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The Kingdom, The Power, & The Glory: The Millennial Impulse in Early American Literature – Questions for Discussions, Research, and Writing

Reiner Smolinski , Editor

Georgia State University, rsmolinski@gsu.edu

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***The Kingdom, The Power, & The Glory:
The Millennial Impulse in American Literature***

Questions for Discussions, Research, and Writing:

The following questions are designed to help each student focus on crucial issues in each text during the initial reading process, stimulate class discussion, and suggest essay topics for term papers. For the most part, the answers to these questions require no other reading than the **General Introduction** and close analysis of the selections themselves. Nevertheless, each set of question is followed by a brief list of secondary sources taken from the **Selected Bibliography** to accommodate the documentation of research papers. The blank spaces below each question allow for brief written responses and brainstorming exercises to outline research papers.

Chapter I: Quo Vadis, Domine?

The first chapter of this anthology includes eight selections that explore a number of significant issues relating to the English conquest and settlement of New England. Each of the authors represented here provides a different view of the New World and the challenges and prospects faced by potential settlers. Some came to America as young adults and grew up in a wilderness condition that formed their outlook on life for better or worse. Others like the English metaphysical poet George Herbert and the English theologian Joseph Mede never set foot on the North American continent, yet their particular cosmologies shaped their readers' attitudes toward this newfound land in ways that haunted American settlers for more than a century after they had established themselves.

Selection 1:

George Morton's *A Relation or Journall of the beginning and proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plimoth in New England* (London, 1622) is one of the earliest published accounts of the Separatists' experiment in the New World. The first four parts (outlined on the cover page) are a day-by-day chronicle recording the experiences of William Bradford and his fellow Separatists during the rough and dangerous crossing of the Atlantic, their first attempts to land on the tip of Cape Cod (near present-day Provincetown) in late December of 1620, their exploration of the Bay for suitable land to establish Plymouth Colony, and their first encounter with members of the various Algonquian Amerindian tribes, whose previous contacts with European adventurers had introduced disease and pestilence that quickly decimated the coastal tribes of the Bay. The Plymouth settlers, struggling for survival in a harsh and inhospitable environment, were only vaguely aware of the impact their presence had on the indigenous populations, for they were preoccupied with supplying themselves with Indian corn and burying their own dead (fully half of the 102 Mayflower Separatists died during the first winter), than with the havoc their presence wreaked upon potentially hostile Indians.

Reasons & considerations touching the lawfulness of remouing out of England into the parts of America is appended to Morton's *Relation*. It addresses English readers contemplating emigration to the New World and explores significant legal, theological, and philosophical justifications of why colonizing America is indeed lawful and beneficial. Employing techniques of promotional literature coupled with questions and answers characteristic of the popular catechisms of the period, Morton highlights both push and pull factors to attract eligible emigrants.

[1] Morton argues that in modern times God no longer communicates his will directly through prophets, visions, and dreams as he did in biblical times, but that he now reveals his will through economic oppor-

tunity and geopolitical events. How do Morton's readers know that God intends them to transplant themselves to the New World?

[2] Underlying Morton's tract is a social hierarchy in which members are bound through contracts or moral obligations to serve one another for the good of the whole community. How does Morton justify that in emigrating to America they also benefit society at large?

[3] America's popular mythology has it that Pilgrims and Puritans alike escaped to New England because they wanted to follow the dictates of their own consciences and practice their Calvinist religion unimpeded by the Church of England. Compare Morton's justification for emigration with those provided in John Cotton's *Gods Promise To His Plantation* (1630) in the next selection and determine if this popular myth holds up to close scrutiny.

[4] The conversion of the Indians is commonly cited as one principal reason for establishing English colonies in America. What attitudes toward the aboriginal populations surface in this and other texts you have read? Examine how Judeo-Christian values shape the representations of Indians and their customs in the popular literature of the period.

[5] Establishing colonies in the American wilderness ultimately involved expropriation of Indian lands. Look up the biblical citations Morton supplies in the text and explain how English settlers felt justified in appropriating arable land for their own use.

