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it oversees the limits established by the social compact and the fundamental law, becomes the most important doctrine in the theory. With Jonathan Mayhew the separation of God’s will from man’s is complete; or rather, with him, the divine will has been made over into the image of the human. The purposes of society are no longer the deity’s, but the subject’s; the advantages to be derived from corporate existence are no longer salvation, but the well-being of the citizen. The power of the Puritan God, and of the English King, is bound by the terms of this compact and by the basic law; we are by now certain that God will respect the law we have agreed upon, but as for the King—if he impose a tax on tea to which we do not ourselves consent, and if we thereupon resist him, “even to the destroying him,” we are not criminals, but have only taken “a reasonable way” of vindicating our natural rights.

JOHN WINTHROP, 1588-1649

[For Winthrop’s life see p. 184. *A Modell of Christian Charity* was delivered as a lecture or lay-sermon to the passengers aboard the Arbella on the voyage to New England; it follows the standard sermon form, asserting a doctrinal truth, supporting it with reasons, applying it to the case in hand. The text is from *Winthrop Papers*, Vol. II (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1931).

“*A Defence of an Order of Court*” was written to silence Henry Vane. During the strain of the Antinomian crisis, when the authorities had good reason to fear an insurrection of the Hutchinsonians, the General Court passed a law that no immigrant should be allowed to remain in Massachusetts Bay unless one of the magistrates gave him a permit. The immediate purpose of the law was obviously to prevent the Hutchinsonians from receiving further reinforcements. Vane, who had just been turned out of the governorship (p. 153), called this act “tyranny.” Winthrop defended it with the following tract; Vane replied with a longer document, and Winthrop answered in a still longer argument. The text is from Thomas Hutchinson, *A Collection of Papers Relating to the History of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1769), pp. 63-71. The selections from the *Journal* illustrate the workings of the Puritan state. Winthrop’s speech, delivered to the General Court immediately after he had been acquitted in a trial for exceeding his magisterial authority, is the classic expression of Puritan political theory. The text is from the edition of James Savage (Boston, 1825), I, 300-308, 328-333; II, 35, 226-230.]

A MODELL OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY

Written
On Board the Arbella,
On the Atlantic Ocean.

By the Honorable John Winthrop Esquire.

In His passage, (with the great Company of Religious people, of which Christian Tribes he was the Brave Leader and famous Governor) from the Island of Great Britains, to New-England in the North America.

Anno 1630.

CHRISTIAN CHARITY.

A Modell Hereof.

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

The Reason Hereof.

1. Res: First, to hold conformity with the rest of his works, being delighted to shew 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 honoured in dispensing his gifts to man by man, than if he did it by his own immediate hand.

2. Res: Secondly, That he might have the more occasion to manifest the works of his Spirit: first, upon the wicked in moderating and restraining them; so that the rich and mighty should not catt vpp the poor, nor the poor, and dispilied rpp against their superiors, and shake off their yokes; sly in the regenerate in exercising his graces in them, as in the greate ones, their love, mercy, graces, temperature etc., in the poor and inferior sorts, therfe faithfull patience, obedience etc.

