the indubitable masterpieces of American literature. The heroine of the novel—Hester Prynne, though on a binary position as a woman in Puritan society, defies power and puts up a tenacious fight against the colonial rule combined by church and state. From her rebellious actions, we can see Hester's feminist consciousness. With this noble character, she becomes totally different from the traditional women who are always obedient to the unfair rules enacted by men. It can be sensed that a new female image is born. This paper tries to analyze Hester's feminist consciousness at the respect of her rebellious spirit, self-reliance and strong mind, in this way to evaluate Hester Prynne as a representative of the new female image. Through this kind of analysis, we can better dig in the figure of Hester, and regarding her as a new woman also has a positive social meaning in encouraging women today to strive after the lofty ideal—an equal status between men and women.

Index Terms—female image, Hester Prynne, feminist consciousness

I. INTRODUCTION

Nathaniel Hawthorne is regarded as one of America's few truly successful and original novelists, who's novel *the Scarlet Letter* has widely attracted people's attention. As an honest and thoughtful writer, Hawthorne narrates the story of Hester Prynne's miserable life, reveals women's low status of the seventeenth-century Puritan New England, and meanwhile, exposes mercilessly the cruelty and the prejudice against women of the Puritan society (*Analysis of The Scarlet Letter*). Although shamed and alienated from the rest of the community, Hester does not fall but becomes a miniature of a resistant, –a Feminist Angell, a strong women looking forward to the equality between men and women.

In *the Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne depicts the society as it actually was in the 17th century Puritan America, which has been considered as a reflection of women's problems at that time. Even though women are strong, brave, industrious, kindhearted, and with a lofty devoting spirit, their whole life is very tragic in the end. It deeply reveals not only the Puritan's bitterness and the women's hardship, but also the strength of the Puritan consciousness and the lowness of the women's status. This heroin of the novel, Hester Prynne, has such a noble character that she is undoubtedly recognized as a representative of the new female image.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF FEMALE IMAGES

A. Traditional Female Images

In the traditional culture, the female image always centers on two opposite aspects: the first type is the discriminated femaleness. Men and women are placed unequal positions since the day God created them. For a long time, men are considered to have rational mind and superior intelligence and the capacity for leadership. They are endowed with positive meaning and always the subjects to be praised. On the contrary, women are inferior to men at all aspects. They are more emotional and they sustain society with their nurturance, not capable of reasoning and organization. The roles, which women play, are negative. Not only is their charm denied, but also they are associated with viciousness and dissoluteness in the men's eyes.

The other type is the praiseworthy femaleness. Guan (2004) argues that after coming into the middle period in the Middle Ages, men do not attack women any more. Instead, they begin to flatter women's merits and achievements. Women are eulogized again and again for their vacations--as wives to support husbands and as parents to take care of children--and for their spirits of self-sacrifice for the family. The humanism during the Renaissance breaks up with the traditional concept that regards women as demons. In addition, it endows women with another new meaning, that is, women are like angels, rescuing men's souls and leading them to the holy paradise. However, to some degree, this so-called enhancement of women's status is not a social phenomenon but just a literature one. The excessive ideal female image does not destroy the existing sexism. To the opposite, it becomes the best excuse for men's limiting women within the small circle of family life. The reason and power still belong to men whereas what really belong to women are their beautiful bodies and frail minds.

B. *The New Female Image*

The above-mentioned two types of women are designed according to men's wills to make sure the stability of men's social status. Men are able to construct philosophical, scientific, and religious systems which reinforced their dominant position, in the process defining women as less than men, almost as sub-human species, and excluding women from all sources of power. Zhang (2000) argues women are undoubtedly dependents, first of their fathers, then of their husbands, and in case of widowhood, dependents of their sons, if they had any, or of any surviving male relatives. The two types of women are under control of men, having no right of independence.

However, in the novel *the Scarlet Letter*, Hawthorne creates us a brand-new female image-- Hester, who is different from traditional types. Although Hester suffers enormously from the shame of her public disgrace and from the isolation of her punishment, in her inner heart she can never accept the Puritan interpretation of her act as she believes that her desire for love freedom is not evil, but with dignity and grace. Hester retains her self-respect and survives her punishment with ever-growing strength of character. She protects herself through her own thoughts, forming a new female image possessing qualities of rebellious spirit, self-reliance and strong mind. These qualities are just what feminism advocates. Therefore, the prominent difference between traditional female images and the new one lies in that the latter has the feminist consciousness. With this noble character, new women dare to defy power and put up tenacious fights against the unfair rules that determine their lower status in the society. It is the feminist consciousness awakening that enables women to do things that they have never done before; moreover, this feminist consciousness embodies the inherent dignity of femaleness and highlights the worth of women.

III. ANALYSIS OF PRYNNE'S FEMINIST CONSCIOUSNESS

As Austin Warren has called Hester --a feminist in advance of the season||, it can be seen the successful portrait of the image of Hester. In the novel, her feminist consciousness is carefully depicted, reflected at the respect of her rebellious spirit, self-reliance and strong mind. It is her feminist consciousness that endows her attractive character.

A. *Hester's Rebellious Spirit*

Hester's Rebellious Spirit embodies her feminist consciousness prominently. With this valuable spirit, she defies power and puts up a tenacious fight against the colonial rule combined by church and state.

1. Hester's Attitude towards Her Punishment

The Puritan society in the 17th century America, with its freezing and self-denying doctrines cast disgrace upon the passions. Li (2006) described that the Puritan membership in the Puritan community, after all, is based on the ability of that community to judge by external signs instead of the interior conscience of men. They cannot understand the heart of humanity.