[6] Examine Morton's economic and social reasons for leaving the Old World. Why does Morton feel the need to allude to the story of Abraham and Lot (Gen. 13:9-10) to convince his readers that God approves of their departure for America?

[7] Identify the principal push and pull factors underlying Morton's justification for attracting settlers to venture to America and compare them with our modern assumptions about why the New World was settled.

Further eyewitness accounts:

William Bradford, *Of Plimoth Plantation 1620-1647*, edited by Samuel Eliot Morison. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1984.

John Josselyn, *A Critical Edition of Two Voyages to New-England*, edited by Paul J. Lindholdt. Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1988.

Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, edited by Kenneth B. Murdock. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977. Esp. Book I: Antiquities.

William Wood, *New England's Prospect*, edited by Alden T. Vaughan. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977.

Selection 2:

John Cotton's famous farewell sermon to John Winthrop's fleet ready to depart for the New World from Southampton is a central document in early American history and—*notwithstanding significant ideological differences*—can be profitably compared to the Declaration of Independence of 1776. As a Calvinist clergyman, Cotton exhorts his audience for a last time to hold fast to their conviction that God has blessed their endeavor to settle in America. Characteristic of the homiletic literature of the period, Cotton structures his argument in clearly discernible patterns and like George Morton before him employs rhetorical questions and answers to justify the Pilgrims' removal to New England.

[1] In the first part of his sermon, Cotton establishes significant typological parallels between Abraham's settlement in Canaan and Winthrop's endeavor to settle in the Massachusetts Bay area (addressed in the

second part). What parallels between the ancient Israelites and the Puritan émigrés does Cotton extract from his biblical texts and how does the biblical precedent serve as a prophetic road map for Winthrop's spiritual Israelites en route to their New English Israel?

[2] The Promised Land was given to Abraham and his descendants as an eternal inheritance, Cotton argues from his biblical passage in 2 Samuel 7: 10. While all other peoples attained their lands through God's providence, the Israelites received their home by God's promise. How does Cotton succeed in applying his text to the English Puritans ready to depart for America? When and when only does the "howling wilderness" of America become their promised land?

[3] Cotton argues that mankind is subject to God's universal providence and that all believers must discern God's will before they undertake such an important endeavor as colonizing unknown lands. Compare Cotton's economic and political justification with his religious argument for removal and determine which side of the issue Cotton invests with greater detail and conviction.

[4] Cotton embeds in his sermon, like a two-edged sword, both material and spiritual rewards and punishment for all those called by God to undertake this New World experiment. Discuss.

[5] Toward the end of his homily, Cotton exhorts the Winthrop party "be not unmindfull of our *Ierusalem* at home [i.e. in England]." If Winthrop sought to establish the New Jerusalem in Boston (as the popular argument goes), why does Cotton exhort his audience not to forget their Jerusalem at home?

[6] Cotton skillfully negotiates between literal and allegorical readings of his biblical sources. Why and at which points in his argument does Cotton break through his biblical literalism and employ allegorical and spiritual applications of his biblical precedents?

[7] Examine the organizational structure of Cotton's sermon in light of the principal components of a formal essay. What parallels can you discern and what heuristic and rhetorical devices can you identify as possible points of discussion in your own formal analysis?

Further reading material:

Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

Francis J. Bremer, *The Puritan Experiment: New England Society from Bradford to Edwards*. Hanover and London: University of New England Press, 1995.

David Cressy, *Coming Over: Migration and Communication between England and New England in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.

Andrew Delbanco, *The Puritan Ordeal*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989.

Everett Emerson. *John Cotton. Revised Edition*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990.

-----*Puritanism in America, 1620-1750*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1977.

