

## RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION IN THE SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND: CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS

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When in spring 1630 the plans for emigration were complete and the Winthrop fleet was ready for departure, John Cotton delivered a farewell sermon, taking as his text II Samuel 7:10, "Moreover, I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more." In this sermon, Cotton reviewed the arguments for and against emigration, emphasizing that those about to embark upon the voyage had a "commission" from God, being "a Company that agree together to remove out of their own Country and settle a Citty or Commonwealth elsewhere." God would protect the planters of the commonwealth for "what hee hath planted hee will maintain. Every plantation his right hand hath not planted shall be rooted up, but his owne plantation shall prosper and flourish."<sup>1</sup> Those to whom Cotton was speaking had previously agreed that they were going upon an errand of God; the object of their work was "God's glory and God's good."<sup>2</sup> In June 1630, two months following their departure from Southampton, John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Company, a passenger on board the *Arbella*, delivered a sermon entitled "A Modell of Christian Charity." Concerned with the morale of his listeners and the purposes behind their departure from England, Winthrop praised the migration and their own participation in it in lofty tones. He, like Cotton, believed that the emigrants had a "Commission" from God, who would reward them if they succeeded in their work and punish them if they failed. At the conclusion of his sermon, Winthrop uttered the words for which he is well known and which have been seen by many historians as representing the clearest statement of a positive mission on the part of these Englishmen: ". . . for wee must consider that wee shall be as a Citty vpon a Hill, the eies of all people are vpon us; soe that if we shall deale falsely with our God in this worke we haue vundertaken . . . we shall bee made a story and a by-word through the world."<sup>3</sup> This speech reveals, it has been suggested, Winthrop's belief that he and those who accompanied him had been sent upon a mission by God to establish, if they were successful, an example for the continuing reformation of England and the rest of Europe. But if they were not successful,

their failure would be inescapably recognizable and they would be damned by God and in the eyes of the world.

The possible motives of John Winthrop, Richard Mather, John Cotton, and others who were involved in the Great Migration, 1629-1640, have been argued by almost every historian of seventeenth century England and early North America. Perry Miller, a historian who is perhaps more responsible than any other for attributing lofty ideals to these early colonizers, maintains: "The migration was no retreat from Europe; it was a flank attack. These were not, despite their analogies with Moses and the tribes of Israel, refugees seeking a promised land, but English schoolboys, soldiers and statesmen, taking the long way about in order that someday they . . . might rule in Lambeth."<sup>4</sup> In another work on the same subject, Miller elaborates further upon the purposes of those who emigrated: "These Puritans did not flee to America; they went in order to work out that complete reformation which was not accomplished in England and Europe, but which would quickly be accomplished if only the saints back there had a model to guide them"<sup>5</sup> This according to Miller was their "errand into the wilderness." But his interpretation has been far from unanimously accepted, and historians over the past 30 years have tested and been directly or by inference accepted or rejected his hypothesis.<sup>6</sup> This paper will examine the presence of a positive sense of purpose on the part of first-generation settlers in New England, and will point out that although Miller's model--reformation mission--may be present in the writing of John Winthrop, by far the majority of first-generation Puritans who mentioned motivation reflected a conviction that their ultimate purpose was to convert the Indians of North America.<sup>7</sup>

The conversion of the Indians as a possible Puritanic mission is one aspect of the Great Migration which has not been taken seriously by most historians dealing with the period. Although Neal Salisbury in an article on the "praying Indians" of Massachusetts Bay explains that conversion was an "integral" part of the Company's propaganda, and Alden T. Vaughan and Perry Miller admit that it was "inevitably" one of the published purposes, these historians do not view conversion of the Indians as a primary goal of the emigrants. Vaughan reminds his readers that this mission was the conception of the Spanish in South America, and of Charles I and most Englishmen, Puritan or not, and insists that the entire concep-



of propagating the Gospel had been overworked by the time the Great Migration began.<sup>8</sup>