The ideal society of Puritanism is --Holy Community||, so everyone of the community must comply with rules of Puritanism. The rulers do not allow anyway breaking away with the --Holy Community||, let alone to revolt it.

Hester is a young and beautiful woman who has brought a child into the world with an unknown father. She is condemned to wear a scarlet letter --A|| on her breast and suffer public shame on the scaffold. Hester rebels it, --by an action marked with natural dignity and force of character||. When she walked to the scaffold from the prison, she holds her head high and remains in full public view without shedding a tear, --as if by her own will||

Hester's rebellious spirit is also reflected in the elaborate needlework of the scarlet letter. There are --fantastic flourishes of gold-thread||, and the letter is ornately decorative, significantly beyond the Puritan laws that call for somber, unadorned attire. She shows her skill in needlework, and it seems like that she takes pride in her token of isolation.

While she might be feeling agony as if --her heart had been flung into the street for them all to spurn and trample upon||, her face reveals no such thought, and her demeanor is described as --haughty||. She displays a dignity and grace that reveals a deep trust in her.

Later, the young priest Arthur Dimmesdale, in fact Hester's love, implores Hester to name the father of the baby and this way her penance may be lightened. To people's astonishment, she says --Never||. When asked again, she says, --I will not speak!|| while this declaration relieves Dimmesdale and he praises her under his breath, it also shows Hester's determination to stand alone despite the opinion of society. She uses individual rights and regards them as weapons to fire the Puritanism.

Exhausted from the punishment at the scaffold emotionally and physically, Hester is continually oppressed to wear the scarlet letter --A|| on her breast all her life, which is a symbol indicating shame as a much lenient punishment. Her beautiful hair is hidden under her cap; her beauty and warmth are gone, buried under the burden of the elaborate scarlet letter. When she removes the letter and takes off her cap in the forest, Hester once again becomes the radiant beauty. Symbolically, when Hester does these actions, she is in fact removing the harsh, stark, unbending puritan social and moral structure.

Obviously, what Hester has done manifests her challenge to the whole dismal severity of the puritanical code of law. In her deepest heart, she can never accept the puritan rules and becomes a rebel against the rules. No wonder that some unkind puritans reproach her such as --what is it but to laugh in the faces of our godly magistrates, and make a pride out of what they, worthy gentlemen, meant for a punishment?|| (Hawthorne, 2001, p. 8)

2. Hester and Love

Femaleness is always connected with love, but the presence of Hester, as the novel says, is the beginning of tragedy. She is the representative who suffers from irrational marriage. Prior to her marriage, Hester was a strong-willed and impetuous young woman—she remembers her parents as loving parents who frequently has to retain her incautious behavior. The reason why Hester marries Roger Chillingworth, the author does not give a clear answer, whereas from the sentence —it seemed a fouler offence committed by Roger, than any which had since been done him, that in the time when her heart knew no better, he had persuaded her to fancy herself happy by his sidel, readers can get the idea that their marriage is not based on the basis of love.

Chillingworth spends long hours over his book and experiments, paying little attention to his wife Hester. Although he is —misshapen from his birth-hourll, he deludes himself with the idea that —intellectual gifts might veil physical deformity in a young girl's fantasyll. Chillingworth takes Hester as a wife with the only purpose of kindling —the household firell in his lonely and chill heart. However, his selfishness pulls Hester into the dark abyss. When Hester recalls the life spent with Chillingworth, she believes it to be —her ugliest remembrancell. —She marveled how such scenes could have happen! She marveled how she could ever have been wrought upon to marry him!!

Corresponding to Chillingworth's malformation with —one of the shoulders rose higher than the otherll, Hester is tall, —with a figure of perfect elegance on a large scalell. Even Chillingworth himself has to acknowledge —Mine was the first wrong, when I betrayed thy budding youth into a false and unnatural relation with my decayll. However, to reader's surprise, this kind of abnormal marriage in under protection of puritan law and gets the recognition of the puritan public.

Hester is condemned to wear a scarlet letter —All on her breast and suffer public shame in the scaffold. The scaffold is a painful task to bear; the townspeople gather around to gossip and stare at Hester and her newborn child Pearl. Due to her protection to her lover Dimmesdale and her desire for true love, Hester supports herself with unimaginable courage and endures unbearable misery, without telling the name of her lover. She makes up her mind to stand alone despite the opinion of the society. Hester emerges as a selfless lover making no demands on Dimmesdale and accepting her fate without any sign of criticism. The greatness of Hester can be seen from her lover's compliment in Hawthorne's work: —wondrous strength and generosity of a woman's heartll.

In order to protect the life and good fame of Dimmesdale, Hester promises to conceal her husband Chillingworth's true identity. But when she witnesses the intense misery against which the minister Dimmesdale struggle, and sees that he stands on the verge of lunacy, she determines to redeem her error to stop Chillingworth from hurting Dimmesdale further. Finally, Hester resolves to meet Chillingworth, and does what might be in her power for the rescue of the victim on whom he has so evidently set his gripe.

Hester's unflinching love to Dimmesdale is also reflected in her desire to escape with him to a new land. —Is the world, then, so narrow? Doth the universe lie within the compass of yonder town? Wither leads yonder forest track? ... There thou art free! So brief a journey would bring thee from a world where thou hast been most wretched, to one where thou mayest still be happy!! (Hawthorne, 2001, p .165) It is much to be regretted that Dimmesdale dares not quit his post. At the crucial moment, for the sake of arousing him to pragmatic idealism, Hester fervently resolves to buoy him up with her own energy. She says continually and firmly, —Thou art crushed under the seven years' weight of misery. But thou shall leave it all behind thee! ... Leave this wreck and ruin here where it hath happened. ... begin all anew! ... the future is yet full of trail and success. ... exchange this false life of thine for a true one... preach! Write! Act! Do anything save to lie down and die!! (Hawthorne, 2001, p .166) encouraged by Hester, the minister eventually resolves to flee with her. In order to give Dimmesdale encouragement and hope further, Hester, without the least hesitation, takes the scarlet letter from her bosom and throws it off, and next, she heaves a long, deep sign, in which the burden of shame and anguish departs from her spirit.