Avihu Zakai, *Exile and Kingdom: History and Apocalypse in the Puritan Migration to America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Larzer Ziff, *The Career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American Experience*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Selection 3:

Although George Herbert never visited the New World, his famous poem "The Church Militant" (1633) reveals important religious and ideological views about America's place and function in God's history of salvation. Inspired by the sequence of empires represented in Daniel's dream vision of Nebuchadnezzar's golden-headed statue in the Plain of Dura (Daniel 2:31-45), Herbert traces the course of re-

ligion and civilization from east to west only to return to their cradle in the east. For Herbert, the Thirty Years War in Germany (1618-48) and the struggle of Protestant reformers in England bespeak the imminence of Christ's Second Coming. By suggesting that America like the Old World will inevitably fall prey to sin and corruption, Herbert does not seem to share the popular view of the New World as a place of refuge and redemption.

[1] Compare the sequence of empires in Daniel's prophecy (Dan., ch. 2) with that in Herbert's poem and explain why and how the poet constructs his historiography according to biblical patterns.

[2] If religion, civilization, and culture had their cradle in the east, how can Herbert measure the progress of time until Judgment Day?

[3] "Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,/ Readie to passe to the *American* strand" (lines 235-36)—thus Herbert sketches the westward course of religion and America's place in God's history of salvation. Examine Herbert's views on the state of the Reformation in Europe and the political threats he perceives in contemporary events.

[4] What characteristic attitude toward Roman Catholicism does Herbert embed in his poem and what connections does he establish with the ancient religions of Babylon, Egypt, and Greece?

[5] Discuss Herbert's use of personification, imagery, and structure as a key to interpreting the poem.

[6] Construct a composite representation of Herbert's seventeenth-century views on Judaism, Islam, and paganism.

[7] How does the title of Herbert's poem and his belief in the imminence of the Second Coming inform the structure and subject matter of "The Church Militant"?

Further reading material:

Stanley Fish, *The Living Temple: George Herbert and Catechizing*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.

William H. Halewood, *The Poetry of Grace: Reformation Themes and Structures in English 17th-Century Poetry*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Joseph H. Summers, *George Herbert: his Religion and Art*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.

G. J. Weinberger, "George Herbert's 'The Church Militant,'" *Connecticut Review* 4.2 (1971): 49-57.

Selection 4:

Joseph Mede was one of the most influential English theologians of the early seventeenth century. His *Clavis Apocalyptica* (London 1627), a commentary on the book of Revelation, was considered so important that the English Parliament ordered its translation into the vernacular, the second edition appearing in 1650 with the title *The Key of the Revelation*. The reprinted section "A Conjecture Concerning Gog and Magog" presents a controversial view of Satan's forces of evil ("Gog and Magog") rising at the end of time in a final effort to destroy God's true church. The two epistles by William Twisse and Joseph Mede following "A Conjecture" reveal how much eschatologists of the period were trying to integrate the New World into the soteriological geography of the Bible.

[1] Discuss the implications of Mede's endeavor to identify friend and foe in the book of Revelation by allegorizing the Christians as spiritual Israelites.

[2] Discuss the implications of Mede's Christocentric eschatology as restricted to the hemisphere of the Old World and explain why he excludes the new hemisphere (America) from the benefits of the Judeo-Christian religion.

[3] During the millennium, Mede seems to argue, two types of people will populate the earth: the saints and true followers of God inhabiting the Old World with its spiritual center in Jerusalem, and the unregenerate, wicked nations (Gog and Magog) resisting God's summons to the last. Construct a composite picture of Mede's argument and explain how his attitude toward America as "hell," the place of "outer darkness," may have shaped European attitudes toward Amerindian populations.

[4] Perhaps guided by Herbert's poem "The Church Militant" or by the classical idea of the westward movement of civilization, the English theologian William Tisbe, inquires of his mentor why America might not become the seat of Christ's New Jerusalem. What paradoxical consequences might arise from this argument for the Puritan endeavor to escape to a safe haven of religious freedom in New England?

