University of Nebraska - Lincoln
DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln

Electronic Texts in American Studies | Libraries at University of Nebraska-Lincoln

1-1-1676

An Earnest Exhortation To the Inhabitants of New-England (1676)

Increase Mather
Second (North) Church, Boston

Reiner Smolinski , Editor
Georgia State University, rsmolinski@gsu.edu

Follow this and additional works at: http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/etas

Part of the American Studies Commons

Mather, Increase and Smolinski, Reiner , Editor, "An Earnest Exhortation To the Inhabitants of New-England (1676)" (1676). *Electronic Texts in American Studies.* Paper 31.
http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/etas/31

This Article is brought to you for free and open access by the Libraries at University of Nebraska-Lincoln at DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Texts in American Studies by an authorized administrator of DigitalCommons@University of Nebraska - Lincoln.

Increase Mather (1639-1723).
An Earnest Exhortation To the Inhabitants of New-England (1676)

Even more than his illustrious son Cotton, Increase Mather, is representative of American Puritanism in seventeenth-century New England. As a leader of Boston's ministry, he became the defender of Puritan orthodoxy during its decline; as president of Harvard, he guided the college through its most difficult period; as a political figure, he secured a new charter for Massachusetts when the old had been revoked; and as a voluminous writer, he published in widely diverse disciplines.

Born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, and educated at Harvard (B.A., 1656) and Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland (M.A., 1658), Mather served during the last years of the Interregnum as a congregational minister in southern England (1658-1661). Nonconformity to Anglicanism forced him to return to New England, where he became a controversial spiritual and political leader. As teacher of Boston's Second Church (1664-1723), he staunchly opposed the Half-Way Covenant (1662), governing church admission, and Solomon Stoddard's open-door policy in the Northampton churches. During his Harvard presidency (1685-1702), he implemented a new curriculum and championed the study of science. As New England's envoy to England (1688-1692), Mather negotiated with James II and his successor William III and obtained a new charter, securing most of the colony's former privileges. Hostility toward the Second Charter at home, his support of the new governor Sir William Phipps, his controversial involvement in the Salem witchcraft trials (1692-1693), his resignation from his Harvard presidency (1702), and his unpopular support of small pox inoculation (1721) characterize the gradual decline of the Mather dynasty and its waning political power in New England.

Of his 135 publications, several representative types can be singled out. Like all Puritan biographical writings, *The Life and Death of That Reverend Man of God, Mr. Richard Mather* (1670; 1989) and *The Autobiography of Increase Mather* (publ. 1962) reveal the Puritan penchant for didacticism. The former presents his father as typological exemplar; in the latter, Mather reshapes the events of his life for the moral edification of his posterity. What emerges is a characteristic Puritan hagiography prominently recording the providential events of conversion and his life of visible sainthood, while subordinating the details of his mundane accomplishments.

Like most Puritan histories of seventeenth-century New England, Increase Mather's *A Brief History of the Warr With the Indians in New-England* (1676) fosters an American mythology born out of crises and rooted in the Old Testament language of Israel. He bewails New England's departure form its original Errand, for which apostasy God employs the Indians as a punishing rod to chastise his backsliding children. The specific events are cast in analogous patterns of the past, the Old Testament type foreshadowing its latter-day antitype, and God's dealings with ancient Israel becoming a blueprint for how He would deal with his new English Israel. Thus, Mather's history of New England's war with the Algonquian King Philip (Metacom) is set in a framework of cosmic struggle between good and evil, God's elect warding off Satan's minions. What emerges is less an impartial account of the Indian war (June 1675-Aug. 1676) than a Puritan mythology couched in Old Testament parallels and shaped in the style of biblical lamentations. The thematic unity of the various events underscores Mather's didacticism: while the disastrous war signifies divine displeasure, God has not abandoned New England, for he uses both avenger and victim for his own purposes and, perchance, pardons where He seems most to punish.

Typical of the period's ever popular providence books, Mather's *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684) is a case study of natural phenomena, from which he draws epistemological inferences. Covering such topics as lightning, thunder, magnetism, gravity, comets, as well as ghostly apparitions, demons, and possessions, he develops a physico-theological assessment of natural and supernatural phenomena in an attempt to reconcile the new science with biblical revelation, the Book of Nature corroborating the Book of Scripture. Mather's achievement, however, lies less in his attempt to harmonize theological and scientific theories than in popularizing in New England the latest scientific discoveries of the Royal Society of London. Moreover, his discussion of preternatural activities of witches and their apparitions—a widely-held belief at the time—cautions his readers not to mistake purely natural for supernatural phenomena. Like his later *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits* (1693), a discussion of Salem witchcraft, the *Illustrious Providences* discourages the admission of "spectral evidence" in a court of law and denounces torture as a means of extracting confessions. Though firmly believing in the existence of witchcraft and its deadly power, Mather also cautions against superstition and its dangerous potential. Thus both texts can be seen as the last vestiges of medievalism on the verge of New England's transition into the Enlightenment.

Of his hermeneutical tracts combating the rise of philological criticism and historical contextual interpretations of the Bible, Mather's *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669) and *A Dissertation Concerning the Future Conversion of the Jewish Nation* (1709) deserve to be singled out. *Mystery*

is his response to the wide-spread expectation of the Second Coming of Christ in the wake of the Shabbatean Movement, which fostered the return of European and Ottoman Jews to the Holy Land in the 1660s. His *Dissertation* continues this line of argument, but specifically targets his European colleagues Richard Baxter, John Lightfoot, Henry Hammond, and Hugo Grotius, who allegorized St. Paul's prophecy of Israel's conversion (Romans 11) by insisting on a preterit fulfillment of this event in the historical past. Any future expectation—so crucial to millennialists of the period—was therefore null and void.

Increase Mather's greatest contribution to the literature of early America is, perhaps, his American jeremiad, a homiletic lamentation of New England's departure from its original Errand into the Wilderness. His *The Day of Trouble is Near* (1674) and *Ichabod: or, The Glory Departing* (1702) are representative examples of this genre. Characteristically, Mather assumes the persona of the Old Testament prophet Jeremiah, whose chosen people in the New World are the antitype of God's ancient Israel, the type; he reminds the colony of its Federal Covenant with God and threatens the Saints with divine retribution for their backsliding. In spite of its gloomy vision, *Ichabod*—like all jeremiad sermons—ends on a note of millenarian hope: the Almighty will not abandon his covenanted Saints if only they repent and reform before it is too late. Thus while holding the rod of punishment in one hand, Mather offers God's dove of peace in the other. A response to the declining numbers of new church communicants, the jeremiad as a sermon sub-genre came to its full flowering in the decades following New England's Half-Way Covenant (1662). As a means to incite people to action, the jeremiad also flourished during the Great Awakening and beyond the American Revolution and Manifest Destiny into the early nineteenth century, when the pursuit of the millennium culminated in the Second Great Awakening.

The selection reprinted below, *An Earnest Exhortation To the Inhabitants of New-England* (1676)—courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society—is his theological explication of King Philip's War (1675-76) as God's punishment of his people for their backsliding. Characteristic of the homiletic tradition of the jeremiad is Increase Mather's paradigmatic response to the war with the Indian Sachem Metacom and his action plan to appease his wrathful God. *An Earnest Exhortation* is one of the most revealing documents of the period of how the Puritan ministry squarely located cause and effect of all their actions in God's providential and soteriological design for New England.

Reiner Smolinski
Georgia State University

AN EARNEST

EXHORTATION

To the Inhabitants of

New-England,

To hearken to the voice of God in his late and preſent

DISPENSATIONS

As ever they deſire to eſcape another Judgement, ſeven times greater then any thing which as yet hath been.

By *INCREASE MATHER*; Teacher of a Church in *Boston* in *New-England*.

Lev. 26. 23, 24. *And if you will not be Reformed by these things, but will walk contrary unto me, then will I walk contrary to unto you, I will punish you, yet seven times for your sins.*

Jer. 13. 17. *But if you will not hear it, my soul shall weep in secret places.*

I Cor. 10. 11. *Now all these things hapned unto them for ensamples, and they are written for our Admonition, upon whom the ends of the World are come.*

B O S T O N
Printed by *John Foster:* And are to be Sold over against the *Dove.* 1 6 7 6.

TO THE READER.