3. Hester and Her Child Pearl

Hester has a child and raises her by herself. She names the child pearl, —as being of great price — purchased with all she had—her mother's only treasurell. Hester is a woman full of motherly love that she showers on Pearl. It is her love and concern for Pearl that makes her wonder her wonder if her child is abnormal. She worries about her lack of control and her shunning playmates.

In Hester's opinion, —Providence, in the person of this little girl, has assigned to Hester's change the germ and blossom of womanhood, to be cherished and developed amid a host of difficultiesll. (Hawthorne, 2001, p .130) However, it has reached her ears that some of the leading inhabitants decide to deprive her of her child only because they cannot trust an immortal soul, such as Pearl, to the guidance of one who has stumbled and fallen amid the pitfalls of this world. Considering Hester, Pearl is her very life, her only treasure purchased with all she has. By the control of this idea, Hester defends her right to raise Pearl bravely while in the confrontation with Governor Bellingham. This is her first time to rebel and challenge the church and the secular ruler in public. Although Hester is isolated and cut off from help, and so conscious that it seems scarcely an unequal match between the puritanical magistrates, she still set forth and is ready to defend them to the death. She cries with almost a fierce expression, —God gave me the child. He gave her in requital of all things else, which she had taken from me. She is my happiness! ... Thou shall not take her! I will die first!! (Hawthorne, 2001, p .72) At this time Hester realizes that she has the responsibility and capacity to raise the child, so she repeats, raising her voice almost to a shriek, —God gave her into my keeping; I will not give her up.!! (Hawthorne,

2001, p. 72) Clearly, Hester, as an ordinary woman, cries out for nothing else, but for her indefeasible rights, which shows her extraordinary courage and rebellious spirit. With Dimmesdale's interference, Hester succeeds in keeping her Pearl with her.

In the novel, Hawthorne portrays Pearl with following feature: she is individual exist and escape far from the puritan society. She is a wild rose, abeam of sunlight a brook, and a lovely angel. The appearance of Pearl as Heater's daughter gifted so many virtues is a rebellion against Puritanism obviously.

In the puritan society, the mother should admonish her daughter to conform various kind of rules prescribed in the community. To be exactly speaking, the mother should teach her daughter how to be obedient to her future husband. However, being different from traditional mothers, Hester does not give Pearl this lesson. Through the scarlet letter —A, she conveys her potential maternal consciousness to Pearl, which enables her to understand female body and female passion. Wei (2003) argues that just like Hester's wish, Pearl does not follow her mother's way. She breaks the puritan rule permitting sons to have the right of succession, and accepts the inheritance from Roger. Thus Pearl becomes the richest heritress in the New Land. At last, she visits Europe and finds her lover. Pearl's happiness shows Hester's win to Puritanism and humanism's win to Puritanism.

B. *Hester's Self-reliance*

Recalling from her own experience, Hester believes that women are regarded as dependents upon men in the puritan society. This situation leads to women's tragic lives. With the lofty ideal of gaining self-reliance, women have to take action as soon as possible, just as what Hester thinks about:

—As a first step, the whole system of society is to be torn down, and built up anew. Then, the very nature of the opposite sex, or its long hereditary habit, which has become like nature, is to be essentially modified, before women can be allowed to assume what seems a fair and suitable position. Finally, all other difficulties being obviated, woman cannot take advantage of these preliminary reforms, until she herself shall have undergone a still mightier change ...

By the control of this idea, Hester revolts against the social order of puritan society tenaciously. Not only has she won the self-reliance in economy, but also in thought.

1. *Hester's Independence in Economy*

In the Puritan society, who would succeed and who would fail are not determined by himself or herself, but by God. Man is divided into two groups. And the bad people cannot save or relieve themselves until they appeals to God's help. Li (2006) argues that this is a holy idea and cannot change; whereas Hester is an exception and changes it through her deeds. Though at her time, —It was the art almost the only one within a woman's grasp of needlework; Hester possesses it that —sufficed to supply food for her thriving infant and herself. —Her needlework was seen on the ruff of the Governor; military men wore it on their scarves, and the minister on his hand; it decked the baby's little cap; it was shut up, to be mildewed and molded away, in the coffins of the dead. (Hawthorne, 2001, p. 39) These noble and holy places are decorated with her fine needlework. Undoubtedly, Hester gains her self-reliance in economy without appealing to God's help. She even does not turn to her lover Dimmesdale or her husband Chillingworth, who should have been responsible for her miserable life, for help. This is the true success for the femaleness, interpreting that women are not dependents upon men. They can earn their lives with their own hands and intelligence.

Thinking over into the deeper meaning, Hester's needlework is not only an art, but also a way for her to let off her emotions and passions. —Women derive a pleasure, incomprehensible to the other sex, from the delicate toil of the needle; to Hester it might have been a mode of expressing, and therefore soothing, the passion of her life.