[5] Following the rationale of Noah's flood and the peopling of the earth by Noah's descendants, Mede argues in Epistle XLIII that the Amerindian peoples are of Chaldean origin and, following Satan's instructions, migrated to America to be out of the reach of the Gospel. The grand civilizations of the Mayans and Aztecs in Central America were therefore little more than centers of devil worship. Examine pictures of the iconography of these Meso-American civilizations and explain how the Spanish conquistadors (and by consequence Joseph Mede) arrived at their hostile views of America's aboriginal peoples.

[6] Read Samuel Sewall's *Phaenomena quaedam Apocalyptica* (1697) in Chapter 3 and explain how Sewall desperately tries to refute Mede's argument that the American hemisphere is consigned to "outer darkness."

Further reading material:

Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1975.

Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1979.

H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America*. Rpt. Middletown, Conn; Wesleyan University Press, 1988.

C. A. Patrides and Joseph Wittreich, eds. *The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984.

Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.

-----, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Selection 5:

Anne Bradstreet has been called the mother of American poetry. As the daughter of Thomas Dudley, steward in the household of the Earl of Lincoln, Bradstreet received a classical and religious education generally afforded only to male members of the English nobility. Her *Tenth Muse Lately sprung up in America* (London, 1650) includes a number of poems that indicates just how thoroughly familiar Bradstreet was with the political and religious events of her time. Her "Dialogue between Old England and New" responds to the parliamentary struggle against Charles II and the cosmological significance Bradstreet attaches to the civil war in England. The poem employs the techniques of dialogue and personification to represent the different viewpoints.

[1] Examine the tensions between mother (England) and daughter (New England) as a representation of New England's self-perception three decades after its settlement by Separatists and Puritans.

[2] What, according to Bradstreet, are the causes of mother England's problems and how does the political upheaval function as God's chastisement to correct England's waywardness?

[3] Discuss Bradstreet's poem as a history in miniature of the Protestant Reformation in Europe.

[4] In the poem's final segment, New England instructs her mother about the millenarian significance of England's present turmoil. What specific role does Bradstreet assign to England in the final days before the coming millennium?

[5] Construct a composite picture of friend and foe in Bradstreet's poem about the latter days. How do they represent the geopolitical forces in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century?

[6] Why does Bradstreet's radical Fifth Monarchist ideology call for an all-out war against Rome and Turkey?

[7] Compare Bradstreet's "Dialogue" with her long unfinished poem "The Four Monarchies" and explain how Daniel's vision of the sequence of world empires (Dan., ch. 2) shapes Bradstreet's response to the events of her time.

Further reading:

Bernard S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study of Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism*. Totowa: N.J.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1972.

Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

J.A. De Jong, *As the Waters Cover the Sea: Millennial Expectations in the Rise of Anglo-American Missions, 1640-1810*. Kampen: J.H. Kok N.V., 1970.

Rosamond Rosenmeier, *Anne Bradstreet Revisited*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991.

Elizabeth W. White, *Anne Bradstreet: The Tenth Muse*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Selection 6:

Michael Wigglesworth has been rightfully called America's own doomsday poet, because his best-selling poem *The Day of Doom* (1662) was read in New England second only to the Bible. His obsession with Judgment Day struck a responsive cord with his audience and became a popular theme in many of the millenarian sermons and jeremiads of the seventeenth century. Wigglesworth's "God's Controversy with New-England," evidently composed in the early 1660 and circulated in manuscript, can be read as the endeavor of the second generation of New Englanders to construct the myth of the Puritan "Errand into the Wilderness" as a means of exhorting the backsliding children to resume the religious fervor of their fathers.

[1] Discuss Wigglesworth's ideological construction of New England as God's providential outpost of religion and civilization in the outer darkness of the New World.

[2] What typological parallels does Wigglesworth discover between the enemies of the ancient Israelites and the Amerindian populations?

[3] Discuss Joseph Mede's rejection of America as hell (selection 4) and Wigglesworth's assertion of America as hiding place for the woman (church) in the wilderness.

[4] Demonstrate how Wigglesworth self-consciously creates the myth of New England's golden age of pure religion to establish a standard from which the rising generation has lapsed.