THis following Exhortation was written two or three months agoe, since which time the Lord hath given us to see a wonderfull Turn of Providence, in a way of signal mercy towards his poor New-England-People. Nevertheless I have for weighty Reasons, been willing to let it pass, as it is, the main design of it being to quicken sedulous endeavours towards the Reformation of provoking evills: and there is still cause for urgency in that matter. God forbid that we should act as if we were delivered to do abominations, for then it is certain that the continuance of this affliction would have been a far greater mercy, then deliverance out of it. And I will freely confess, that I am not altogether without fears, that there is yet another Storm hastening upon this Land, if Repentance avert it not. For as yet men are not convinced of that which I believe is the Lords Special Controversie with this Land. Though some doe, yet the generality of the people don't see and own these iniquityes, which the righteous God hath been contending for. Nor is there to this day so much done respecting a General Reformation of evills amongst us, as the Lord expects. Nay, there have been such trespasses committed, in the time of our distress, as I am perswaded God will yet visit for. It hath often been so, that if much sin hath been committed, eminent deliverances have been attended with sad after-claps. When the children of Israel were saved from the Midianites, the Inhabitants of Succoth and Penuel did perish after that. And in Jephthahs dayes, he had no sooner subdued the common infamy, but intestine troubles arose, so that there fell of the Ephraimites at that time forty and two thousand. Let us not then be high-minded but fear: especially considering that of late time, the Lord in his providence hath been giving us very Solemn warnings, The deaths of so many righteous and useful ones, both of the first generation, as also a great number of precious ones of the second generation, as have bin taken away this year by Gods own hand, seems to be portentous of more evil to come. And the sudden awfull deaths of some, whom the Lord hath overthrown, as God overthrew

Sodom and Gomorrah, look like ominous warnings. And that Epidemical Disease *that prevailed this Spring, is a very solemn voice from Heaven unto us. We have heard also how terrible the Lord hath been in his doings towards our Country men and Brethren in other parts of the World. Not to speak of the present state of bleeding* Virginia *what an awfull providence was that which hapned in* Barbados *in* August *last, when a Plantation there, was* visited with Thunder, and with great noise, and with a storm and tempest, and flame of devouring fire, *so that in a few hours a considerable town was brought into ruinous heaps. The Lord give unto that* Island *Grace, duly to consider of it and to sin no more* lest a worse thing come unto them. *And how awfull was the hand of God in* September *last, when a fire brake forth in a famous town in the heart of* England (North-Hampton *by name) and in about the space of eight hours, consumed the whole Town, that very few houses were left standing, and the Inhabitants many of them, saved nothing but the cloathes on their backs. Now if we that hear of these things,* fear God and receive instruction, our dwellings shall not be cut off, *but if we be secure and unaffected with the divine Dispensations, how can we think that the worst is past? The Lord can easily punish us by the same Instruments again, if we go on to provoke him. Yea if the power and good providence of God prevent it not, it will be so. Many of these Heathen that have of late submitted themselves, art treacherous and bloudy. And the* Indians *that have been helpfull in this* War, *will be apt to grow insolent upon conceiting, that we could not have subdued our enemyes if it had not been for them, and it will be a great mercy if rude ungoverned* English *do not ere long scandalize and exasperate them. Or if none of these things should be, God hath a thousand wayes to punish us, which we cannot think of. Why then should carnal security grow upon us? When some said unto the holy Prophet,* Watchman what of the night? Watchman what of the night? *He replyed,* The morning cometh and also night. *Even so, albeit at present, a comfortable* Morning *is dawned upon us, it concerns us to improve it well, other wise we shall have cause to think on the other words* also the night. *Only it must be remembred that things of this nature, (all promises and threatnings respecting temporal mercies or Judgments are so) are to be understood* conditionally, *according to that which the Lord expresseth, Jer.* 18. 7, 8, 9, 10. At

what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a Kingdom to pluck up, to pull down, and to destroy it: if that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evill, I will repent of the evill that I thought to doe unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation and concerning a Kingdom to build and to plant it: if it do evill in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them. *We had need then to pray earnestly, that past and present dispensations may be sanctified to us. If we be indeed bettered thereby, we are like to see happy dayes again in* New-England, *but if otherwise,* New-England hath not yet seen its worst dayes. *Now the Lord Jesus help us to consider it. O that there were such an heart in us, that we would fear him & keep all his Commandments, alwayes, that it may be well with us and with our children forever, which is the prayer of him who accounts himself happy, if he may do any faithfull Service, for God and for his People.*

Boston N. E.
26. of 5 m.
1676.

Increase Mather.

AN

EXHORTATION

To the inhabitants of

NEW-ENGLAND.

GOD who sometimes said unto *Jerusalem*, be instructed lest my Soul depart from thee, and thou become desolate, a Land not inhabited, doth by his solemn Judgements in like manner call from Heaven upon *New-England*, saying, be thou instructed, lest I depart from thee, and thou become desolate without an *English* Inhabitant.

Wherefore we are to be exhorted (and Oh that we might be perswaded) since we have been brought into such a bleeding state, *to make a right improvement of this dreadful Dispensation.* O let not the Lord complain of *New-England* as sometimes of *Israel, My People know not the Judgement of the Lord.* But to speak a little more fully and plainly:

I. *Let us be duely and deeply affected with the awful hand of the most High.*

Our friends in other parts of the World, that wish us well, are greatly affected with our miseryes. It was said of old, concerning *Egypt* and *Tyre, at the report concerning Egypt, and at the report of Tyre, they shall be sorely payned*, even so the report of Gods dealing thus with his *New-England-People*: the report of poor *New-Englands* Calamity, hath caused those that are in Lands afar off to

be amazed and troubled; and shall not we our selves be affected with our own doleful state? And shall it be said of thee? *O New-England*, shall it be said of thee, the Lord hath poured on thee the fury of his Anger, and the strength of Battel and he hath set thee on fire round about, yet thou knewest not, and it burned thee, yet thou laydst it not to heart. A Sword, a Sword is sharpened, and also fourbished, it is sharpned to make a sore slaughter, it is fourbished that it may glitter, *should we then make mirth?* Dismal things we see are come upon us, It is mentioned in the Scripture as a sad thing, *Ephraim shall bring forth children for the Murderer*. And again the Lord threatneth his people saying, *thou shalt beget sons and daughters but shalt not enjoy them, for they shall go into captivity*. And in another place the Lord saith, *your young men have I slain with the sword, and have taken away your horses, and I have made the stink of your camps to come into your nostrills*. Also God hath denounced it as an heavy Judgment which should come to punish that sin of mens unfaith-fulness in respect of promises & ingagements one to another (which hath been very much the sin of many in N.E.) *I will give them into the hand of their enemyes, and into the hand of them that seek their life, and their dead bodies shall be for meat to the fowles of heaven, and to the beasts of the earth*. Now all these things have been verified upon us. Is it nothing that so many have been cut off by a bloody and barbarous Sword? Is it nothing that Widdows and Fatherless have been multiplyed among us? that in a small Plantation we have heard of eight widows, and six and twenty fatherless children in one day? And in another of the Villages of our Judah, of seven Widows and about thirty fatherless children, all at once: How can we speak of such things without bleeding Lamentation! Shall not such solemn strokes at last awaken us? The Inhabitants of the world would not have believed that the enemy should have prevailed so far, and done such things in *New-England*; that so many Plantations should have been brought to utter desolation! That so many Candlesticks should be removed out of their places! How are we spoiled? We are greatly confounded because our dwelling places have cast us out. Alas that *New-England* should be brought

so low in so short a time (for she is come down wonderfully) and that by such vile enemyes, by the Heathen, yea *the worst of the Heathen*: that should be an affecting humbling Consideration to us that our heavenly Father should be provoked to set *vile Indians* upon the backs of his Children to scourge them so severely, because of the provoking of his sons and his daughters, the Lord hath moved us to anger with a foolish Nation, and moved us to jealousie with those which are not a people. As the Lord begins to deliver us, we are apt to forget the fears and sorrows which have been upon us, but that is the ready way to greater Calamity.

Verily if we lay not these things to heart, there is cause to fear that those other Judgments (which nothing but wonderfull mercy hath saved us from) even *Famine and Pestilence* are not far off. We have seen the Lord come riding amongst us upon his *Red horse*, if this awaken us not, how can we expect other, but that ere long we shall behold a *Black Horse*, yea and a *Pale Horse*, and his name that shall sit thereon is *Death*.

2. *Let due enquiry be made into the cause of the Lords controversie with us*. We know in general, it is for sin, Mich. 1.5. *For the transgression of Jacob is all this, and for the sins of the house of Israel*. God is never wont to forsake his People except they do first forsake him, 1 *Chron*. 15.2. *The Lord is with you whilst you be with him, but if you forsake him he will forsake you*. Inasmuch then as God hath seemed to cast us off, and put us to shame, and hath refused to go forth with our *Armies*, he doth by his Providence testifie against us to our faces, that we have forsaken him. He would not have given us to the Spoil, and to the Robbers, if we had not sinned against him. But some one will say, *how shall we know what sin it is that the Lord now contends with us for? Answer*. Although that be a most needful Question to be enquired into, yet I shall not say much to it, besides what I have at sundry times expressed, when speaking in the Name of the Lord.

I. *Take we heed how we embrace such notions as will lead us into mistakes about the causes of our misery*, e.g. that imagination which some have, that all this is come upon us, only for tryal, and not for Correction on the account of sins, without doubt it is for both. Why

should we suppose that God is not offended with us, when his displeasure is written, in such visible and bloody Characters? and truly before the present Judgement came upon us, it was evident that the glorious Lord was provoked against us: those general and *continued Blastings*, which were upon the fruits of the Earth, spake no less, when the like hand of God was upon the Land of Israel, though but for three years, *David* enquired of the Lord about the cause of his holy displeasure. Interpreters observe, that the first and second year *David* made no inquiry, because he might possibly think it was nothing, but what according to the ordinary Course of Nature might well be expected, but when he saw that drought was upon the land for three years together, he concluded that it was for some sin that had provoked the Most High. So with us, God by a continued *Series* of Providence for more then three times three years, one after another, hath been blasting the fruits of the earth in a great measure; therefore we may know that God is angry for something.