2. *Hester's Independence in Thought*

In the puritan society, a woman should keep adherence to her husband, even she has not a bit love for him. And furthermore, she should kill her natural love within her, instead of letting it release and spoil. However, Hester does not follow this rule at all. She breaks away from her husband whom she did not love and falls in love with Dimmesdale. She dares to pursue her love freedom. It can be seen from her whole story that Hester never neglects such human values as individuality, personal freedom and private life. She has her own secret. When asked about her lover's name, she says —Never!! Hester uses individual rights and regards them as weapons to fire the Puritanism.

Her self-reliance in thought is repeated again when she confronts Governor Bellingham over the issue of Pearl's guardianship. She defends the mighty power with unimagined great courage, —God gave her into my keeping, I will not give her up!! Hester's action proves that the femaleness is not the weak, but to the opposite, the strong, who is able to find out methods to rescue themselves.

For the seven solitary years, —Hester never battled with the public, but submitted; incompliantly ... she never raised her head to receive their greeting. If they were resolute to accost her, she laid her figure in the scarlet letter and passed on. (Hawthorne, 2001, p. 46) outwardly, she wears the letter that labels her as an evil woman. Inwardly, she exists in her speculations, her solitude, her quiet hours with Pearl, her needlework, and finds these good. Though —the scarlet letter by which man had marked Hester's sin had such potent and disastrous efficacy that no human sympathy could reach her!, satirically, it is just the scarlet letter that becomes her passport into regions where others dare not to tread. As Hawthorne describes: —She looked forth this estranged point of view at human institutions, and whatever priests or legislators have established ... The tendency of her fate and fortunes had been to set her free ... Shame, despair, solitude! These had been her teachers, stern and wide ones, and they had made her strong. (Hawthorne, 2001, p. 168)

Shamed and alienated from the rest of the community, Hester becomes contemplative. She speculates on human

nature, social organization, and large moral questions. She is able to look at the people objectively and see much she was not able to see before. —Walking to and fro, with those lonely footsteps, in the little world with which she was outwardly connected, it now and then appeared to Hester that gave her a sympathetic knowledge of the hidden sin in other hearts.¶ The people of the town are so busy covering up their faults and hiding their human passions, that they cannot see their own or each other's faults. Hester, who wears her mark of exclusion openly, does not have to worry about the opinion of others, and gains an institution — an insight into the hearts of the people who throw out.

By the novel's end, Hester has become a proto-feminist mother figure to the women of the community. Meng (2003) describes that the shame attached to her scarlet letter is long gone. Women recognize that her punishment stemmed in part from the town father's sexism, and they come to Hester seeking shelter from the sexist forces under which they themselves suffer. This fact suggests that Hester's self-reliance in thought has gained recognition among women.

IV. CONCLUSION

Through the whole story of *The Scarlet Letter*, it can be known that Hester is an extremely distinctive woman compared with traditional ones. Although suffering enormously from the shame of her public disgrace and from the isolation of her punishment, she still holds her head high and remains in full public view without shedding a tear. In order to protect her lover Dimmesdale, Hester makes up her mind to stand alone despite the opinion of society. In her inmost heart, she believes that her love to Dimmesdale is of dignity and grace. With her fine needlework, she manages to earn a living for her and her child Pearl. Hester, a woman with feminist consciousness, never falls but continually struggles against the evil forces. She dares to face her existence as a human being, especially as a woman.

All of her actions analyzed in this paper undoubtedly embody Hester's noble character of rebellious spirit, self-reliance and strong mind, which is exactly what feminism advocates. It can be concluded that Hester, with the feminist consciousness, has become the representative of a new female image, just as Nina (2000) describes, —In portraying the figure of Hester, Hawthorne creates the first real female protagonist as well as one of unforgettable heroines in American novel.¶(Nina. B. 2000)

Therefore, the definition of the new female image has come out, that is, one with the feminist consciousness. This kind of femaleness dares to trust her and to believe in the possibility of a new morality in the world, thus they are able to reform the old world and create a new one instead. In the novel, Hester indeed sets a typical example; unfortunately, owing to some limitations, such as he owns human weakness and the prejudice of the Puritan society, she cannot become a thorough feminist. In spite of this, the image of Hester plays an active role in promoting of feminism later. Through her life, Hawthorne puts forward a serious and considerable subject: How can women gain their deserved rights of equality and freedom? Li (2004) argues that although Hester does not realize her ideal, her new female image with the feminist consciousness will encourage women today to strive after the lofty ideal.

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A Model of Christian Charity

Governor John Winthrop (1630 on board the Arbella)

Introduction, by John Beardsley

This is Winthrop's most famous thesis, written on board the Arbella, 1630. We love to imagine the occasion when he personally spoke this oration to some large portion of the Winthrop fleet passengers during or just before their passage.

In an age not long past, when the Puritan founders were still respected by the educational establishment, this was required reading in many courses of American history and literature. However, it was often abridged to just the first and last few paragraphs. This left the overture of the piece sounding unkind and fatalistic, and the finale rather sternly zealous. A common misrepresentation of the Puritan character.

Winthrop's genius was logical reasoning combined with a sympathetic nature. To remove this work's central arguments about love and relationships is to completely lose the sense of the whole. Therefore we present it here in its well-balanced entirety. The biblical quotations are as Winthrop wrote them, and remain sometimes at slight variance from the King James version. This editor has corrected the chapter and verse citations to correspond to the King James text, assuming that the modern reader will wish to conveniently refer to that most popular English version of the Bible, as the Governor lays out his argument for charity and decent human behavior in the community.

Winthrop's intent was to prepare the people for planting a new society in a perilous environment, but his practical wisdom is timeless.