[5] Wigglesworth's poem embodies the structure, theme, and intent of a jeremiad—a type of homiletic lament that describes the sins of a backsliding generation by threatening divine punishment and retribution unless the children of God return to the golden standard of their fathers. Discuss.

[6] Discuss Wigglesworth representation of the Puritan saints as latter-day Israelites who, like the biblical type, are on an errand to turn the howling wilderness into their promised land.

[7] Examine Wigglesworth's concept of the covenant between God and Puritan saints, and determine the contractual conditions that govern their relationship.

Further reading material:

Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier, 1600-1860*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1974.

Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.

Peter White, ed., *Puritan Poets and Poetics: Seventeenth-Century American Poetry in Theory and Practice*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985.

Jeffrey Hammond, *Sinful Self, Saintly Self: The Puritan Experience of Poetry*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993.

Ronald A. Bosco, ed., *The Poems of Michael Wigglesworth*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1989.

Selection 7:

Samuel Danforth's jeremiad sermon *A Brief Recognition of New-Englands Errand into the Wilderness* (1671) supplies Perry Miller with the title of his famous study *Errand into the Wilderness* (1956). This concept of errand or mission into the literal and spiritual wilderness of America serves as the ideological foundation of Manifest Destiny and America's mission to the world in nineteenth and twentieth-century foreign policies. In Danforth's sermon as in Wigglesworth's preceding poem the errand theme is a heuristic and didactic device of homiletic literature to invoke the standards of the golden past of the colonies' founding fathers against which the second and third generation can measure their own shortcomings. Moreover, Danforth embeds in his sermon the Renaissance concepts of faculty psychology to influence his audience's response to his message. The minister selects from Memory (the storehouse of past events) a memorable experience, employs his Imagination to draw a vivid picture of the event, allows the Understanding (the analytical faculty in the mind) to compare the present condition with the ideal against which the present is to be judged, and thus raises the Affections (emotions) either to be repelled by the effects of one's previous sins or to be attracted toward the higher good represented in the ideal. Last but not least, the Affections determine the human Will (volition) in its effort to embrace the virtuous act—the desired response the minister wishes to elicit from his audience.

[1] Discuss Danforth's self-representation as a latter-day John the Baptist announcing the coming of the messiah.

[2] Examine Danforth's use of Old and New Testament typological parallels between the ancient Israelites in Exodus, early Christians, and New England Puritans.

[3] Describe Danforth's typological assumptions behind Israel's loss of fervor during her forty-year sojourn in the Sinai wilderness, the cooling affections of John the Baptist's converts during his ministry in the wilderness, and the backsliding of the Puritan saints forty years after their exodus into the New England wilderness.

[4] Analyze the function of faculty psychology (Memory, Imagination, Understanding, Affections, Volition, Action) in the various segments of Danforth's sermon.

[5] In the second part of the seventeenth century, New England became an important center of English maritime trade in North America. How does Danforth respond to the rapid changes that New England's economic growth triggers in religious fervor, manners, and social customs?

[6] Describe Danforth's reification of the golden from which his own generation seems to have fallen.

[7] Compare Danforth's jeremiad with that of Increase Mather in the next selection. What similarities in intent, structure, and use of typology can you identify in the two sermons?

Further reading materials:

B. W. Ball, *A Great Expectation: Eschatological Thought in English Protestantism to 1660*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975.

Ursula Brumm, *American Thought and Religious Typology*. Trnsl. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970.

Philip Gura, *A Glimpse of Zion's Glory*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1984.

Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

-----, *The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939.