Again, that notion, that God is provoked for one sin only, or for some secret unknown sin only, tends to lead into mistakes concerning the true cause of our miseries. Not but that there may be *Secret sins which the Lord doth set in the light of his countenance*, and which we ought diligently to search after: but when there are so many evils visible and manifest, it is the subtilty of Satan to perswade men that this judgement cometh for some one secret sin, that so he may keep them from taking notice of that which is indeed the Lords controversie, and from repenting of those evils, which if they be truly repented of, the Judgements which have been upon us will certainly be removed: Also that principle, that whoever suffers in this common Calamity is the cause of it, will surely lead into misapprehensions concerning it.

In the Primitive times, when Plagues and Wars arose, because the Heathen Nations in those times persecuted the Church, some Christians perished (as to their Estates, Bodies, Lives) in the common calamity, albeit it was not for the sake of their sins, but for the sake of unworthy dealings towards them, that those desolating *Plagues* came upon the World: look as wicked men do sometimes escape temporal Judgements, for the sake of the Righteous amongst whom they dwell, so do the Righteous many times suffer great outward Calamity, because of the Wickedness of those they live among: once more, they that suppose this Judgement cometh on account of adherence to any principle alwayes avowed by the *Chief of the Fathers* in these Churches, will (I doubt not) mistake in their conclusions. Those Principles which concern the *Purity of Churches*, the *Authority of Elders*, the *Liberty of Brethren*, a due extent of the Grace *of the Covenant zeal for God in matters of the first as well as of the second Table*, were alwayes asserted and pleaded for by the *chief of the Fathers* of *New-England*, when God did wonderfully own this People, and suffered no Weapon that was formed against them to prosper: but all that did attempt to devour them offended, and evil came upon them, wherefore it will be in vain to Impute our Calamities, unto any of the Principles (or practices according thereunto) which have been mentioned.

2. *Search the Scriptures*: The wayes of God are everlasting; wherefore he brings the same Judgements upon his People now as in the dayes of old, in case there be the same transgressions: if then we would know why Droughts, Blastings, &c. have been upon our Land, let us search the Scriptures, and see for what sins those Judgements have befallen Gods Israel of old. Was it not because the good Creatures of God were abused, to nourish pride and sensuality? And because Temple work was neglected, and because men were guilty of robbing God? are the same sins found amongst us? then we may safely conclude, that those Judgements have come in special for those sins: and let us look into the Scripture, and there see what sins have in former ages brought the punishment of the *Sword* upon a professing People: and if those very sins are prevailing amongst us, waite upon it, that it is for them, that this Judgment is come upon us.

3. *Hearken to the voice of God in the Ministry of his word*, mind what the Messengers of God speak in his name, *for surely the Lord will do nothing, but he revealeth his secrets to his Servants the Prophets*, Amos.

3.7. If I were to give Counsel to *N.E.* for my life, it should be the same that *Jehosaphat* gave to the people of God in his time, when circumstanced in respect of a Combination of heathen Enemies, against them, as we are this day: 2 *Chron.* 20.20. *Believe in the Lord your God, so shall you be established, believe his Prophets so shall you prosper.* What though in these dayes Ministers are not infallible? yet they are in respect of Office *Watchmen* and *Seers*, and therefore you may expect that God will communicate Light to you by them, yea they told you of these dayes before they came. Do not say that the Ministers of God cannot tell you why this Judgment is come, how then could they give you faithfull warning thereof long enough before it came? I pray you consider this one thing, What were the sins which the Messengers of God declared would certainly bring *A day of Trouble* upon this Land? And hath the Lord confirmed the word of his Servants? then you may without danger conclude, it is for those sins that the Lord is now contending: And truly if we refuse to hearken to the voice of God not only in the *former Prophets*, but also by those who are still speaking in his name, why should we marvel that the Lord doth not incline his ear to our voice when we pray and humble our souls before him? God cryeth to us by his Messengers, and we will, not hear; therefore it is that though we cry to God he will not hear, *Isai.* 65.12. with Zacha. 7.11,12,13.

4. *Consider how this Judgment is circumstanced*, If we mind where it began and by what Instruments, we may well think that God is greatly offended with the *Heathenisme* of the English People. How many that although they are *Christians* in name, are no better then *Heathens* in heart, and in Conversation? How many Families that live like *profane Indians* without any *Family prayer?* Yea there have been whole Plantations that have lived from year to year, without any publick Invocation of the Name of God, and without his Word. And in most places Instituted Worship (whereby *Christians* are distinguished from *Heathen*) hath been too much neglected. Now there is no place under heaven where the neglect of *Divine Institutions* will so highly provoke and incense the displeasure of

God as in *New-England*, because (as after shall be said) *Religion is our Interest* and that which our Fathers came into this Land for.

3. *Let there be a sincere Reformation of those evills which have provoked the eyes of Gods Glory.* Deliverance will never come in mercy, except we turn to him that smiteth us. It is true that this Judgment may possibly be removed, though there be not Repentance, but then another Judgment will come ere long that will be seven times greater then this. Wofull experience may convince us of the truth of this, for the Providence of God is very observable, in that the Blasting that hath been without Intermission for these many years, hath not been this last year as formerly, but behold another judgment seven times greater is come in the roome of it. Yea moreover, either *Reformation* must be, or else (as long as the 26th. chapter of *Leviticus* is Scripture) at the last *Desolation* shall be, *I will make you desolate because of your Sins*, Micah 6. 13.

I remember it is storied concerning *Tamerlain* the great, that when he laid Seige against his enemyes, the first day he would set out a *white Flag*, to signifie mercy in case they did submit, and the next day *a red Flag*, to intimate they must now look for the Sword, and the third day *a black Flag*, to signify utter destruction and desolation. Truly the Lord hath been displaying the white Flagg, for many years before us, but it hath been dispised, and now he cometh with his red Flag, if this doe us not good, we have cause to fear that the *Black Flag will come ere long.* How easily can the Lord destroy us? there is not the most contemptible Creature, but he can arm it so as there shall be no standing before it. I have read of a great City that was destroyed by Ants; and of another that was destroyed by Rats, and of whole Countreys that have been depopulated by Frogs, yea by Fleas. Though the Indians are a *Despicable* Enemy, yet the Lord is able to cut us down by a small *Indian axe.* But though I thus speak, I believe that God will reform his people by this Judgment, by this shall the Iniquity of Jacob be purged, and this shall be all the fruit to take away his sin.

Ques. But what shall be done that so there may be such a Reformation as God will accept of?

Ans. 1. *These Evills which have been confessed before the Lord, and which are manifest let them be reformed.* In that *Order* before mentioned respecting a day of publick Humiliation appointed by *Authority* there are many Evills instanced in as matter of Confession and Humiliation before the Lord, let those sins be repented of, and turned from. We shall here take notice of some of them.

1. *Manyfold abuses of Peace and the Blessings of God in this good land.* Alas when we have had peace from enemies, we would not be at peace among our selves. And as the Calamity which is come upon us is General, so *Contention* is a sin which all sorts of men have been too guilty of: and now we see the bitter fruit of it, whilst the Sheep (yea the Shepherds too some of them) have been contending one with another, God hath let loose Wolves upon us all. And how have the Blessings of God been abused to serve *Baal?* The Plenty, which our Peace hath been attended with, hath been abused unto great Sensuality, and many Professors and Church-Members have been shamefully guilty in that respect. How common hath it been with them *to haunt Taverns*; and squander away precious hours, nay dayes in public houses, which if but half that time had been spent in Meditation, Secret Prayer and Self Examination, it had been happy for them, and it may be for others for their sakes. When as our Fathers were *Patterns of Sobriety*, they would not drink a cup of wine nor strong drink, more then should suffice nature, and conduce to their health, men of latter time could transact no business, nor hardly ingage in any discourses, but it must be over a pint of wine or a pot of beer, yea so as that Drunkenness in the sight of man is become a common Sin, but how much more that which is drunkenness in the sight of God. And how have the Blessings of God been abused to nourish *pride?* There hath been no small Provocation before the Lord in that thing, yea as to *Pride in respect of Apparel.* People in this Land have not carryed it, as it becometh those that are in a Wilderness, especially when it is such an humbling time as of late years hath been. And none more guilty then the poorer sort of people, who will needs go in their Silks and Bravery as if they were the best in the Land. Though it be also

too true that the rich and honourable have many of them greatly offended by strange Apparel, especially here in *Boston.* A proud Fashion no sooner comes into the Country, but *the haughty Daughters of Zion* in this place are taking it up, and thereby the whole land is at last infected. What shall we say when men are seen in the Streets with monstrous and horrid *Perriwigs*, and Women with their *Borders and False Locks* and such like whorish Fashions, whereby the anger of the Lord is kindled against this sinfull Land! And now behold how dreadfully is God fulfilling the third chapter of Isaiah. *Moreover the Lord saith* (if the Lord say it who dare slight what is said) *because the Daughters of Zion are haughty, therefore he will discover their Nakedness.* Hath not the Lord fulfilled this threatning when the *Indians* have taken so many and stripped them naked as in the day that they were born. *And instead of a sweet smell there shall be a Stink*, Is not this verified when poor Creatures are carried away Captive into the Indians filthy and stinking *Wigwams*, yea when so many English are faign to croud together, till it becomes loathsome and unsavoury? *And burning instead of Beauty*, is it not so when poor creatures are exposed to the burning heat of the sun, and burnt and tauned thereby till they become of an hue like unto these Indians? *Thy men shall fall by the Sword, & thy Mighty by the War.* Hath not that word been fulfilled upon us when so many have fallen by the Sword, yea so many Captains in this War, and this is because of the pride of the Daughters of Zion. Oh then let that sin be reformed and repented of.