3. Res: Thirdly, That every man might have need of other, and from hence they might be all knit more nearly together in the Bond of brotherly affection: from hence it appers plainly that noe man is made more honourable then 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 therefore calls wealth his gold and his silver etc. Prov. 3: 9. he claims their service as his due honour the Lord with thy riches etc. All men being thus (by divine providence) ransacked into two sorts, rich and poor, whereas the first, are comprehended all 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 men are to walk one towards another: Jurisdiction and Mercy. These are allways distinguished in there Act and in there object, yet may they both concur in the same Subject in each respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of shewing mercy to a rich man, in some sudden change of distress, and allow doing of mere Justice to a poor man in regard of some particular contract etc. There is likewise a double Lawe by which we are regulated in our conversation one towards another: In both the former respects, the lawe of nature and the lawe of grace, or the moral lawe or the lawe of the gospel, to omit the rule of Jud. 1: 5 not properly belonging to this purpose otherwise it may fall into consideration in some particular Case: By the first of these lawes man as he was enabled was withall [is] commanded to love his neighbour as himself upon this ground stands all the precepts of the moral lawe, which concerns our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy this lawe requires two things first that every man afford his help to another in every way or distress Secondly That he performs this out of the same affection which makes him careful of his owne good according to that of our Savioe Math. [7: 12]. Whatever ye would that men should do to you. This was practiced by Abraham and Lot in entertaining the Angells and the old man of Gibeon. "The lawe of Grace or the Gospel hath some difference from the former as in those respects first the lawe of nature was gien to men in the estate of innocencie; this of the gospel in the estate of regarcesie: slay, the former propounds one man to another, as the same fleshe and Image of God, thus as a brother in Christ alive, and in the Communion of the same spirit and so teacheth vs to put a difference betweene Christians and others. Doe good to all especially to the household of faith; upon this ground the Jewes and Israelites were at full a difference between the brethren such as were strangers bough not of the Canaanites. Slay. The Lawe of nature could gie noe rules for dealing with enemies for all are to be considered as freinds in the estate of innocency, but the Gospel commands love to an enemy. proof[i] If thine Enemy hunger feede him; love thy Enenemies doe good to them that hate you Math: 5: 44. This Lawe of the Gospel propounds likewise a difference of seasons and occasions there is a time when a christian must sell all and glue to the poore to they did in the Apostie times. There is a time alowe when a christian (though they glue not all yet) must glue beyond their ability, as they of Macedonie. Cor. 9: 6. Likewise community of poore calls for extraordinary liberallity and soe doth Community in some speciall servise for the Church. Lastly, when there is too other means whereby our Christian brother may be relieved in this distress, we must help him beyond our ability, rather then tempt God, in putting him upon help by unnatural or extraordinary meanes. . . . 1. For the persoe, wee are a Company professing our seues fellow members of Christ. In which respect ostey when wee were absent from each other many miles, and had our imployements as farre distant, yet wee ought to account our selves knit together by this bond of Love, and live in the exercise of it, if wee would have comforte of our being in Christ, this was notorious in the practice of the Christians in former times, as is testified of the Waldenses: 4 from the mouth of one of the adversaries Aenaeus Sylvia, mutuo [solemn amare] pend antiquum moritri, they we to lose any of their owne religion even before they were acquainted with them. sly. For the works wee have in hand, it is by a mutuall consent through a speciall overruling providence, and a more then an orinary approbation of the Churches of Christ to seek out a place of Cohabitation and Consortei under a due forme of Government both civil and ecclesiastical. In such cases as this the care of the publice must overlook all private respects, by which not only conscience, but meere Gallil pollity doth binde vs; for it is a true rule that particular estates cannot subsist in the ruinse of the publicke. sly. The end is to improve our limes to doe more servite to the Land the conforte and encrease of the body of christere whereas wee are membe rs that our seues and posterity may be the better preserved from the Common corruptions of this wall world to serve the Lord and work out our Salvation under the power and purity of his holy Ordinances. sly for the reasons whereby this must bee effected, they are all ready, a Conformity with the works and end wee aile at, these wee see are extraordinary, therefore wee must not content our selves with usuall ordinary means whatsoever wee did or ought to haue done when wee lived in England, the same wee doe and more alowe where
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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, and he melt under his charges and cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world; and 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 gods worthy servants, and cause them to be turned into Guses upon us; till we be consumed out of the good land whether we are going: And to shunt ypp this discourse with that exhortation of Moses that faithful servant of the Lord in his last farewell to Israel Deut. 30. Behold there is now set before vs life, and good, and death and ruin; and 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 Ordinances, 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 pleasures, and profanities, and curse them; it is propounded unto vs this day, we shall surely perish out of the good Land whither we passe over this vast Sea to possess it.

Therefore lett vs 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.

A DEFENCE OF AN ORDER OF COURT MADE IN THE YEAR 1645.

A Declaration of the Intent and Equity of the Order made at the last Court, to this effect, that none should be received to inhabit within this Jurisdiction but such as should be allowed by some of the Magistrates.