Selection 8:

King Philip's War (1675/76) devastated New England's frontier communities along the Atlantic seaboard and gave rise to an avalanche of sermons, poems, and broadsides that interpreted the Indian uprising as God's punishment for New England's backsliding. More than twelve towns were burned to the ground and half of New England's community suffered severe damage in life and property. It was during this crisis that Mary Rowlandson, as well as many other settlers, was taken captive—an experience she commemorated in her famous *Narrative of the Captivity and Restauration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (Cambridge, 1682). Increase Mather, one of New England's leading ministers, was trying to give cosmic significance to the events as his anxious parishioners turned to him for comfort and explanation. His *Earnest Exhortation To the Inhabitants of New-England* (Boston, 1676) was preached a few months before the Indian sachem Metacom (King Philip) was captured and executed, thus bringing the war to a conclusion. It is one of Increase Mather's earliest jeremiad sermons in which he provides descriptive detail of the horrid warfare but also exhorts his parishioners to humble themselves and repent to ward off further punishments for their backsliding.

[1] Examine the structure of Mather's argument and reconstruct the cycle of transgression, punishment, repentance, and restoration that gives meaning to the dreadful event.

[2] Make a list of the sins that Mather identifies as the cause of God's using the Indians as a punishing rod for the backsliding generation. How serious were these transgressions by modern standards?

[3] Discuss Mather's use of the errand motif as a rhetorical and soteriological device to instill repentance in his audience.

[4] The persuasive power of Mather's jeremiad lies in its technique of identifying the causes of the war and by outlining a program of action that instills hope in its audience and leads the community to positive action. What constructive promises and solace does Mather offer his audience?

[5] Explain how Mather gives cosmic significance to King Philip's War by interpreting the episode as signs of Christ's imminence.

[6] Discuss Mather's use of biblical typology in explaining the events of his day.

[7] Explain Mather's conflicting representations of the Indians as instruments of Satan and of God, as the devil's minions to be consigned to hell, and as immortal souls worthy of redemption.

Further reading material:

William R. Hutchinson, *Errand to the World: American Protestant Thought and Foreign Missions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Perry Miller, *Errand into the Wilderness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956.

Richard Slotkin and James K. Folsom, *So Dreadfull a Judgment: Puritan Responses to King Philip's War, 1676-1677*. Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1978.

David E. Stannard, *American Holocaust: The Conquest of the New World*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Michael G. Hall, *The Last American Puritan: The Life of Increase Mather*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1988.

Alden T. Vaughn, *New England Frontier: Puritans and Indians, 1620-1675*. Rev. ed. New York: Norton, 1979.

--- and Edward W. Clark, *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676-1724*. Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1981.

Richard W. Cogley, *John Eliot's Mission to the Indians before King Philip's War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Chapter 2: The Devil among the Puritans.

The episode of Salem witchcraft (1691-93) has become a mainstay of American mythology, and writers and historians for the past three-hundred years again and again have returned to this gruesome event in colonial history as a topic for their own intellectual pursuits. Judging by the veritable flood of stories, novels, plays, histories, and movies that have appeared to date, we can safely say that this surprisingly minor incident in colonial history continues to fascinate the modern imagination. Interestingly, only twenty individuals were executed for witchcraft during this period—a dwindlingly small number when compared to the tens of thousands who lost their lives in Europe a century earlier, when the specter of witchcraft caused the inquisition and the rabble to hunt down their victims.

Cotton Mather's *The Wonders of the Invisible World* (Boston, 1693) presents the official explanation of the colonial government and excerpts from the Salem court records those cases of witchcraft he deems to be the four or five most notorious ones. As the government's official account, *Wonders* deserves particular attention because it reveals not only the magistrates' need to justify the court's procedure but also the clergy's cosmological perception of the invisible world and the spirits and demons that populate it. From the safe distance of our modern age, it is easy enough to dismiss the trauma of Salem witchcraft as little more than the excesses of credulous and fanatic imaginations run amok. It is quite another thing to examine Cotton Mather's *Wonders*, Increase Mather's *Cases of Conscience Concerning evil Spirits* (Boston, 1693), Deodat Lawson's *A Brief and True Narrative Of some Remarkable Passages Relating to sundry Persons Afflicted by Witchcraft* (Boston, 1692), or John Hale's *A Modest Enquiry into the Nature of Witchcraft* (Boston, 1702) on the rational grounds of their own creed and ideology—no matter how remote or distasteful.