It is tempting, therefore, for the historian to believe that the Puritans simply repeated a notion expressed in their charter, present in Biblical literature, and common in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,<sup>9</sup> and that they possessed no conception of conversion as a primary or peculiar purpose. But in fact this cannot be assumed, because there is a large body of evidence to the contrary. Peter Carrol addresses the problem in Puritanism and the Wilderness when he writes that "nearly every defender of colonization in the seventeenth century proclaimed the advantages of exporting Christianity to America," and this was "regardless of doctrinal variations." But this should not throw doubt upon the "sincerity of the promoters." The Puritans came not only to establish pure churches in the wilderness, but to employ these churches actively toward the conversion of the Indians. For the emigrants, the logic of such propagation and conversion "became a prime justification for the establishment of a colony in New England."<sup>10</sup>

A recognition of the need to convert the Indians appears in documents and official correspondence relating to the colony, as well as in promotional tracts, sermons, and private correspondence. Beginning as early as 1629 with the issuance of the Massachusetts Bay Charter and the "Cambridge Agreement," and continuing in such subsequent tracts as the Company's instructions to its representatives in the colonies, John Winthrop's "Arguments for the Plantation of New England" and the "Humble Request," John White's "Planter's Plea," and the 1643 "Articles of Confederation," the Puritans proclaimed that their primary reason for emigrating to the new world was to spread the word of God and consequently convert the Indians.

"The Charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England" was drawn up in 1628 and 1629. Concerned with the precedents for colonization, it traced the provisions of a prior grant, defined the geographical area allotted to the Company, specified those to whom it was issued, and outlined the type of government which the colony was to adopt. Finally, the charter concerned itself with the purpose of the plantation. Those of Massachusetts would be:

. . . religiously, peaceable, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderlie conversacon maie wynn and incite the natives of [the] country to the knowledg and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior or mankind, and the Christian fayth, which, in our royall intencon and the adventurers free profession, is the principall end of this plantacon.<sup>11</sup>

It is not surprising, of course, that the charter was so worded, for statements similar to this were common in the charters of other colonies, Spanish as well as English. This was primarily the conception of Charles I and his ministers, and the ideas reflected in the charter could possibly be disregarded were it not for the fact that they appeared with such regularity in other Puritan literature.

In June 1628, John Endicott, one of the patentees of the Massachusetts Bay Company, was sent to New England with a small number of settlers to replace Roger Conant as local manager of Naumkeag (Salem). During the two years before the arrival of the Winthrop fleet, a series of instructions were sent to him by the Company and its officials concerning the management of the colony, the first two of which commented upon the purposes toward which the colonists would be working. On 16 February 1629, for example, Matthew Craddock, Governor of the Company, wrote to advise them in New England of the events taking place in the mother country. He reported that the emigrants in Naumkeag would soon be joined by other colonists as the Company was rapidly acquiring ships for the transportation of settlers. And these people, in addition to those already in residence, would work to achieve the "main end" of the plantation "by endeavouring to bring the Indians to the knowledge of the Gospel." Craddock concluded by bestowing a prayer upon Endicott and his company and again the spread of the Gospel was a prominent concern: "The God of heaven and earth preserve and keep you from all foreign and inland enemies, and bless and prosper this Plantation, to the enlarging of the Kingdom of Jesus Christ."<sup>12</sup> Several months later, the Company sent its first "General Letter of Instructions" to Endicott and his council. This document, like Craddock's letter, related the progress of the Company's activities in England and similarly defined the goals toward which they were striving: "And for that the propagating of the Gospel is the thing we do profess above all to be our aim in



settling this plantation, we have been careful to make plentiful provision of godly ministers; by whose faithful preaching . . . the Indians may, in God's appointed time, be reduced to the obedience of the Gospel of Christ."<sup>13</sup> In this same letter, the Company reported that they had ordered a "common seal" to be made which depicted an Indian crying, "Come over and Help Us."<sup>14</sup>