2. Another sin mentioned by the Council in that Order for a day of publick Humiliation, before hinted at, is, *Ill entertainment of the Ministry of the Gospel of Peace.* It cannot be denied but that the Ministers of God in this Land have for the generality of them, had miserable encouragement from men in the work of Christ. Through the undeserved mercy of God, and love of a dear People amongst whom I live, I am not at present under such personal temptation to speak in this matter as many better then my self are, but therefore I may the more freely speak in the behalf of my Brethren whose sorrows I greatly condole. How many of the Ser-

vants of Christ have there been, that though they have preached the Gospel, have not (as the Scripture saith it should be) lived on the Gospel? but when their whole time and studyes should have been taken up in attending Services for Christ and for his people, they have been constrained (as the Levites in Nehemiah) *even to flee every one into his Field, and the house of God hath been forsaken.* I doubt it will one day appear, that the coals which have been stolen from Gods Altar, have burnt down many of those Plantations which are now desolate. Worthy Mr. *Davenport* in a Letter which he wrote to me bearing Date. 12th. of 4 *mo.* 1666. thus expresseth himself, *I have* (saith he) *long been of that mind that N.E. is guilty of great unthankfulness for the Gospel, & strait-heartedness, & closehandedness toward the Ministers. Your blessed Father in law Mr.* Cotton, *was sensible of it, as I can shew in his letters to me in answer of mine to him, his conclusion after some other expressions was, that the Ministry of the Gospel is the cheapest Commodity in this Land: when I consider these things I see cause of Admiration that the Gospel is yet continued in N. E. & that our Candlesticks are not removed: but it is from Gods pity to some sucking Children that the Breasts are not yet dryed up.* Thus Mr. *Davenport.*

And Verily I cannot believe, that God would have taken away so many of his Ministers out of *New-England* in so short a time, if the People had carried towards God and them, as ought to have been. *Through the wrath of the Lord of Hosts is the Land darkned.* He that holds the Stars in his right hand hath removed many of them, and great darkness hath followed. In about thirteen years space there have been (to my observation) no less than five and thirty Stars that have set in this Horizon, I mean five and thirty Ministers (and some of them Stars of the first magnitude) that have in so short a time dyed in *New-England*: why did we not behold the *War* a coming when we saw the Lord calling home the Abassadours of peace! I am not without fears lest that most awful passage which blessed Mr. *Shepard* hath (in his *Sound Believer* p. 250.) be prophetical, *Verily I am afraid* (saith he) *such a dismal Night is towards, such sore afflictions of Famine, Wars, Blood, Mortality, Death of Gods precious Servants especially, that the Lord will fill the hearts of all Churches, Fami-*

lies, Christians that shall live in those dayes, with such rendings, tearings, shakings, anguish of Spirit as scarce any were, in the worst dayes of our Forefathers, and that this shall continue, until the remnant [9] *that escape, shall say, blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord, Blessed be the face and feet of that Minister that shall come unto us in Christs Name.* O then let this sin of ill entertainment of the Ministry be repented of and reformed.

3. Another sin which hath been confessed is, that of *Formality in Religion.* These are perillous times which we now live in, when men are getting their Bread with the peril of their lives, because of the Sword of the Wilderness, when they can scarce look out of doors, but they are in danger of being seized upon by ravening Wolves, who lye in wait to shed blood, when men go not forth into the field, nor walk by the way side, but the Sword of the Enemy, and fear is on every side: surely the times are perillous; and that which brings such times is, the *taking up a form of godliness without the power of it*: and is it not so with us, the *first Generation* which was in this Land, had much of the power of Godliness, but the present *Generation* hath the form, and as to the *body of the Generation*, but little of the power of *Religion.* Alas in our Churches, we have a form of Discipline, but little of the power of it, and how it is in Families, and in Closets God knows, yea and as to our publick and most solemn approaches before the Lord, how slight and formal are the most of men? little or no preparation for them, no brokenness of heart in them, in which respect we have no cause to wonder that sad tydings hath come to us so often on dayes of Fasting and Prayers. Historians observe that *Pompey* seized upon the Temple, when it was the Jews solemn Fasting day: and after that *Sosius* took *Jerusalem* upon a day of solemn Humiliation. The Jews were then exceedingly degenerated, having the form of these duties, but little of the power of them: hath it not been so with us in a sad degree? let us then no more content our selves, with having a name to live, and yet be Dead.

4. Another Evil, which we have confessed before the Lord is, that of *inordinate Affection to the World.* Idolatry brings the Sword,

and Covetousness is Idolatry. *Land*! *Land*! hath been the Idol of many in *New-England*: whereas the first Planters here that they might keep themselves together were satisfied with one Acre for each person, as his propriety, and after that with twenty Acres for a Family, how have Men since coveted after the earth, that many hundreds, nay thousands of Acres, have been engrossed by one man, and they that profess themselves Christians, have forsaken Churches, and Ordinances, and all for land and elbow-room enough in the World. *Lot* would forsake the Land of *Canaan*, and the Church, which was in *Abrahams* Family, that he might have better worldy accommodations in *Sodome*, and we see what came of it, God fired him out of all, his house and goods were burnt, and he forced to leave his goodly Pastures, which his heart (though otherwise a good man) was too much set upon. Is the interest of *New-England* indeed changed from a Religious to a Worldly Interest? that's a *strange God*, and if it be so, no wonder that there is *War in our Gates*: do men prefer their Farms and Merchandize above the Gospel? here is the reason why Armies are sent forth against us, and our Cities are burnt up. Inordinate love *to this present evil World*, hath been the Fountain of all that misery, that we are bleeding under at this day; Those unhappy *Indian-trading-houses*, whereby the Heathen have been so wofully scandalized, hath not covetousness built them, and continued them for so long a time? and was it not from the same root of all evil, that the Indians have been furnished with Arms, and Ammunition? would ever men have sold Guns, and Powder, and Shot, to such faithless and bloody creatures, if a lust of Covetousness had not too far prevailed with them? now then since these evils which have been mentioned (not to insist upon other particulars) have bin confessed, let us be sure to reform them, otherwise in our Confessions we have but dallied with the Almighty, who will never suffer himself to be mocked by any of the Sons of men.

And besides these Iniquities which have been acknowledged, as hath been expressed, there are other evils *manifest*, in respect whereof *Reformation*, is necessary, as ever we desire to see good

times and happy dayes in this Land. For alas it may be said, that *because of Swearing the Land mourneth*; not only in that Swearing is become a common sin, which even Children in the streets are guilty of, but in other respects which few take notice of. It is well if the *Freemans Oath* be not violated by too many, who are acted more by faction, then by Conscience. Solemn Oaths upon trivial differences are too frequent. The body of the present Generation is guilty of *Sacramental perjury* in the sight of God, by breaking their *Baptismal vow*, and not observing all things whatsoever the Lord Jesus hath commanded them. Also wrath is come upon *New-England*, because the *Sabbath* hath been profaned. Persons under pretence of difference in Judgement about the beginning of the Sabbath (some being for the evening and others for the morning) keep *no night* at all *holy* unto the Lord. And it is to be feared that even since this War began servile works have been attended upon the Lords day, more then any necessity hath called for. And if we look into Families, Churches, or Common-wealth, we shall see such rebellious breaches of the *fifth Commandment*, as may cause horror when we think of it. That Spirit of *Koraisme* which blessed Mr. *Wilson*, when dying did so sadly bewaile, and testifie against, how hath it prevailed? and men will not be convinced of this evil, except God open their eyes by strange Plagues, which are yet behind, and it may be not far off.

The breach of *the fifth Commandment* is one of the great and *National sins*, which the Indians are guilty of: their Children have nor regard no reverence towards their Fathers. If we learn the way of the Heathen, and become like them, God will punish us by them. And it is to me a sad and solemn thought, that this miserable War, hath been raised and fomented by proud and vain young men. The old Indians were very unwilling to engage in a War with the English, but the young men would do it, whether their Fathers would or no, and did at last precipitate you also into it, to the ruine of both Fathers and Children. I pray the Lord, that ungoverned young men in Families and Societies may not prove the ruine of *New-England*. If Fathers, if *Abners* will say, let the young

men now arise and play before us, it may be it will be bitterness in the latter end.

Moreover, what shall be said concerning that sin of *Oppression*, which is a general sin, and yet no man is guilty of it: since *Day-labourers* and *Mechanicks* are so unreasonable in their demands, and *Merchants* (some of them) so excessive in the prizes which they set upon their Goods, it is enough to bring the *Oppressing Sword.* And what a shame is it that ever that odious sin of *Usury* should be pleaded for, or practised in *New-England*, especially by such as should give a better example? Now for the Lords sake let such evils as these are be reformed, and no more heard of amongst us.

And there is another evil, which although it hath not been confessed so much as should have been, yet it is a *manifest* provocation, and although I touch'd upon it before, yet I can hardly forbear inlarging upon that particular, I mean those *woful Contentions* which have made such a noise as is enough to provoke the Lord to turn us out of his house. This is a sin which doth escape altogether unpunished as to men, but therefore God will punish it, and the rather because his own Children and Servants have been found faulty in respect of a divided heart. No doubt but the *Wars and Fightings* which we have had one with another, have brought the Judgements of War upon us, from the Lord. O that God would help those whose hands have been chief in this trespass, sadly to consider of it, lest another evil greater then this overtake us in our security ere long. If we will be pecking at one another, it may be the God of Heaven will send a great Kite, ready to devour us all.