Selection 1:

[1] In section 7 of *Wonders* (pp. 115-17), Mather cites the principal criteria of indictment and conviction prescribed by William Perkins (an important English theologian) and by Matthew Gaule (an authority on English jurisprudence in the seventeenth century). Examine any one court record abstracted in Mather's text and determine if the judges and magistrates followed the principles outlined by Perkins and Gaule.

[2] Reconstruct the most significant aspects of Mather's cosmology, the power of the devil and his witches, and their supposed plot to overthrow the churches of New England. What was at stake?

[3] Why does Mather and his fellow clergymen feel justified in believing that Satan has singled out New England?

[4] The belief in the imminence of the Second Coming toward the end of the seventeenth century was widespread in Old and New England. Satan now confined to the vicinity of the earth, Mather was wont to argue, the manifestations of witchcraft at this juncture in time were the clearest evidence yet of Anti-christ's anticipated fall and Christ's millennial kingdom on the horizon. How does Mather's millenarian belief shape his response to Salem witchcraft and determine his explication of what New England was really faced with?

[5] Reconstruct Mather's eschatological timeline of the anticipated millennium and explain why leniency toward the supposed witches and their mischief could not be tolerated.

[6] Many of the accused were indicted on the basis of "spectral evidence"; i.e., the belief that Satan could not employ the spirits or souls of human beings to harm innocent individuals unless the perpetrators had willingly signed the devil's book. Examine the use of "spectral evidence" in *Wonders* and compare this account with Increase Mather's proscriptions in *Cases of Conscience Concerning Evil Spirits* (Boston, 1693).

[7] Contrary to popular opinion, Cotton Mather did not reveal the names of the accused to hasten their prosecution but encouraged a process of communal humiliation, repentance, reformation, and personal prayer to protect the community from further harm. Discuss.

[8] In classifying the individuals most involved in Salem witchcraft, historians have developed the following sociological triangle: Generally, the accusers were young adolescent females who accused middle-age matrons (the moral guardians of the young) of harming them, while males were principally called upon to testify as reliable witnesses during the indictment. What evidence is there in *Wonders* to substantiate this argument?

[8] Reexamine the grounds of indictment that Mather excerpts in his court cases. What types of mischief or petty quarrels between disgruntled neighbors can you pinpoint as causes for accusation of witchcraft?

[9] In the middle of the seventeenth century, Thomas Hobbes had rekindled the age-old argument that the human soul is mortal and does not continue after the death of the body. What empirical evidence does Mather muster to assert the immortality of the soul and its continuation after the death of the body?

[10] One popular explication of the Salem phenomenon is that the accusations of witchcraft followed clearly identifiable socio-economic patterns: the have-nots versus the haves. What evidence does Mather's text reveal about issues of property or political power underlying mutual accusations?

Further reading material:

Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum, *Salem Possessed: The Social Origins of Witchcraft*.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Andrew Delbanco. *The Death of Satan: How Americans Have Lost the Sense of Evil*.
New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995.

- John Putnam Demos, *Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Richard Godbeer, *The Devil's Dominion: Magic and Religion in Early New England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- David D. Hall, ed., *Witch-Hunting in Seventeenth-Century New England: A Documentary History, 1638-1692*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1991.
- , *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgment: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1989.
- Chadwick Hanson, *Witchcraft at Salem*. New York: Mentor, 1969.
- Winfried Herget, ed., *The Salem Witchcraft Persecution: Perspectives, Contexts, Representations, 1692-1992*. Trier, Germany: WVT Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Trier, 1994.
- Charles P. Hoffer, *The Devil's Disciples: Makers of the Salem Witchcraft Trials*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Carol F. Karlson, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England*. Rpt. New York: Vintage, 1989.
- David Levin, *Cotton Mather: The Young Life of the Lord's Remembrancer*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Bernard Rosenthal, *Salem Story: Reading the Witch Trials of 1692*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Kenneth Silverman, *The Life and Times of Cotton Mather*. New York: Harper & Row, 1984.
- Reiner Smolinski, *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of "Tri-paradisus."* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995.
- Richard Weisman. *Witchcraft, Magic, and Religion in 17th-Century Massachusetts*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984.