During the early years of the Massachusetts Bay Company, a number of tracts were printed which sought both to encourage emigration and justify the actions of those who had already departed. The "Arguments for the Plantation of New England" was one, as were John White's "Planter's Plea" and John Winthrop's "Humble Request," and all of these alluded to some extent to the propagation of the Gospel as a principal purpose behind the Puritans' endeavors. The "Arguments," written in 1629 before the departure of the Winthrop group, listed as first among the "grounds of settling a plantation in New England:" "The propagacion of the Gosepll to the Indians. Wherein first the importance of the worke tendinge to the enlargement of the Kingdome of Jesus Christ and winning them out of the snare of the Divell and converting others of them by these meanes."<sup>15</sup> Through such a plantation a "bulwarke against the Antichrist" would be raised and though they could not be certain whether the Indians would receive their ministerings, "yet it is a good worke to observe God's will in offering it [the Gospel] to them, for God shall have glory by it, though they refuse it."<sup>16</sup>

The following year, Winthrop and other leaders<sup>17</sup> of the fleet issued a supplication to "the rest of their Brethern in and out of the Church of England," in an endeavor to win blessings and prayers for "this solemne Enterprise" and to clarify any misconceptions which existed concerning the intentions of the emigrants. The signers of this "Humble Request" assured those remaining in England that the emigrants were not separating from the Church of England, indeed they would always consider her "their deare mother," nor were they "those that dream of perfection in this world." Rather they sought simply to enlarge the bounds of the church "in the kingdome of Jesus Christ," which, if they succeeded, would enable her to "bee the more glorious."<sup>18</sup>

Shortly following the initial wave of emigration, a pamphlet was printed which examined the nature of colonization and defended the movement which was in progress. The author, John White,

explained in the preface that the planting of a colony in New England had not been "thrust forward by unadvised precipitation but rather had been encouraged on "probable grounds of reason and religion." When considering the ends which may be proposed in planting colonies, he reminded his readers of the Gospel injunction to spread the knowledge of Christ to all parts of the world, pointing out that never before had such knowledge been dispersed among inhabitants of the unknown North American continent. New England was a "fit Country for the seating of an English Colonie for the propagation of Religion," and the colonists were not to be dissuaded from that task by the ill-success of Virginia. Rather they had advantages which would enable them quickly to prepare the Indians for the reception of the Gospel, the end being that the initial converts would in turn take this new religion to others of their "Countrie-men."<sup>19</sup> And though White himself never emigrated, he had seriously considered it, explaining: "The furthering of the Gospell in New England seems to be of more pressing necessity and consequently by a stronger band to call me on to that worke than the state at home to my continuance here." The aim of the colony stated plainly and repeatedly, was the propagation of the Gospel, the "winning of the Heathen to the knowledge of God."<sup>20</sup>

Off and on over the next fifty years, this concept appeared often in documents dealing with the affairs of New England. An early record of Charlestown recognizes that God blessed the settlement for purposes of "spreading his gospel and peopling this great and . . . terrible wilderness."<sup>21</sup> Similarly, a House of Commons order of 10 March 1643 congratulated the plantation upon its "good and prosperous success" in the "propagation of the Gospel." Twenty years later a directive from the General Court of New Haven to the General Assembly of Connecticut acknowledged: "The professed grounds and ends of your and our commeing into these parts are not unknowne . . . . Namely to advance the kingdome of our Lord Jesus Christ and to enjoy the liberties of the Gospell." And indeed these were the "onely ends we still pursue."<sup>22</sup>

An identical statement appears in the "Articles of Confederation" drawn up between Massachusetts Bay, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven in 1643. The document proclaimed that the "United Colonies" entered into a "firm and perpetual league of friendship" for "preserving and propagating the truths and liberties of the Gospel."<sup>23</sup>