2. In order to Reformation: *Let there be a due execution of wholsome Laws which are founded upon the Word of God.* If there be any Laws amongst us which cannot be warrented from the Word, change them and establish other in their room (I speak of Laws which respect the punishment of transgressors) but if the Scripture will justifie this or that testimony against Transgressors; either of first or second Table, let that and only that be done which shall please God: I have read, that it is a Rule in *Politicks, that a bad Executioner of Laws is worse then a violator of them.* Our defect is not so much

in respect of the want of good Laws, as in the non-execution of those Laws that are good. It were better never to make Laws for the suppressing of Evils that are provoking in the sight of God, then not to see them faithfully executed when they are made.

3. *Solemn Renewal of Covenant with God in Jesus Christ, is a great Scripture expedient in order to Reformation*: we finde that the second Generation, of them who came out of Egypt whilst yet in the Wilderness having also a difficult undertaking before them, being to engage with their Heathen Enemies, and in other respects their state and case to be parallel with ours, they did most solemnly renew their covenant with God. It seems to be of weighty consideration, that although the Lords People of old did frequently renew their Covenant with him, yet it was never done but a blessed effect followed thereupon, not so much as one Instance to be given in all the Book of God, when his People did *explicitly* renew the Covenant but a wonderful blessing did ensue. There is the nature of a Vow in this matter. Now Divines are wont to observe, that no instance can be mentioned out of the Scripture, when the Servants of God have vowed as well as prayed, but God hath heard them, we read that *when the Canaanites fought against Israel, and took some of them Prisoners* (just as it is with us) *and Israel vowed a vow unto the Lord, and the Lord hearkened to the voice of Israel, and delivered up the Canaanites*, Numb. 21.1,2,3. And in *Hezekiahs* time (to omit other Examples) he considering that there was wrath upon *Jerusalem*, and those that fell by the Sword, and whose Sons, and Daughters, and Wives were in Captivity (all which things may be said of us) *It was in his heart to make a Covenant with the Lord God of Israel, that his fierce wrath may turn away from us,* 2 Chron. 29.8,9,10. If the Lord help these Churches to attend this thing with such seriousness and sincerity, as ought to be, without doubt we shall see good dayes in *New-England.*

And that it may be done the more effectually, it is much to be desired that the *Civil Authority* would (though not impose yet) recommend this matter to the Churches, otherwise it will meet with insuperable obstructions in some places; also that not some

only, but all the Churches engage herein: and that the special evils prevailing in this or that place, be particularly bewailed, and Reformation of them inserted, and (by the help of Christ) promised, in this *renewed Covenant*. Verily I do believe, the neglect of our duty in this matter hath retarded our deliverance for so long a time, why then should we not make haste, and not delay to keep the Lords commandments?

4. One thing more I shall add, which if it be hearkned unto, to be sure *Reformation* acceptable to the Lord will be, It is this, *Let every man strive to amend one*. And who amongst us but have cause to think of Reforming? There are none of us so good but we may be better, we may (and should) grow in Grace and make progress in the work of Mortification. And God by the Judgment which is upon us, doth evidently point at, and call upon all sorts of men to the work of *Reformation*. As for our faithfull Magistrates (whom we have great cause to bless the Lord for) it shall be far from me to go about to discover the Nakedness of Fathers, or to say that which may tend to weaken their Authority amongst the people, nevertheless I will be bold to say, that if the Lord help them by this affliction to be more forward in the work of Reformation, more zealous in looking after the execution of wholesome, good and righteous laws, more carefull to sanctifie God before the people, that in open Courts they may not (since God was angry with Moses upon that account) discover unseemly Passions, and more carefull to restrain their children that they may not (as Josias were, for which God at last punished them *Zeph.* 1.8) either in their attire (or however) be evill exampled, and thereby hinder the Reformation of others in that particular; we shall then have cause to magnify the faithfulness of that God, who hath brought such an affliction upon us and sanctifyed it to us.

And as for us who are Ministers in the house of God (and some of us amongst the deepest Sufferers in the present Calamity) are there not with us even with us also sins against the Lord our God? Have all of us in every respect been ensamples to the Flock? Have we given our selves to Reading and Meditation, and have we

been very much in prayer for our selves and for the dear people of God? Have we been wholly in these things, without concerning our selves in affairs not proper for us to ingage in? when we have been unworthily reflected upon by these or those, have we not been more moved at it, then hath become us to be in our own case, considering that we should shew our selves examples in Patience, and Long-Suffering? Have we abstained from all appearance of evill? Is there no one that hath brought reproach upon the Ministry? Have none of us affected worldly *Gallantry* more then becometh the Ministers of God to doe, who should approve themselves *Patterns of Mortification* to all the world about them? Have we ruled our own houses aright? As for some of us, have not people seen our Relations, our Wives, our Children flanting of it, and gaudy and Fashionable, whereby others have been scandalized: let us then be humbled and *Reform*, yea, let us never leave Fasting and Praying, until the promise of the Father come upon us, and the Lord Jesus pour of his Spirit from on high upon us, in that measure as is needfull for men in that relation which we stand in before the Lord & before his people. And as it is noted of the great *Athanasius*, that by his Prayers and tears, and sweating labours in writing and Preaching, (like the bleeding of a chast vine) he cured much of the Leoprosie of that tainted age wherein he lived, so let us endeavour to do the like. It may be, that God intends by the present fiery Dispensation, to purify the Sons of Levi, then shall the offerings of Jerusalem be pleasant unto the Lord, as in the dayes of old, and as in former years. And let not people think to free themselves by charging their *Leaders* with miscarriages. Through the abundant Grace of Christ towards his Servants there is no such cause of complaint, as some have made, whether against Moses, or against Aaron. It was most truly and solemnly affirmed by our famous, and now blessed Mr. *Norton*, in his last *Election-Sermon* speaking concerning the Ministry in *New-England*, *I may* (said he) *say thus much, and pardon my speech, a more yeelding Ministry to the people, I believe is not in the world*. Yea they have many of them stood in the Gap, and have turned away the wrath

of God from this people. This Judgment had come sooner if they had not improved their interest in heaven to divert it, and if their counsels and earnest *Exhortations* had been hearkned to, the present misery had never been. And therefore let all the People of the Land turn unto the Lord, and hear this Rod and him that hath appointed it, so will he *soon subdue our enemies and turn his hand* (a Turn of Gods hand will save us) *against our Adversaryes, and the haters of the Lord shall submit themselves*, then God will restore *New-England* to its former state, yea it shall be better with us then at our beginnings.

4. *Let us beware of adding new sins to the old score.* When the host goeth forth against their enemies, keep thee from every evill thing. There were provocations enough before this Calamity came upon us, from which we are not cleansed untill this day; But alas! How have we lengthned out our sorrows by fresh bleeding guilt in the sight of God? A Judgment may come upon a people for one sin and be continued for another, it may begin on the account of former Iniquityes, and be continued because of later transgressions. It is possible that those evills which have provoked the Lord to whet his glittering Sword, and his hand to take hold on Judgment, may be seen and acknowledged, and yet he may goe on to smite us because of some evills which the eyes of his glory have been provoked by, since this *War* began.

I will (by the help of Christ) speak faithfully as I shall answer it before him that hath set me a *Watch-man*, another day. No man in the world could have perswaded me, that such a spirit would have been discovered amongst Professors in *New-England*, as hath lately been manifest. What unquietness hath there been under the hand of God, men being like a wild Bull in a net, full of the fury of the Lord, of the rebuke of God? what murmurings have there been against *Moses* and against *Aaron*, albeit thousands of the Children of Israel lost their lives, because they said, *you Moses and Aaron have killed the Lords People,* yea God was so angry for that sin, that he threatned to consume them in a moment. Nevertheless how many with us have cause to charge themselves,