Redacted and introduced by John Beardsley, Editor in Chief, the Winthrop Society Quarterly. Copyright 1997. The Introduction and Gov Winthrop's writing appear here with the kind permission of Mr. Beardsley. You are invited to visit the web site of the [The Winthrop Society](http://www.winthrop-society.org).

GOD ALMIGHTY in His most holy and wise providence, hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and eminent in power and dignity; others mean and in submission.

The Reason hereof:

1st Reason. First to hold conformity with the rest of His world, being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures, and the glory of His power in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole, and the glory of His greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, so this great king will have many stewards, counting himself more honored in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his own immediate hands.

2nd Reason. Secondly, that He might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit: first upon the wicked in moderating and restraining them, so that the rich and mighty should not eat up the poor, nor the poor and despised rise up against and shake off their yoke. Secondly, in the regenerate, in exercising His graces in them, as in the great ones, their love, mercy, gentleness, temperance etc., and in the poor and inferior sort, their faith, patience, obedience etc.

3rd Reason. Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knit more nearly together in the bonds of brotherly affection. From hence it appears plainly that no man is made more honorable than another or more wealthy etc., out of any particular and singular respect to himself, but for the glory of his Creator and the common good of the creature, man. Therefore God still reserves the property of these gifts to Himself as Ezek. 16:17, He there calls wealth, His gold and His silver, and Prov. 3:9, He claims their service as His due,

"Honor the Lord with thy riches," etc. --- All men being thus (by divine providence) ranked into two sorts, rich and poor; under the first are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their own means duly improved; and all others are poor according to the former distribution.

There are two rules whereby we are to walk one towards another: Justice and Mercy. These are always distinguished in their act and in their object, yet may they both concur in the same subject in each respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of showing mercy to a rich man in some sudden danger or distress, and also doing of mere justice to a poor man in regard of some particular contract, etc.

There is likewise a double Law by which we are regulated in our conversation towards another. In both the former respects, the Law of Nature and the Law of Grace (that is, the moral law or the law of the gospel) to omit the rule of justice as not properly belonging to this purpose otherwise than it may fall into consideration in some particular cases. By the first of these laws, man as he was enabled so withal is commanded to love his neighbor as himself. Upon this ground stands all the precepts of the moral law, which concerns our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy, this law requires two things. First, that every man afford his help to another in every want or distress.

Secondly, that he perform this out of the same affection which makes him careful of his own goods, according to the words of our Savior (from Matthew 7:12), whatsoever ye would that men should do to you. This was practiced by Abraham and Lot in entertaining the angels and the old man of Gibeon. The law of Grace or of the Gospel hath some difference from the former (*the law of nature*), as in these respects: First, the law of nature was given to man in the estate of innocence. This of the Gospel in the estate of regeneracy. Secondly, the former propounds one man to another, as the same flesh and image of God. This as a brother in Christ also, and in the communion of the same Spirit, and so teacheth to put a difference between Christians and others. Do good to all, especially to the household of faith. Upon this ground the Israelites were to put a difference between the brethren of such as were strangers, though not of the Canaanites.

Thirdly, the Law of Nature would give no rules for dealing with enemies, for all are to be considered as friends in the state of innocence, but the Gospel commands love to an enemy. Proof: If thine enemy hunger, feed him; "Love your enemies... Do good to them that hate you" (Matt. 5:44).

This law of the Gospel propounds likewise a difference of seasons and occasions. There is a time when a Christian must sell all and give to the poor, as they did in the Apostles' times. There is a time also when Christians (though they give not all yet) must give beyond their ability, as they of Macedonia (2 Cor. 8). Likewise, community of perils calls for extraordinary liberality, and so doth community in some special service for the church.

Lastly, when there is no other means whereby our Christian brother may be relieved in his distress, we must help him beyond our ability rather than tempt God in putting him upon help by miraculous or extraordinary means. This duty of mercy is exercised in the kinds: giving, lending and forgiving (*of a debt*).

Question: What rule shall a man observe in giving in respect of the measure?

Answer: If the time and occasion be ordinary he is to give out of his abundance. Let him lay aside as God hath blessed him. If the time and occasion be extraordinary, he must be ruled by them; taking this withal, that then a man cannot likely do too much, especially if he may leave

himself and his family under probable means of comfortable subsistence.

Objection: A man must lay up for posterity, the fathers lay up for posterity and children, and he is worse than an infidel that provideth not for his own.

Answer: For the first, it is plain that it being spoken by way of comparison, it must be meant of the ordinary and usual course of fathers, and cannot extend to times and occasions extraordinary. For the other place the Apostle speaks against such as walked inordinately, and it is without question, that he is worse than an infidel who through his own sloth and voluptuousness shall neglect to provide for his family.

Objection: "The wise man's eyes are in his head," saith Solomon, "and foreseeeth the plague;" therefore he must forecast and lay up against evil times when he or his may stand in need of all he can gather.

Answer: This very Argument Solomon useth to persuade to liberality (Eccle. 11), "Cast thy bread upon the waters...for thou knowest not what evil may come upon the land." Luke 16:9, "Make you friends of the riches of iniquity..." You will ask how this shall be? Very well. For first he that gives to the poor, lends to the Lord and He will repay him even in this life an hundredfold to him or his. The righteous is ever merciful and lendeth, and his seed enjoyeth the blessing; and besides we know what advantage it will be to us in the day of account when many such witnesses shall stand forth for us to witness the improvement of our talent. And I would know of those who plead so much for laying up for time to come, whether they hold that to be Gospel Matthew 6:19, "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth," etc. If they acknowledge it, what extent will they allow it? If only to those primitive times, let them consider the reason whereupon our Savior grounds it. The first is that they are subject to the moth, the rust, the thief. Secondly, they will steal away the heart: "where the treasure is there will your heart be also."