The idea that New England was founded for the purpose of propagating the Gospel and converting the Indians appears not only in the official literature of the colonies but also in private correspondence. Perhaps the most explicit example of this is a letter from Emmanuel Downing to Sir John Coke on 12 October 1633. Downing, who had not yet emigrated, attempted to explain the differences between New England and earlier colonies such as Virginia. The two plantations, he pointed out, "went not forth for the same reason: Those of Virginia went only for proffitt, . . . these went upon two other designs: some to satisfie their owne curiosity in poynt of conscience, others (which was more general) to transport the Gospell to those heathen that never heard thereof: to this most of the chiefe amongst them were encouraged upon this ground that the fulness of the Gentiles might come in before the Jews shal be called."<sup>24</sup> Similarly, Richard Saltonstall had written to Downing two years previously to encourage him to emigrate. He spoke of the many advantages to be gained in coming to the new colony, including economic advancement and the personal satisfaction of being a "worthy instrument" in the propagation of the Gospel to "these poore barbarous people."<sup>25</sup> In the same vein, John Winthrop and John Wilson wrote in 1632 to a prospective emigrant: "We may be bould to let you know that we have hearde with much joye for our hearts of the disposition of your thoughts toward us, or rather toward the worke begunne heere, for the spreadinge of the Gospell in these Western parts of the world."<sup>26</sup> Finally, in a letter written by Samuel Symonds to Winthrop in 1647, the former reaffirmed that prominent among "gods ends" was the winning of "these Indians to Christs kingdome."<sup>27</sup>

Further evidence that the propagation of the Gospel was indeed a widely-held goal among first-generation settlers may be found in several miscellaneous writings in which the authors touched upon their "mission." John Cotton, for example, in the preface to the sermon preached to the Winthrop group in 1630, cautioned his listeners to offend not the "poore natives:" ". . . as you partake in their land, so make them partakers of your precious faith; as you reape their temporalls, so feede them with your spirituals . . . . They never yet refused the Gospell, and therefore more hope they will not receive it. Who knoweth whether God have reared this whole plantation for such an end." The conversion of the Indians, he insisted, may well have been "the larger declaration of the first

rise and ends of the enterprise."<sup>28</sup> Similarly, Thomas Shepard recorded in his diary in 1641 that of the many possibilities which emigration to New England had offered him was the chance to serve in the preserving and propagating of the Gospel.<sup>29</sup> And John Eliot, the first-generation member best known for working among the Indians, remarked in a tract relating to the progress among the natives: "It is plainly to be observed, that one end of God's sending so many saints to New England, was the conversion of the Indians."<sup>30</sup>

Some years later, Roger Clap, in reminiscing about the migration to New England, explained: "It also pleased God to put into the hearts of some of our worthies, to consider that one end of our coming hither was to preach the Gospel of our Lord to the Indians, for the saving of God's elect, and for the bringing into Christ's kingdom those that were as in highways and hedges." The conversion of the Indians was "none of the least motives" that persuaded New Englanders to leave the mother country, and they had found a great deal of satisfaction in sowing "the Lord's good seed in the hearts of others."<sup>32</sup> There was a double end for the emigration of the Puritans to the new world: the enlargement of the King's domains and "the conversion of the Pagans."<sup>33</sup> As Francis Higginson explained regarding his own voyage in 1629, the Puritans had undertaken their work for the "glory of God, the Propagation of the Gospel of Christ, the conversion of the Indians and the enlargement of the King's dominions in America."<sup>34</sup>

Beginning in the late 1640s, there appeared numerous tracts which related the progress of the Puritans' work among the Indians. Not all of these writings, of course, mentioned the Great Migration or the aims of its participants, but those which did, almost without exception, explained the aims in terms of the conversion of the Indians. In 1651, for example, a narrative of Thomas Mayhew's endeavors at Martha's Vineyard was edited and published by Henry Whitfield. Entitled "The Light Appearing More and More Towards the Perfect Day," it praised the efforts of such men as Eliot and Mayhew, and concluded:

. . . the Lord hath now declared one great end he had of sending . . . many of his people to those end[s] of the earth; for besides that the Lord hath made that Land a place of rest . . . so now apparently in the conversion of



many of the Heathens, who sing and rejoyce in the wayes of the Lord.<sup>35</sup>

Similarly, "Strength out of Weaknesse; or a Glorious Manifestation of the Further Progresse of the Gospel Among the Indians" appeared the following year. Published by the Corporation for Promoting the Gospel in New England, the tract elaborated upon a previous report and included a letter from John Endicott to the Corporation, in which he explained: "I esteame it not the least of God's mercies that hath stirred up the hearts of many of the people of God to be instrumentall in the enlarging of the Kingdome of his deare sonne here amongst the Heathen Indians, which was one end of our coming hither."<sup>36</sup> And Eliot stated in the dedication of his Bible in the Indian language:

The people of these four colonies . . . put themselves upon this great and hazardous undertaking . . . that . . . we might enjoy that liberty to worship God . . . as also that we might . . . be instrumental to spread the light of the Gospel . . . to the poor barbarous Heathen.<sup>37</sup>

In light of the professions of the first generation, it may be thought curious that active missionary work among the Indians only began over a decade following initial settlement. Though some natives were living with Puritan families as early as 1638, it was not until 1646 that Eliot preached his first sermon to an Indian audience and that the General Court passed laws designed to make missionary efforts easier.<sup>38</sup> Alden Vaughan explains the lag between the Puritans' professions and actions by pointing out the theological and language barriers, the reluctance of "the natives to embrace the Gospel," and the magnitude of the task of building a society in the wilderness.<sup>39</sup> Another factor which made missionary efforts difficult until the mid-1640s was the opposition of the white settlers. Disillusioned by years of conflict with the Indians, they refused to contribute to the work of Eliot and Mayhew. Although idealistic goals of first-generation leaders changed when confronted by the realities of life in New England, Puritan intentions seem sincere.

Despite the lack of general enthusiasm and the time lag, work among the Indians did begin and was carried on with increasing intensity until late in the century. The total number of converts

during this period was not impressive--approximately 2500 or two percent of the Indian population.<sup>40</sup> The Puritans did create the Corporation for the Propagating the Gospel to direct and finance the war, and between 1651 and 1674 Eliot successfully "modeled" fourteen praying towns of Massachusetts Bay on his utopian vision of 'Christian Commonwealth.'<sup>41</sup> The first generation's aim at converting the Indians began to materialize as the century drew to a close. As Hugh Peter explained to his daughter near the end of his life, the cause of New England was "much in reference to the Indians, of which we did not fail to attempt, with good Success many of their Souls."<sup>42</sup> When Perry Miller originally defined the mission of the New England Puritans, he could not have foreseen that his interpretation would incite a search into the writings of first-generation Puritans for possible motivation. But in looking at promotional tracts, sermons, diaries, correspondence, and various ecclesiastical espousals which began to appear in 1628, it becomes evident the first-generation Puritans settled New England in order to convert the Indians. Preoccupied while still in England with signs of decadence and unable to conform to a system which they considered sinful, Puritans ventured to the new world to enjoy the freedom denied them in the mother country. According to their professions, they did not cross the Atlantic seeking economic advantage, nor did they come to act as an example for the reformation of Europe. They came rather to establish churches where they could freely preach the word of God, and they came also to impart the teachings of the Gospel to "those sometimes poor, now precious" Indians.<sup>43</sup> Although not every first generation leader mentioned a positive mission on the part of those who emigrated, those who did address the issue, the majority recognized the need to propagate the Gospel and convert the natives. Through such endeavors they thought the glory of God would be achieved and a holy commonwealth established.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>John Cotton, *God's Promise to His Plantations* (London: William Jones, 1634), pp. 1, 4, 8, 19.