& cry guilty before the Lord in this respect? I remember it is *Pareus* his Observation, *that whereas the Children of Israel were guilty of murmuring eight times whilst in the wilderness, the mercifull God passed it by diverse times, nevertheless when their Murmurings were attended with a malignant mutinous Spirit* (as with us it hath been) *some signal Judgment or other did alwayes follow.* And hath there not been great *Ingratitude* amongst us? Have not men that have deserved well, been recompensed evil for their good Services? Have they not been slanderously reported? Have not some evil spirits fomented false Reports and others too ready to take them up? The Lord lay it not to the Charge of *New-England.* More over since this *War* begun, the *Indians* have been scandalized by the *English*: It is well if some English have not the guilt of Indian bloud upon their souls, yea if in their skirts be not found the bloud of the souls of poor innocents. And what could have been done more then hath been done by too many, to prejudice the *Indians* against the *English* interest, yea against the interest of Christ in this Land? what madness and rage hath there been against all Indians whatsoever? Yea what willingness to destroy those that (like the *Gibeonites* of old) are *Proselyted* to the Faith, and have put themselves under the *Protection* of the *English Israel* in this land, though they never did us hurt, but they have jeoparded their lives, and some of them lost their lives in the high places of the Field that so they might save ours. Judicious Authors conceive that the reason why the Lord did so plague his people *Israel*, when *Saul* had slain the *Gibeonites*, was because though Saul did it, yet *the body of the People* approved of it and rejoyced in that bloudy fact when it was done. As also that so the world might see how much the Lord is delighted in the *Conversion* of *Heathen.* Surely then we have many of us cause to tremble. How sad is it to consider, that an *Indian* should write a Letter to an English-man and thus express himself, *When any hurt is done, you say that we have done it though we never did wronge to English-men and hope we never shall. You have driven us from our houses and lands, but that which most of all troubles us, is, that whereas we began to know Jesus Christ, you have driven us away from serving God.* Truely

when I think of what things have hapned at *Chelmsford* my heart doth ake and bleed within me. *Be mercifull O Lord unto thy people Israel whom thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent bloud unto thy People Israels charge.* Furthermore, how hath the Indian work, I mean the work of Christ among them (which indeed hath been one of the Gloryes of *New-England*) been slighted, scorned, vilified? Albeit it is a sure principle grounded upon Scripture, that God never sends his Gospel to be constantly dispensed to any people, except he hast some elect amongst them, if the *waters of the Sanctuary* come, though it be into the *dead Sea,* there is some Fish to be healed and made alive there: yet how many with us have condemned all *Praying Indians*, crying out, they are all nought, there is not one good amongst them? And what though some of them may be Hypocrites? are not some *Praying English* as perfidious, as hypocritical, in heart as profane as some *Praying Indians?* Shall we therefore condemn all? Is there such a spirit in this Generation, as that they are ready to destroy? (& hath it been an hard matter to keep their hands from shedding bloud?) the righteous with the wicked? cease then to wonder that Desolation is come upon Sanctuaryes, and that the Lord hath been cutting off from us the righteous and the wicked. The Lord Jesus did intimate to the Jews that they should *see many from the East & from the West sitting with Abraham and Isaac & Jacob in the Kingdome of God, when they should see themselves shut out.* So I doe believe, that many Englishmen that look with a disdainfull eye upon these poor Praying Indians, shall see a number of them sitting down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the Kingdome of God, when I pray God they may not see themselves shut out. And truely, if it were only the profane world, that had been guilty of this Sin, it may be I should not have spoken so much as I have, but Professors and Church-Members have many of them cause to lament before the Lord for this evill. Now from the Lord I *Exhort* and beseech you, whoever you be that have been guilty of murmurings in any respect, or of casting a stumbling Block before the Indians, go to God in secret places, confess your sin before him, pray that it may not

be imputed to you or to your Families, or to the Land for your sakes. In the Love of Christ have I thus spoken to you.

5. *Remember the Errand that our Fathers came into this Wilderness for, and pursue that Interest.* In general, it was on the account of *Religion*, that our Fathers followed the Lord into this Wilderness, whilst it was a Land that was not sown. There are other out-goings of our *Nation*, besides these Colonies in *New-England*, but they were not built upon a Foundation or Interest *purely Religious*, as is to be affirmed of these *Plantations.* It was with respect to some worldly accommodation, that other Plantations were erected, but *Religion and not the World* was that which our Fathers came hither for? why did the Children of Israel of old go into the wilderness? was it not that they might serve God? for the very same reason did our Fathers come into this Wilderness, even that so they might worship God according to his Will, and that all things which concern the house of God might be according to the pattern shewed in the Mount. *Pure Worship and Ordinances* without the mixture of humane Inventions, was that which the first Fathers of this Colony designed in their coming hither. We are the Children of the good old *Non-Conformists*: and therefore are we under the deepest engagement, not only to reject *Inventions Humane* in the things of God but to come up to the practice of *Institutions Divine.* As to our Ecclesiastical constitution, the *Congregational way*, as 'tis distinguished from the rigid extreams of *Presbyterianisme* and *Brownisme*, is that which we profess. And as to our *Civil Polity*, our Profession hath been, that they that are Rulers should be men that fear God, and that they that choose them should be such also, and that Laws in the Common-wealth should be regulated by the Word of God, that so the Lord Jesus may reign there.

It was worthily spoken by blessed Mr. *Mitchel* in a *Lecture Sermon*, that there is much of the Kingdome of Christ in our Civil Constitution: and it will be sad for those who shal put their hands to alter it. Such dash themselves against that stone, that whoso falls upon it shall be broken to shivers. Therefore that Man of God solemnly protested, saying, *Wo to that man, be he old or young,*

Church-member or non-member, Freeman or non-freeman, that shall go about to destroy, or basely betray the liberties of this People; it were better for him, that a Mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and he thrown with it into the midst of the Sea.

Moreover, it was in a special manner with respect to posterity, that our Fathers come into this Land, that so their Children might not see evil examples, and be in danger of being corrupted thereby, as 'tis in other parts of the world, but that they might be left under the Government and Discipline of Christ in his Church, and be sure to have the great advantage of a Religious Education. And therefore that woful neglect of the *Rising Generation* which hath bin amongst us, is a sad sign that we have in great part forgotten our *Errand* into this Wilderness: and then why should we marvail that God taketh no pleasure in our young men, but they are numbred for the Sword, the present judgement lighting chiefly upon the *Rising Generation*. Yet more, our Fathers came hither to this end, that they might *Propagate the Gospel*, and be instrumental to set up the Kingdome of the Lord Jesus amongst the *Heathen*. And although some of the Lords Servants here have been sent forth (not without gracious success) to labour in that work, yet it is great pity, and I doubt one of the great sins which the English have been guilty of, that no more hath been done in order to the conversion of the Heathen: how great then is their sin who do wholly despise and decry that work, and those beginnings of the Kingdome of the Lord Jesus, which is to be seen amongst them, our Fathers were of another Spirit. There Is a Letter Printed which was written by my honoured Father (ὅ νύν ἐν ἅγιος) in the year 1652, wherein he declareth what himself (being one of those Elders who was sent to *Natick* formerly, to enquire into that affair) knew concerning the blessed success which the Gospel then had amongst the Indians; and he thus writes;

There is so much of Gods work amongst them, as that I cannot but count it a great evil, yea a great injury to God and his goodness for any to make light or nothing of it, to see and to hear Indians opening their mouths and lifting up their hands and their eyes in a solemn Prayer to the living God,

calling on him by his Name Jehovah, in the meditation of Jesus Christ, to hear and see them, exhorting one another from the Word of God, confessing the Name of Jesus Christ, and their own sinfulness; this is more then usual, we saw them and we heard them perform the duties mentioned, with such plenty of Tears trickling down the cheeks of some of them, as did argue to us that they spake with much good Affection and holy Fear of God; that it much affected our hearts.

He that wrote these lines hath been in Heaven now above seven years, how would he mourn if he were at this day to behold the strange degeneracy that is in the spirit of the present Generation, who will neither believe that there is any good work begun amongst the Indians, nor yet desire and pray that it might be so? Believe it, if that holy designe of using means for the Conversion of the *Indians* be not duely prosecuted: the Prayers of our blessed Fathers will rise up in Judgement against us, yea the *Patent* itself will be produced as a Witness against this Generation at the last day, if that work be neglected. For it is pretended (and those Worthies who were the *Patentees* would not have made such a Profession if they had not been real in it) in the *Patent*, that one special ground and end of this Plantation was, that so the Heathen in these parts might be brought to the knowledge of Jesus Christ: The words in the Patent, concerning this matter are,

That to win and incite the Natives of the Country, to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Saviour of Mankind, and the Christian Faith, in the Adventurers free profession is the principal end of this Plantation.

Yea, more, the publick *Seal of the Country* will be a witness against this and succeeding Generations, if that design be not prosecuted: for we know the publick Seal of this Colony represents an *Indian* with these words *Come and help us* (as is to be seen in the preceding History, *P.* 15.) alluding to that Vision which appeared to the Apostle *Paul*, when there stood a man of *Macedonia*, and prayed him, saying *Come over into Macedonia and help us, whereby the Apostles gathered, that the Lord had called them to Preach the Gospel to the Macedonians*: So did the Fathers of this Country conclude, that

the Lord had called them to take an effectual course, that the Gospel might be Preached to the Indians, and therefore it is not to be wondred at, that the Lord hath afflicted us by the Indians *since the body of the present Generation hath no more of an heart to endeavour their* C*onversion and Salvation.* The Histories of our own Nation Declare, that whereas there were famous Christian Churches amongst the ancient Brittains, yet when in process of time, they scandalized the *Heathen Saxons*, who lived amongst them, *and neglected to use means for their Conversion unto Christ.* God was displeased with those Churches, so as to dissipate and drive them out of their Land by those very Heathen Nations, whose conversion they should have but did not endeavour, let us consider of it in the fear of God. And if we mind and seek the things of Christ as we ought to do, though our Enemies were more and greater then they are, and we fewer then we are, nevertheless we shall be victorious over them: As it was with the *Waldenses*, whilst they made Religion their business, and kept in with God, they prevailed wonderfully against those that waged War upon them.

At one time eleven of them put to flight three hundred of their Enemies, & at another time five hundred of them destroyed five & twenty hundred of their Adversaries; and this is but according to what the Lord hath promised to his People as long as they are faithful unto that which is his and their interest.