The reasons are of like force at all times. Therefore the exhortation must be general and perpetual, with always in respect of the love and affection to riches and in regard of the things themselves when any special service for the church or particular distress of our brother do call for the use of them; otherwise it is not only lawful but necessary to lay up as Joseph did to have ready upon such occasions, as the Lord (whose stewards we are of them) shall call for them from us. Christ gives us an instance of the first, when he sent his disciples for the donkey, and bids them answer the owner thus, "the Lord hath need of him." So when the Tabernacle was to be built, He sends to His people to call for their silver and gold, etc., and yields no other reason but that it was for His work. When Elisha comes to the widow of Sareptah and finds her preparing to make ready her pittance for herself and family, he bids her first provide for him, he challenges first God's part which she must first give before she must serve her own family. All these teach us that the Lord looks that when He is pleased to call for His right in any thing we have, our own interest we have must stand aside till His turn be served. For the other, we need look no further then to that of 1 John 3:17, "He who hath this world's goods and seeth his brother to need and shuts up his compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" Which comes punctually to this conclusion: If thy brother be in want and thou canst help him, thou needst not make doubt of what thou shouldst do; if thou lovest God thou must help him.

Question: What rule must we observe in lending?

Answer: Thou must observe whether thy brother hath present or probable or possible means of repaying thee, if there be none of those, thou must give him according to his necessity, rather then lend him as he requires (*requests*). If he hath present means of repaying thee, thou art to look at him not as an act of mercy, but by way of commerce, wherein thou art to walk by the rule of justice; but if his means of repaying thee be only probable or possible, then he is an object of

thy mercy, thou must lend him, though there be danger of losing it. (Deut. 15:7-8): "If any of thy brethren be poor ... thou shalt lend him sufficient." That men might not shift off this duty by the apparent hazard, He tells them that though the year of Jubilee were at hand (when he must remit it, if he were not able to repay it before), yet he must lend him, and that cheerfully. It may not grieve thee to give him, saith He. And because some might object, why so I should soon impoverish myself and my family, he adds, with all thy work, etc., for our Savior said (Matt. 5:42), "From him that would borrow of thee turn not away."

Question: What rule must we observe in forgiving (*a debt*)?

Answer: Whether thou didst lend by way of commerce or in mercy, if he hath nothing to pay thee, thou must forgive, (except in cause where thou hast a surety or a lawful pledge). Deut. 15:1-2 --- Every seventh year the creditor was to quit that which he lent to his brother if he were poor, as appears in verse 4. "Save when there shall be no poor with thee." In all these and like cases, Christ gives a general rule (Matt. 7:12), "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye the same to them."

Question: What rule must we observe and walk by in cause of community of peril?

Answer: The same as before, but with more enlargement towards others and less respect towards ourselves and our own right. Hence it was that in the primitive Church they sold all, had all things in common, neither did any man say that which he possessed was his own. Likewise in their return out of the captivity, because the work was great for the restoring of the church and the danger of enemies was common to all, Nehemiah directs the Jews to liberality and readiness in remitting their debts to their brethren, and disposing liberally to such as wanted, and stand not upon their own dues which they might have demanded of them. Thus did some of our forefathers in times of persecution in England, and so did many of the faithful of other churches, whereof we keep an honorable remembrance of them; and it is to be observed that both in Scriptures and latter stories of the churches that such as have been most bountiful to the poor saints, especially in those extraordinary times and occasions, God hath left them highly commended to posterity, as Zaccheus, Cornelius, Dorcas, Bishop Hooper, the Cutler of Brussels and divers others. Observe again that the Scripture gives no caution to restrain any from being over liberal this way; but all men to the liberal and cheerful practice hereof by the sweeter promises; as to instance one for many (Isaiah 58:6-9) "Is not this the fast I have chosen to loose the bonds of wickedness, to take off the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free and to break every yoke ... to deal thy bread to the hungry and to bring the poor that wander into thy house, when thou seest the naked to cover them ... and then shall thy light brake forth as the morning and thy health shall grow speedily, thy righteousness shall go before God, and the glory of the Lord shalt embrace thee; then thou shalt call and the Lord shall answer thee," etc. And from Ch. 2:10 (??) "If thou pour out thy soul to the hungry, then shall thy light spring out in darkness, and the Lord shall guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in draught, and make fat thy bones, thou shalt be like a watered garden, and they shalt be of thee that shall build the old waste places," etc. On the contrary most heavy curses are laid upon such as are straightened towards the Lord and his people (Judg. 5:23), "Curse ye Meroshe ... because they came not to help the Lord." He who shutteth his ears from hearing the cry of the poor, he shall cry and shall not be heard." (Matt. 25) "Go ye cursed into everlasting fire," etc. "I was hungry and ye fed me not." (2 Cor. 9:6) "He that soweth sparingly shall reap sparingly."

Having already set forth the practice of mercy according to the rule of God's law, it will be useful to lay open the grounds of it also, being the other part of the Commandment and that is the affection from which this exercise of mercy must arise, the Apostle tells us that this love is the fulfilling of the law, not that it is enough to love our brother and so no further; but in regard of the excellency of his parts giving any motion to the other as the soul to the body and the power it hath to set all the faculties at work in the outward exercise of this duty; as when we bid one

make the clock strike, he doth not lay hand on the hammer, which is the immediate instrument of the sound, but sets on work the first mover or main wheel; knowing that will certainly produce the sound which he intends. So the way to draw men to the works of mercy, is not by force of Argument from the goodness or necessity of the work; for though this cause may enforce, a rational mind to some present act of mercy, as is frequent in experience, yet it cannot work such a habit in a soul, as shall make it prompt upon all occasions to produce the same effect, but by framing these affections of love in the heart which will as naturally bring forth the other, as any cause doth produce the effect.