<sup>2</sup>"The Cambridge Agreement," 26 August 1629 in *Chronicles*



the *First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, ed. Alexander Young (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), p. 49.

<sup>3</sup>John Winthrop, "A Modell of Christian Charity," in *The Puritans: A Sourcebook of Their Writings*, eds. Perry Miller and Thomas H. Johnson (New York: Harper and Row, 1938, 1:199.

<sup>4</sup>Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup>Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness* (New York: Harper and Row, 1956), p. 11.

<sup>6</sup>Many historians accept Miller's interpretation of first-generation mission. Among them are Edmund Morgan, Stephen Foster, Kai Erikson, Kenneth Lockridge, Loren Baritz, Richard Dunn and Michael McGiffert. Almost all of these historians cite the *Arbella* sermon as the most succinct statement of this mission. Edmund Morgan, *Roger Williams: The Church and the State* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967), p. 81; Stephen Foster, *Their Solitary Way: The Puritan Social Ethic in the First Century of Settlement in New England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971), p. 3; Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966), pp. v-vi; Kenneth Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), p. 18; Loren Baritz, *City on a Hill: A History of Ideas and Myths in America* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1964), p. 8; and Richard Dunn, *Puritans and Yankees: The Winthrop Dynasty, 1603-1717* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), p. 11. Robert Middlekauff and Darrett Rutman deny the existence of a model-reformation mission on the part of the first generation, though Middlekauff is one of several historians to attribute a chiliastic purpose to the emigrants. Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596-1728* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 25-32; and Darrett Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1603-1649* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), pp. 19-21. See also Joy Bourne Gilsdorf, "The Puritan Apocalypse: New England Eschatology in the Seventeenth Century" (Diss., Yale University, 1964), pp. 160-69; and Jesper Rosenmeier, "The Teacher and the Witness: John Cotton and Roger Williams," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Series, XXV(1968), 412; and "Veritas: The Sealing of the Promise," *Harvard Library Bulletin*, XVI(1968), 28, 33. See also an unpublished

dissertation, "The Puritan Apocalypse," by Joy Bourne Gilsdorf and articles by Jesper Rosenmeier.

<sup>7</sup>The first generation of New England are defined as the Englishmen, having reached majority, who emigrated between 1620 and 1640. They were non-separating Presbyterian or Independent Puritans. The works of 60 first generation members were examined. Some mentioned a positive mission, some did not.

<sup>8</sup>Neal Salisbury, "Red Puritans: The Praying Indians of Massachusetts Bay and John Eliot," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Series, 31 (1974) : 27-54; Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), 235; Miller, *New England Mind*, 2:7.

<sup>9</sup>The Massachusetts Bay Charter was not the only such colonial document to mention the necessity of propagation; the patent of Virginia, the Mayflower Compact, and the Maryland Charter made similar statements.

<sup>10</sup>Peter Carrol, *Puritanism and the Wilderness: The Intellectual Significance of the New England Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 12.

<sup>11</sup>"The Charter of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, 1628-1629," in *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, ed. Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853-1854), 1:17.

<sup>12</sup>Matthew Craddock to John Endicott, 16 February 1629, *ibid.* 1:17.

<sup>13</sup>"General Letter of Instructions," April 1629, *ibid.*, 142.

<sup>14</sup>The oath of office for the governor of the colony required similarly: "Likewise you shall do your best endeavor to draw on the natives of this country, called New England, to the knowledge of the True God, and to conserve the planters and others coming hither, in the same knowledge and fear of God." See Young, *Chronicles*, p. 202.

<sup>15</sup>This excerpt is taken from the third draft of the "Arguments." The first two, however, revealed similar arguments. Morison, the editor, comments that Winthrop's authorship of all editions is indisputable. "Arguments for the Plantation of New England," *Winthrop Papers*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (Boston: Merrymount Press, 1929-47), 2:106-107.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 116.

<sup>17</sup>Charles Finnes, Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, George



Phillips, Thomas Dudley, and William Coddington also signed the "Request."