6. *Give not way to desperate unbelieving thoughts*: say not there is no hope, the case is desperate: At first we too much despised the chastning of the Lord, let us not now faint when we are rebuked of him; we are apt to run into extreams. Are there not some that once thought this Calamity would be over-past in few dayes, who now are ready to say it will never be? well, do not think that God will utterly destroy *New-England* as yet. It was said of the Children of Israel of old, when they were in as degenerate a condition as we are in, yea and far worse, *the Lord was gracious to them, and had compassion on them, and had respect unto them, and would not destroy them, neither cast them from his presence as yet*, 2 King. 13.23. what may come on this sinful Land at last I know not, nevertheless I

am verily perswaded that utter destruction will not come *as yet.* For Jesus Christ hath by a wonderful hand of providence dispossessed Sathan who reigned in these dark corners of the Earth, in ages that are past, and hath taken possession of this Land for himself. Now, shall we think that Christ will suffer the Devil to drive him out of his possession again presently? The Lord hath a great Interest in this Land which he will not easily part with: There are many Churches of Christ here. In this Colony of *Mattachusets*, that are (or at least were when this War began) seven and forty Churches, and in *Plimouth* Colony there are twelve or thirteen Churches: and in Connecticut Colony there are nineteen Churches, besides the three Churches in *Long-Island*: so that there are above fourscore Churches in *New-England.* Surely the Lord will not bring utter ruine upon them all as yet: And there are some of the first Generation (alas that there are so few of them) as yet surviving, now we hope that God will not utterly consume all things in their dayes.

As a man that lived in *Luthers* time was wont to say, that he did not fear the ruine of *Germany* so long as *Luther* was alive. So neither doe I fear the utter ruine of *New-England*, so long as any of the first Generation who for the Gospels sake came into this Wilderness, are alive. Moreover though the body of the *second Generation* be wofully degenerate, nevertheless there are some of them (and through Grace many) that are eminently faithfull to the Lord Jesus and his interest, being of the same *Principles & Spirit* that *their blessed Fathers* were of before them: we need not fear utter ruine in their dayes neither. Certainly if god intend to bring speedy destruction and desolation upon this whole land, he will find some way or other to remove such of his Servants as stand in the Gap to turn away his wrath from the people. Besides all this, the Children which have been born in *New-England* are many of them the Posterity of those who have had an eminent interest in God, yea the posterity of those who have been great sufferers for his name and Truth. Divines observe, that whereas in the *eight Beatitude* they that are persecuted, are pronounced *blessed twice over*,

it may intimate, that such shall be blessed not only in themselves, but in their *Posterity*. And if a due enquiry be made into that matter, I doubt not but that it will appear, that a special blessing hath attended the Children of those who have been *Martyrs* of Jesus: now the Children of *New-England* are many of them the posterity of such as have been eminent *Confessors*, and so in a degree Martyrs: If it should be said to a gracious Prince, behold here are Children, whose Fathers lost their Houses and Estates, and ventured their lives for your sake would he not shew peculiar favour unto them? Truly we may plead it as an Argument with the blessed God, and say before him, Lord as for the Children who have been born in *New-England* their Fathers many of them ventured their lives into a wilderness for thy sake; they left their Fathers Houses and possessions in this world, out of respect to thy Kingdome, and therefore have thou compassion on them; *God will have compassion on them for his Covenant sake*: And indeed the mercy which the Lord hath shewed in the midst of wrath, since the Sword has been drawn amongst us, argueth that he hath no mind to destroy us: what a favour of God was it that the Army was not cut off at the *Fort fight*? and that they perished not with cold when they were abroad day and night in the Snow, in the depth of Winter, and that God preserved them from mortal Contagious Diseases, albeit a Souldier fell sick of the Small Pox as he was going to the Army, yet none else took the Infection of that Disease. And whereas that terrible Disease, was in an *Ordinary* here in the midst of *Boston*, at the same time, yet only one therein was sick and dyed, and then the Lord was intreated to stay his hand; these are signs that God hath yet a favour for us. It is also a wonder of mercy that the Indians have done no more mischief, how easily might they have swallowed up *Plimouth Colony* long ago, and most of the Towns in the other Colonies, had not our God restrained them? Moreover, the Providence of God is to be admired in that no more lives have been cut off. In some of those towns which are desolated, not many lives have perished, I cannot learn that at the writing hereof, there are many above six hundred among the English who

have been slain by the Enemy since this *War* began, whereas we might have expected that above so many thousand should have lost their lives, though the *War* had not continued so long as it hath. The Lord then sheweth, that his design, in bringing this Calamity on us, is not to destroy us, but to humble us, and reform us, and to do us good in the bitter end. Wherefore although I am not without sad apprehensions, that Desolation will come upon the body of the present Generation in *New-England*, if not by this, then by some other Judgement ere long (if Repentance prevent it not) nevertheless a *Remnant shall escape*: That Scripture is like to be verified in *New-England*, even that *Zeph.* 3.12,13. *I will also leave in the midst of thee an afflicted and poor people: and they shall trust in the Name of the Lord. The remnant of Israel shall not do iniquity nor speak lyes, neither shall a deceitful tongue be found in their mouth, for they shall feed, and lye down, and none shall make them afraid.* And as for the Enemy which is risen up against us, fear them not, the Lord our God will bring them down, who can do it, though we know not how to do it. It may be the Lord *slayeth them not* wholly and at once, but gradually *lest his People should forget his mercy* towards them, *Psal.* 59.11. yea I do believe, that if the Lord had not had a righteous designe utterly to destroy those of the *Heathen Nations* who have refused and horribly contemned the Gospel, they had not been permitted to do what they have done, that so they might bring swift destruction upon themselves, God may bring us Low, but he will not make a full end of us, as he will with our Adversaries, who are implacably set against his name and interest witness that Scripture, *Jer.* 46.28. *Fear thou not O my servant Jacob, and be not dismayed O Israel, for behold I will save thee from afar off and thy seed, for I am with thee, and I will make a full end of all the Nations wither I have driven thee, but I will not make a full end of thee, but correct thee in measure, yet will I not leave thee wholly unpunished.* And that Scripture, *Psal.* 79. 6, 7. *Pour out thy wrath upon the Heathen that have not known thee, and upon the Kingdomes that have not called upon thy Name, for they have devoured Jacob, and laid waste his dwelling place*, yea and that Scripture, *Isai.* 41.12. *They that War against thee shall be as nothing, and*

as a thing of nought. Let us not then be faithless but believing. There hath been much Prayer made before the Lord on our behalf, and now we hear that the Churches in *Europe* joyn with us in earnest cryes to Heaven, certainly those Prayers and tears will come pouring down at last in streams of blood, and fire, and vengeance upon the Heathen: the vengeance of the Lord, the vengeance of his Temple is not far off. The Lord hath a controversie with the Heathen, and therefore he hath suffered them (in a degree) to pull down his Temple, that so they might pull down vengeance upon themselves for ever. God hath wayes to bring them down that we cannot think of: he can soon mingle a perverse Spirit amongst them, and cause them to destroy one another, he that did sometimes set the *Egyptians against the Egyptians* can set the *Indians* against the *Indians*, & who knoweth but that the Lord may do *as in the day of Midian?* And it may be God will send the destroying Angel amongst them. It is noted in the *Memorials of New-England* (p. 23, 27.) that a little before the *English* came hither, the *Indians* were greatly wasted by Wars one with another, also the Plague was amongst them, and after that the small Pox, so as that the twentieth person was scarce left alive when the English arrived here, and they saw multitudes of skulls lying above ground, whereby they perceived that the living of them were not able to bury the dead. God is the same still, and will do for us as he did for our Fathers, only *he waits to be gracious*, he waits to see when we shall be fit for such mercy. It was said to the Church in *Thyatira, he that overcometh shall have power over the Nations, and as the vessels of a Potter shall they be broken to shivers,* Rev. 2.26. If the Lord Jesus help us to *overcome* the special corruptions and temptations whereby we have been carried away from God, those Nations who have risen up against us, shall be broken into shivers like a Potters Vessel, which all the World can never make whole again. I have been credibly informed, that a little before the beginning of this *War*, an *Indian Squaw* at *Nasset*, being with Child, the Child was heard crying three weeks before it was born into the World, whether dismal things to come upon them, might not be intimated by that

Prodigy, I know not. And of late the Lord hath appeared more for us, and more against our Adversaries, then at the beginning of this War, so as that there seemeth to be a beginning of revenges upon the Enemy.

7. *When God hath perfected our deliverance, let us endeavour to be and doe better then ever heretofore.* If the Lord speak peace unto us, let us no more return unto folly. Let us sin no more lest a worse thing come unto us. It is an awfull word which *Ezra* spake, when the Lords people of old were delivered from their heathen enemies, *should we again break thy Commandments, wouldst not thou be angry with us till thou hadst consumed us, so that there should be no remnant nor escaping?* So if people in *New-England* should again forsake God and his Ordinances out of respect to the world, what may we think would be the effect thereof at last? If the Lord restore peace unto this Land, and withall give us to possess the Lands of our enemies, it is to be feared that people will be apt to do as formerly, even to seek great things for themselves, with the neglect of the Kingdome of God, or with only a *secondary* respect thereto. That great Light of *New-England*, then whom no man was more instrumental in laying the foundation both of our civil and ecclesiastical constitution, blessed Mr. *Cotton,* did in his time observe and testify against such a spirit of worldliness and Apostacy, even in those dayes pervading in this Country; wherefore in his Sermon on the third Vial. Pag. *ult* he thus expresseth himself.