The definition which the Scripture gives us of love is this: Love is the bond of perfection. First it is a bond or ligament. Secondly, it makes the work perfect. There is no body but consists of parts and that which knits these parts together, gives the body its perfection, because it makes each part so contiguous to others as thereby they do mutually participate with each other, both in strength and infirmity, in pleasure and pain. To instance in the most perfect of all bodies: Christ and his Church make one body. The several parts of this body considered a part before they were united, were as disproportionate and as much disordering as so many contrary qualities or elements, but when Christ comes, and by his spirit and love knits all these parts to himself and each to other, it is become the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world (Eph. 4:15-16). Christ, by whom all the body being knit together by every joint for the furniture thereof, according to the effectual power which is in the measure of every perfection of parts, a glorious body without spot or wrinkle; the ligaments hereof being Christ, or his love, for Christ is love (1 John 4:8). So this definition is right. Love is the bond of perfection.

From hence we may frame these conclusions:

First of all, true Christians are of one body in Christ (1 Cor. 12). Ye are the body of Christ and members of their part. All the parts of this body being thus united are made so contiguous in a special relation as they must needs partake of each other's strength and infirmity; joy and sorrow, weal and woe. If one member suffers, all suffer with it, if one be in honor, all rejoice with it.

Secondly, the ligaments of this body which knit together are love.

Thirdly, no body can be perfect which wants its proper ligament.

Fourthly, All the parts of this body being thus united are made so contiguous in a special relation as they must needs partake of each other's strength and infirmity, joy and sorrow, weal and woe. (1 Cor. 12:26) If one member suffers, all suffer with it; if one be in honor, all rejoice with it.

Fifthly, this sensitivity and sympathy of each other's conditions will necessarily infuse into each part a native desire and endeavor, to strengthen, defend, preserve and comfort the other. To insist a little on this conclusion being the product of all the former, the truth hereof will appear both by precept and pattern. 1 John 3:16, "We ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." Gal. 6:2, "Bear ye one another's burden's and so fulfill the law of Christ."

For patterns we have that first of our Savior who, out of his good will in obedience to his father, becoming a part of this body and being knit with it in the bond of love, found such a native sensitivity of our infirmities and sorrows as he willingly yielded himself to death to ease the infirmities of the rest of his body, and so healed their sorrows. From the like sympathy of parts did the Apostles and many thousands of the Saints lay down their lives for Christ. Again the like we may see in the members of this body among themselves. Rom. 9 --- Paul could have been contented to have been separated from Christ, that the Jews might not be cut off from the body.

It is very observable what he professeth of his affectionate partaking with every member; "Who is weak (saith he) and I am not weak? Who is offended and I burn not?" And again (2 Cor. 7:13), "Therefore we are comforted because ye were comforted." Of Epaphroditus he speaketh (Phil. 2:25-30) that he regarded not his own life to do him service. So Phoebe and others are called the servants of the church. Now it is apparent that they served not for wages, or by constraint, but out of love. The like we shall find in the histories of the church, in all ages; the sweet sympathy of affections which was in the members of this body one towards another; their cheerfulness in serving and suffering together; how liberal they were without repining, harborers without grudging, and helpful without reproaching; and all from hence, because they had fervent love amongst them; which only makes the practice of mercy constant and easy.

The next consideration is how this love comes to be wrought. Adam in his first estate was a perfect model of mankind in all their generations, and in him this love was perfected in regard of the habit. But Adam, himself rent from his Creator, rent all his posterity also one from another; whence it comes that every man is born with this principle in him to love and seek himself only, and thus a man continueth till Christ comes and takes possession of the soul and infuseth another principle, love to God and our brother, and this latter having continual supply from Christ, as the head and root by which he is united, gets predominant in the soul, so by little and little expels the former. 1 John 4:7 --- Love cometh of God and every one that loveth is born of God, so that this love is the fruit of the new birth, and none can have it but the new creature. Now when this quality is thus formed in the souls of men, it works like the Spirit upon the dry bones. Ezek. 37:7 --- "Bone came to bone." It gathers together the scattered bones, or perfect old man Adam, and knits them into one body again in Christ, whereby a man is become again a living soul.

The third consideration is concerning the exercise of this love, which is twofold, inward or outward. The outward hath been handled in the former preface of this discourse. From unfolding the other we must take in our way that maxim of philosophy, "simile simili gaudet," or like will to like; for as of things which are turned with disaffection to each other, the ground of it is from a dissimilitude or arising from the contrary or different nature of the things themselves; for the ground of love is an apprehension of some resemblance in the things loved to that which affects it. This is the cause why the Lord loves the creature, so far as it hath any of his Image in it; He loves his elect because they are like Himself, He beholds them in His beloved son.

So a mother loves her child, because she thoroughly conceives a resemblance of herself in it. Thus it is between the members of Christ; each discerns, by the work of the Spirit, his own Image and resemblance in another, and therefore cannot but love him as he loves himself. Now when the soul, which is of a sociable nature, finds anything like to itself, it is like Adam when Eve was brought to him. She must be one with himself. This is flesh of my flesh (saith he) and bone of my bone. So the soul conceives a great delight in it; therefore she desires nearness and familiarity with it. She hath a great propensity to do it good and receives such content in it, as fearing the miscarriage of her beloved, she bestows it in the inmost closet of her heart. She will not endure that it shall want any good which she can give it. If by occasion she be withdrawn from the company of it, she is still looking towards the place where she left her beloved. If she heard it groan, she is with it presently. If she find it sad and disconsolate, she sighs and moans with it. She hath no such joy as to see her beloved merry and thriving. If she see it wronged, she cannot hear it without passion. She sets no bounds to her affections, nor hath any thought of reward. She finds recompense enough in the exercise of her love towards it.

