

it oversteps 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 dethroning 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. 124. "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. 133), 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, 300-302, 322-323, II, 35, 228-230.]

#### A MODELL OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY

Written

On Boarde the Arrabella,  
On the Atlantick 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 Brittain, to New-England in the North America.

Anno 1630.

CHRISTIAN CHARITYE.

A Modell Hereof.

**G**OD ALMIGHTIE in his most holy and wise providence hath soe disposed of the Condicion of mankinde, as in all times some must be rich some poore, some highe and eminent in power and dignitie; others meane and in subieccion.

The Reason Hereof.

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

2. Reas: *Secondly*, That he might haue the more occasion to manifest the worke of his Spirit: first, vpon the wicked in moderating and restraining them: soe that the riche and mighty should not eate vpp the poore, nor the poore, and dispised rise vpp against their superiours, and shake off their yoake; 2ly in the regenerate in exercising his graces in them, as in the greate ones, their loue mercy, gentlenes, temperance etc., in the poore and inferiour sorte, their faith patience, obedience etc:

3. Reas: *Thirdly*, That every man might haue need of other, and from hence they might be all knitt more nearly together in the Bond of brotherly affection: from hence it appeares plainely that noe man is made more honourable then another or more wealthy etc., out of

any perticuler and singuler respect to himselfe but for the glory of his Creator and the Common good of the Creature, Man; Therefore God still reserues the propperty of these guifts to himselfe as Ezek: 16. 17. he there calls wealthe his gold and his silver etc. Prov: 3. 9. he claimes their seruice as his due honour the Lord with thy riches etc. All men being thus (by diuine providence) rancked into two sortes, riche and poore; vnder the first, are comprehended all such as are able to liue comfortably by their owne meanes duely improued; and all others are poore according to the former distribution. There are two rules whereby wee are to walke one towards another: **JUSTICE** and **MERCY**. These are allwayes distinguished in their Act and in their obiect, yet may they both concur in the same Subiect in each respect; as sometimes there may be an occasion of shewing mercy to a rich man, in some sudden danger of distresse, and allsoe doing of more Justice to a poor man in regard of some perticuler contract etc. There is likewise a double Lawe by which wee are regulated in our conversacion one towards another: in both the former respects, the lawe of nature and the lawe of grace, or the morrall lawe or the lawe of the gospell, to omitt the rule of Justice as not properly belonging to this purpose otherwise then it may fall into consideracion in some perticuler Cases: By the first of these lawes man as he was enabled soe withall [is] commaunded to loue his neighbour as himselfe vpon this ground stands all the precepts of the morrall lawe, which concernes our dealings with men. To apply this to the works of mercy this lawe requires two things first that every man afford his help to another in every want or distresse Secondly, That hee performe this out of the same affection, which makes him carefull of his owne good according to that of our Saviour Math: [7. 12.] Whatsoever ye would that men should doe to you. This was practised by Abraham and Lott in entertaineing the Angells and the old man of Gibea.

The Lawe of Grace or the Gospell hath some differance from the former as in these respectes first the lawe of nature was giuen to man in the estate of innocency; this of the gospell in the estate of regeneracy: 2ly, the former propounds one man to another, as the same fleshe and Image of god, this as a brother in Christ allsoe, and in the Communion of the same spirit and soe teacheth vs to put a difference betweene Christians and others. Doe good to all especially to the household of faith; vpon this ground the Israelites were to putt a difference betweene the brethren of such as were strangers though not of the Canaanites. 3ly. The Lawe of nature could giue noe rules for dealing with enemies for all are to be considered as freinds in the estate of

innocency, but the Gospell commaunds loue to an enemy. profe[:]  
If thine Enemye hunger feede him; Loue your Enemies doe good to them that hate you Math: 5. 44.

This Lawe of the Gospell propoundes likewise a difference of seasons and occasions there is a time when a christian must sell all and giue to the poore as they did in the Apostles times. There is a tyme allsoe when a christian (though they giue not all yet) must giue beyond their ability, as they of Macedonia. Cor: 2. 6. likewise community of perills calls for extraordinary liberallity and soe doth Community in some speciall seruice for the Churche. Lastly, when there is noe other meanes whereby our Christian brother may be relieued in this distresse, wee must help him beyond our ability, rather then tempt God, in putting him vpon help by miraculous or extraordinary meanes. . . .

1. For the persons, wee are a Company professing our selues fellow members of Christ, In which respect onely though wee were absent from each other many miles, and had our employments as farre distant, yet wee ought to account our selues knitt together by this bond of loue, and liue in the exercise of it, if wee would haue comforte of our being in Christ, this was notorious in the practise of the Christians in former times, as is testified of the Waldenses<sup>1</sup> from the mouth of one of the adversaries Aeneas Syluius, mutuo [solent amare] penè antequam norint, they vse to loue any of their owne religion even before they were acquainted with them.