> "Sit down no where without good Ministers, if it be possible, and sure possible it is, else Christians may resolve to tarry where they are, as Ezra tarried by the river Ahava, in the 8*th* of Ezra 15. till he had got some Levites to go with them, that they might go and make a comfortable work of it that they might not leave the ordinances behind them, and yet there were some there before, whither they went. It is true some may go and make a beginning, but yet never make a beginning but where you may come and partake of the waters of Gods house every Lords day, and let them that cannot so travel, let them continue where

they are, and drink of the waters of eternal life, rather then run such hazards. You have seen when some have made a beginning without Ministers, they have staid three or four years before they have got any help, and when they have got them, they have had much adoe to settle, they have been suddenly unsettled, though they have not gone rashly about it, but with good advice: but for want of this, their not taking these Rivers and Fountains with them, they have been at a loss, and therfore in such a case let it be the wisdome of sincere hearted Christians, that come from old England for liberty and purity of the Ordinances, not to leave them now for fresh Meadows and Fountains, and for want of planting-ground and the like, it will not be suitable to those ends for which you left your native Country."

Thus Mr. *Cotton.* Let there then be no more Plantations erected in New-England, where people professing Christianity shall live like Indians, without any solemn invocation on the name of God, and altogether without instituted Worship. What a sad thing is it to consider that there are many Children, born in New-England, who although they are come to adult age, never heard of the Lords Supper, nor did ever see a child baptized in their lives? I am perswaded that one reason why the faithfull, holy God hath let loose the heathen upon us, is that so this disease might be cured. And wo to this land if it be not so. Yea and when the Lord shall have accomplished our Salvation, we ought to doe some singular thing tending to the honour of his name, as sincere testimony of our gratitude towards him who hath by his own arm saved us. I have read concerning the States of *Holland* that when they were miraculously delivered from the *Spaniards* great Army, to shew their thankfulness, they erected a *Colledge* at *Leyden* & indowed it with goodly priviledges; and many famous lights have there been there, for whom the world hath had cause to bless God; *Poliander, Junius, Scaliger, Heinsius* did sometime belong to that University. And what can be thought of amongst us, which will have a greater

tendency to the Glory of God, and good of the Souls of men then to take effectual care about that matter? That *Academical Learning,* (and with it Religion) may not fail in succeeding Generations. We find in Scripture, that whilst the first Generation of the children of Israel, who came out of Egypt lived, religion was upheld. Yea and whilst the Heads of the second Generation continued. But when *Joshuah* and *Eleazer* (the leaders of that Generation) slept with their Fathers, sad degeneracy and misery soon overwhelmed the rising Generation. The Lord awaken us to do our utmost to prevent the like in New England, but there will be no preventing of it, if due care be not taken, that there may be meet and able Instruments by whom the truth and Religion may be maintained and propagated. The *Centuriators* and other Historians have noted that the Apostles and primitive Christians were greatly sollicitous in that thing. And so we see our Fathers of the first Generation in New-England have been therefore did they erect a *Colledge* at *Cambridge*, which in their dayes was signally owned and blessed by the Lord and what a dark miserable Land had New-England been before this day, had it not been for the Blessing of God upon that Society? most of the churches being supplyed with Teachers who have there been educated. Should *Academical Learning* fall in this land, it would be one of the saddest *Omens* that could be. Ignorance and Barbarisme would overspread the face of succeeding Generations; darkness shall then cover the earth, and gross darkness the people. *Papists* are wont to reflect upon *Protestants*, as if they were not duly carefull in erecting and encouraging *Seminaries of Learning and Religion.* The most learned *Voetius*, was able to reply, that whenas there are no less then ten Provinces in Popish *Belgium*, there are but two Universityes therin, whereas although there are but seven Provinces in reformed *Belgium*, there are no less then five Universityes, and one Academical School, besides other illustrious Schools. It will be a great mercy and happiness to Posterity, and we shall have wherewith to answer Adversaryes, if after this *War* more encouragement be given respecting the *Colledge* and other Schools of Learning, and if ever God shall give us the lands

of our enemies, I cannot think how they can be disposed of better, or more to Gods Glory, and publick advantage, then in such a way and towards such an end, as hath been expressed. And what a wonderfull providence will it be, if *Barbarians* should occasion the promotion of *good Literature?*

8. *In the last place let me assume the boldness to speak to any in other parts of the world, into whose hands this may come.* Let not those that bear us ill-will say in their hearts *Aha* so would we have it. Will not the Lord remember the children of Edom, who in the day of Jerusalems Calamity said *rase it, rase it to the foundation thereof?* Psal. 137. 7. And say unto the Ammonites hear the word of the Lord God, thus saith the Lord God, because thou saidst *Aha* against my Sanctuary when it was profaned, and against the land of Israel when it was desolate, and against the house of Judah went they were into Captivity, behold therefore I will stretch forth my hand upon thee, and will cause thee to perish. Ezek. 25.3,7. Neither let the world be offended at these things that have hapned to *New-England*, as though neither we nor our Fathers were built upon right foundations of Truth, because of this misery which our sins (and backslidings which are many) have brought upon us. It is famously known, that those ancient and orthodox Christians, the *Albigenses and Waldenses*, no less then ten hundred thousand were slain by barbarous and bloody Enemies, even Heathenish Idolatrous Papists; & when the Bishop of *Tolosse* endeavoured thereupon to perswade them that they had not a righteous cause before them, they replyed, it is written in the *Book of Revelation*, concerning the Beast, that *unto him was given Power to make War against the Saints, and to overcome them;* and therefore, notwithstanding the success which you have had you may be the Beast, and we may be the Saints of Christ. Nor is it any sign that these poor *New-English Churches* do not profess the Truth and way of Christ because such a Judgment hath overtaken us: therefore let no one make that use of it; but rather be awakened to take warning thereby to *prepare for Troubles*; for if this be done to *Immanuels Land*, what may other Lands expect ere long? Are not the things that have hapned to

New-England a Sign that the wine-cup of divine fury shall be given to all the Nations? and they shall drink, and be moved, and be mad, because of the sword which the Lord will send amongst them. In which respect I pitty and marvel at the folly of those who are removing out of the Country, lest they should meet with trouble. To what end is it for you? It is as a man did flee from a Lion, and a Bear met him, or went into the house and leaned his hand on the wall, and a Serpent bit him. Shall not the day of the Lord be darkness & not light? even very dark & no brightness in it. The time is come that Judgement must begin at the House of God, and if it first begin at us, what shall the end be of them that obey not the gospel of God? verily I am perswaded, that the Calamity which is come upon *New-England*, is a solemn warning from Heaven, that dismal things are hastening upon the *English Nation,* and not only so, but indeed upon the whole World, that it will not be long before that Scripture be fulfilled, *Zeph.* 3.8. where the Lord speaketh, saying, *My determination is to gather the Nations, that I may assemble the Kingdomes to pour upon them mine Indignation, even all my fierce anger, for all the Earth shall be devoured with the fire of my Jealousie.* However, certain it is, that the most terrible changes are coming upon the Earth that ever were known since the world began. There are indeed glorious times not far off, *glorious things are spoken of thee, O thou Citty of God.* After the destruction of *Rome* the Conversion of the Jews; and the fulness of the Gentiles shall come in (which things I know and am perswaded by the Lord Jesus, that they are nearer then some imagine for) peace and prosperity shall run down like a river, and like a mighty Stream, the whole World throughout, *the Nations shall learn War no more*, but a little before that, there shall be distress of Nations with great perplexity, mens hearts failing them for fear, and for looking after those things. The powers of heaven shall be shaken, the Sun shall be turned into darkness, the Moon into blood, and the Stars of Heaven shall loose their shining, Alas who shall live when God doth these things? *There shall be such a time of trouble as never was since there was a Nation even to that same time*, Dan. 12.1.

And as for those who in this or that place do in sincerity call upon the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, their Lord and ours, be intreated to *remember New-England*, in all your solemn addresses before the Throne of Grace, pitty and pray for us, who knoweth but the Lord may be gracious to the *remnant of Joseph*, through the help of your Prayers, yea, we know that God hath begun to answer your Prayers for us already*:* And therefore you who as yet have escaped the Sword, go away, stand not still, remember the Lord afar off, and let *Jerusalem* come into your minds, yea let *New-England* come into your minds, who spreadeth forth her hands, and shall there be none to comfort her, at this time when the Lord hath afflicted her in the day of his fierce anger*?* poor *New-England* cryeth unto you (as sometimes sorrowful *Job* unto his Friends) *have pitty on me, O ye my Friends, have pitty upon me, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me.*

F I N I S.

Set in IM Fell English, a typeface originally cut in the sixteenth century by Christoffel van Dijck (roman and small capitals) and Robert Granjon (italic), and acquired in 1672 by John Fell, Bishop of Oxford. The face has been digitized and made available through the generosity of Igino Marini (http://www.iginomarini.com/fell.html).

The spelling, punctuation, capitalization, and italics of the 1676 original have been preserved. One long quotation (pp. 29–30) has been set in the modern style, rather than beginning each line with an open quotation mark. To allow for more accurate searching and excerpting, the long s (ſ or ſ) and the available ligatures have not been used. The ornaments are reconstructions of those in the 1676 edition. Composition and adaptation of the original design by Paul Royster.

24 July 2007