We may see this acted to life in Jonathan and David. Jonathan a valiant man endued with the spirit of love, so soon as he discovered the same spirit in David had presently his heart knit to him by this ligament of love; so that it is said he loved him as his own soul, he takes so great pleasure in him, that he strips himself to adorn his beloved. His father's kingdom was not so precious to him as his beloved David, David shall have it with all his heart. Himself desires no

more but that he may be near to him to rejoice in his good. He chooseth to converse with him in the wilderness even to the hazard of his own life, rather than with the great Courtiers in his father's Palace. When he sees danger towards him, he spares neither rare pains nor peril to direct it. When injury was offered his beloved David, he would not bear it, though from his own father. And when they must part for a season only, they thought their hearts would have broke for sorrow, had not their affections found vent by abundance of tears. Other instances might be brought to show the nature of this affection; as of Ruth and Naomi, and many others; but this truth is cleared enough. If any shall object that it is not possible that love shall be bred or upheld without hope of requital, it is granted; but that is not our cause; for this love is always under reward. It never gives, but it always receives with advantage:

First in regard that among the members of the same body, love and affection are reciprocal in a most equal and sweet kind of commerce.

Secondly, in regard of the pleasure and content that the exercise of love carries with it, as we may see in the natural body. The mouth is at all the pains to receive and mince the food which serves for the nourishment of all the other parts of the body; yet it hath no cause to complain; for first the other parts send back, by several passages, a due proportion of the same nourishment, in a better form for the strengthening and comforting the mouth. Secondly, the labor of the mouth is accompanied with such pleasure and content as far exceeds the pains it takes. So is it in all the labor of love among Christians. The party loving, reaps love again, as was showed before, which the soul covets more then all the wealth in the world.

Thirdly, nothing yields more pleasure and content to the soul then when it finds that which it may love fervently; for to love and live beloved is the soul's paradise both here and in heaven. In the State of wedlock there be many comforts to learn out of the troubles of that condition; but let such as have tried the most, say if there be any sweetness in that condition comparable to the exercise of mutual love.

From the former considerations arise these conclusions:

First, this love among Christians is a real thing, not imaginary.

Secondly, this love is as absolutely necessary to the being of the body of Christ, as the sinews and other ligaments of a natural body are to the being of that body.

Thirdly, this love is a divine, spiritual, nature; free, active, strong, courageous, permanent; undervaluing all things beneath its proper object and of all the graces, this makes us nearer to resemble the virtues of our heavenly father.

Fourthly, it rests in the love and welfare of its beloved. For the full certain knowledge of those truths concerning the nature, use, and excellency of this grace, that which the holy ghost hath left recorded, 1 Cor. 13, may give full satisfaction, which is needful for every true member of this lovely body of the Lord Jesus, to work upon their hearts by prayer, meditation continual exercise at least of the special influence of this grace, till Christ be formed in them and they in him, all in each other, knit together by this bond of love.

It rests now to make some application of this discourse, by the present design, which gave the occasion of writing of it. Herein are four things to be propounded; first the persons, secondly, the work, thirdly the end, fourthly the means.

First, for the persons. We are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, in which respect only, though we were absent from each other many miles, and had our

employments as far distant, yet we ought to account ourselves knit together by this bond of love and live in the exercise of it, if we would have comfort of our being in Christ. This was notorious in the practice of the Christians in former times; as is testified of the Waldenses, from the mouth of one of the adversaries Aeneas Sylvius "mutuo ament pene antequam norunt" --- they use to love any of their own religion even before they were acquainted with them.

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

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

Fourthly, for the means whereby this must be effected. They are twofold, a conformity with the work and end we aim at. These we see are extraordinary, therefore we must not content ourselves with usual ordinary means. Whatsoever we did, or ought to have done, when we lived in England, the same must we do, and more also, where we go. That which the most in their churches maintain as truth in profession only, we must bring into familiar and constant practice; as in this duty of love, we must love brotherly without dissimulation, we must love one another with a pure heart fervently. We must bear one another's burdens. We must not look only on our own things, but also on the things of our brethren.

Neither must we think that the Lord will bear with such failings at our hands as he doth from those among whom we have lived; and that for these three reasons:

First, in regard of the more near bond of marriage between Him and us, wherein He hath taken us to be His, after a most strict and peculiar manner, which will make Him the more jealous of our love and obedience. So He tells the people of Israel, you only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore will I punish you for your transgressions.

Secondly, because the Lord will be sanctified in them that come near Him. We know that there were many that corrupted the service of the Lord; some setting up altars before his own; others offering both strange fire and strange sacrifices also; yet there came no fire from heaven, or other sudden judgment upon them, as did upon Nadab and Abihu, whom yet we may think did not sin presumptuously.

Thirdly, when God gives a special commission He looks to have it strictly observed in every article; When He gave Saul a commission to destroy Amaleck, He indented with him upon certain articles, and because he failed in one of the least, and that upon a fair pretense, it lost him the kingdom, which should have been his reward, if he had observed his commission.

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

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

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

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

Therefore let us choose life,
that we and our seed may live,
by obeying His voice and cleaving to Him,
for He is our life and our prosperity.