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

3ly. The end is to improue our liues to doe more seruice to the Lord the comforte and encrease of the body of christe whereof wee are members that our selues and posterity may be the better preserued from the Common corrupcions of this euill world to serue the Lord and worke out our Salvacion vnder the power and purity of his holy Ordinances.

4ly for the meanes whereby this must bee effected, they are 2fold, a Conformity with the worke and end wee aime at, these wee see are extraordinary, therefore wee must not content our selues with vsuall ordinary meanes whatsoever wee did or ought to haue done when wee liued in England, the same must wee doe and more allsoe where

wee goe: That which the most in their Churches maineteine as a truthe in profession onely, wee must bring into familiar and constant practice,<sup>2</sup> as in this duty of lque wee must loue brotherly without dissimulation, wee must loue one another with a pure hearte feruently wee must beare one anothers burthens, wee must not looke onely on our owne things, but allsoe on the things of our brethren, neither must wee think that the lord will beare with such faileings at our hands as hee dothe from those among whome wee haue liued. . . .

Thus stands the cause betweene God and vs, wee are entered into Covenant with him for this worke, wee haue taken out a Commission, the Lord hath giuen vs leaue to drawe our owne Articles wee haue professed to enterprise these Accions vpon these and these ends, wee haue herevpon besought him of fauour and blessing: Now if the Lord shall please to heare vs, and bring vs in peace to the place wee desire, then hath hee ratified this Covenant and sealed our Commission, [and] will expect a strickt performance of the Articles contained in it, but if wee shall neglect the obseruacion of these Articles which are the ends wee haue propounded, and dissembling with our God, shall fall to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnall intencions seekeing greate things for our selues and our posterity, the Lord will surely breake out in wrathe against vs be revenged of such a periured people and make vs knowe the price of the breache of such a Covenant.<sup>3</sup>

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke and to provide for our posterity is to followe the Counsell of Micah, to doe Justly, to loue mercy, to walke humbly with our God, for this end, wee must be knitt together in this worke as one man, wee must entertaine each other in brotherly Affeccion, wee must be willing to abridge our selues of our superfluties, for the supply of others neccssities, wee must vphold a familiar Commerce together in all meekenes, gentlenes, patience and liberallity, wee must delight in eache other, make others Conditions our owne reioyce together, mourne together, labour, and suffer together, allwayes haucing before our eyes our Commission and Community in the worke, our Community as members of the same body, soe shall wee keepe the vnitie of the spirit in the bond of peace, the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among vs, as his owne people and will commaund a blessing vpon vs in all our wayes, soe that wee shall see much more of his wisdom power goodnes and truthe then formerly wee haue beene acquainted with, wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among vs, when tenn of vs shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when hee shall make vs a prayse and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantacions: the lord make it like

that of New England: for wee must Consider that wee shall be as a Citty vpon a Hill, the eies of all people are vpon vs; soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our god in this worke wee haue vndertaken and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from vs, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world, wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake euill of the wayes of god and all professours for Gods sake; wee shall shame the faces of many of gods worthy seruants, and cause their prayers to be turned into Curses vpon vs till wee be consumed out of the good land whether wee are going: And to shutt vpp this discourse with that exhortacion of Moses that faithfull seruant of the Lord in his last farewell to Irsael Deut. 30. Beloued there is now sett before vs life, and good, deathe and euill in that wee are Commaunded this day to loue the Lord our God, and to loue one another to walke in his wayes and to keepe his Commaundements and his Ordinance, and his lawes, and the Articles of our Covenant with him that wee may liue and be multiplyed, and that the Lord our God may blesse vs in the land whether wee goe to possesse it: But if our heartes shall turne away soe that wee will not obey, but shall be seduced and worshipp . . . other Gods our pleasures, and proffitts, and serue them; it is propounded vnto vs this day, wee shall surely perishe out of the good Land whether wee passe over this vast Sea to possesse it;

Therefore lett vs choose life,  
that wee, and our Seede,  
may liue; by obeyeing his  
voyce, and cleaucing to him,  
for hee is our life, and  
our prosperity.

*A DEFENCE OF AN ORDER OF COURT MADE  
IN THE YEAR 1637.*

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

**F**OR CLEARING of such scruples as have arisen about this order, it is to be considered, first, what is the essentiall forme of a common weale or body politic such as this is, which I conceive to be this—The consent of a certaine companie of people, to cohabite together, under one government for their mutual safety and welfare. . . .