<sup>18</sup>"Humble Request," 7 April 1630, *Winthrop Papers*, 2:231-2.

<sup>19</sup>John White, "The Planers Plea. Or the Grounds of Plantation Examined, and vsuall Objections answered," in *Tracts and Other Papers Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, ed. Peter Force (Gloucester, Massachusetts: Peter Smith, 1863), 2: 7, 13, 17.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 25, 29.

<sup>21</sup>"Ancient Records of the Town of Charleston," in Young, *Chronicles*, p. 382.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, General Court of New Haven to the General Assembly of Connecticut 6 May 1663, in *Letters of John Davenport, Puritan Divine*, ed. Isabel M. Calder (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), p. 212.

<sup>23</sup>"Articles of Confederation," in William Hubbard, "General History of New England," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 2nd Series, 5 (1816):468.

<sup>24</sup>Emmanuel Downing to Sir John Coke, 12 October 1633, *ibid.*, 7:383. References such as that of Downing to the "fulness of the Gentiles" are the primary bases for the contentions of historians such as Jesper Rosenmeier and Joy Bourne Gilsdorf that the Puritans regarded the spread of the Gospel from a chiliastic standpoint. Gilsdorf, "Puritan Apocalypse," pp. 160-69; Rosenmeier, "Veritas," 35.

<sup>25</sup>Richard Saltonstall to Emmanuel Downing, 4 February 1631, *ibid.*, 209.

<sup>26</sup>John Winthrop and John Wilson to Dr. Stoughton, October 1632, in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1st Series, 5 (1860-62):128.

<sup>27</sup>Samuel Symonds to John Winthrop, 6 January 1647, *Winthrop Papers*, 5:126.

<sup>28</sup>John Cotton, "To the Christian Reader," in *God's Promise*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>29</sup>Thomas Shepard, *Three Valuable Pieces, viz., Select Cases Resolved* (Boston, 1747), p. 49.

<sup>30</sup>John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, "Tears of Repentance," in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3rd Series, 4 (1834):216.

<sup>31</sup>Roger Clap, "Memoirs," in Young, *Chronicles*, p. 364.

<sup>32</sup>Hubbard, "General History," 49; and Charles Chauncy, *Mercy Shewed to His People, in Giving them a Faithful Ministry in Schools of Learning* (Cambridge: Samuel Green, 1655), p. 29.

<sup>33</sup>John Winthrop, "A Briefe Answer to a Certaine Declaration . . . that None should be received to inhabite within this jurisdiction but such as should be Allowed by Some of the Magistrates," in *Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, ed. Thomas Hutchinson (Boston: Thomas and John Fleet, 1769), p. 76.

<sup>34</sup>Francis Higginson, "A True Relation of the Last Voyage to New-England," in Young, *Chronicles*, p. 215.

<sup>35</sup>John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, "The Light Appearing More and More Towards the Perfect Day . . . Published by Henry Whitfield Late Pastor to the Church of Christ at Gilford in New England," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3rd Series (1834) :145.

<sup>36</sup>Corporation for Promoting the Gospel in New England, *Strength out of Weakness* (London: M. Simmons, 1652), p. 33.

<sup>37</sup>John Eliot, "Dedication to the Reverend John Eliot's Indian Version of the Old and New Testaments," in Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 7 (1800) : 223.

<sup>38</sup>Neal Salisbury, "Red Puritans," p. 31.

<sup>39</sup>Alden T. Vaughan, *New England Frontier*, pp. 303-4.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 303.

<sup>41</sup>Neal Salisbury, "Red Puritans," p. 32.

<sup>42</sup>Hugh Peter, *A Dying Fathers Last Legacy to an Only Child* (Boston: B. Green, 1717), p. 77.

<sup>43</sup>John Eliot, "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel Amongst the Indians in New England," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, 3rd Series, 4 (1834) :72-98.