Chapter 3: A New Jerusalem in New England?

The four selections in this chapter discuss late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century views of the history of salvation and America's place in the events of the latter days. Still harking back to Joseph Mede's legerdemain denigration of America as hell (see chapter 1), Judge Samuel Sewall, mint master of Massachusetts, president of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to the Indians, and zealous millenarian, wrote *Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica* (Boston, 1697) as a means of refuting Mede's conjecture and of asserting that the indigenous populations of America were the descendants of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, who had migrated to Central America in ancient times. Mather's *Theopolis Americana* (Boston, 1710) is a late jeremiad lamenting the corruptions of Boston's marketplace and New England's loss of religious idealism that might yet authenticate Mede's conjecture. Mather's *Nehemias Americanus* is a biography of Governor John Winthrop, whose typological exemplar is grounded in the Old Testament Governor Nehemias, who was largely responsible for the reconstruction of Jerusalem's walls after the Babylonian captivity (fifth century B.C.). And *Relating Remarkable Salvations*, also excerpted from Mather's church history *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), is the account of Hannah Swarton's deliverance from captivity among Algonquian Indians in 1690.

Selection 1:

Judge Samuel Sewall's zealous millenarianism is most evident in his exegetical tracts *Phænomena quædam Apocalyptica* (Boston, 1697; 2nd ed. 1727), in *Proposals Touching the Accomplishment of Prophecies Humbly Offered* (Boston, 1713), and in his correspondence in his *Letter-Book (1674-1729)*. As a Harvard graduate steeped in Puritan exegetical tradition, Sewall debated millenarian theories and matters of exegeses in print and in the bi-monthly discussion groups which included Increase and Cotton Mather, Samuel Willard, Ezekiel Cheever, Nicholas Noyes (on occasion), Thomas Prince, and other members of the Boston community. *Phænomena* has been frequently misunderstood because the issues related here are almost completely alien to modern intellectual historians.

[1] Trace Joseph Mede's conjecture of America's exclusion in Samuel Sewall's *Phænomena* and examine the means by which Sewall tries to refute Mede.

[2] One of the principal reasons for publishing his tract is Sewall's endeavor to solicit contributions from England for the conversion of the American Indians. What particular line of argumentation does Sewall believe is most effective in opening the purse-strings of potential donors?

[3] Unlike many of his contemporaries who located the future New Jerusalem in Judea, Sewall makes a case for placing the celestial city in Mexico. What particular reasons does he give and why?

[4] In relating the missionary endeavors of Swiss and French Calvinists in Brazil, Sewall writes America's first martyrology reminiscent of John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of matters happening in the Church* (1563), commonly known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*. Explain why Sewall attaches so much significance to these Calvinist martyrs who lost their lives in South America?

[5] The fall of Antichrist, the vials and trumpets of the Apocalypse, and the drying up of the Euphrates are much on the mind of Samuel Sewall. What geopolitical interpretations does Sewall offer of these prophetic concepts?

[6] What are the bases and implications of Sewall's belief in the Indians as the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel? Why does Sewall believe their presence in America refutes Joseph Mede?

[7] Examine Sewall's reasons for renaming America "Columbina."

Further reading material:

Nathan H. Chamberlain, *Samuel Sewall and the World he lived in*. 2nd ed. New York: Russell & Russell, 1967.

David S. Lovejoy, "Between Hell and Plum Island: Samuel Sewall and the Legacy of the Witches, 1692-97." *New England Quarterly* 70.3 (1997): 355-67.

Reiner Smolinski, "Israel Redivivus: The Eschatological Limits of Puritan Typology in New England." *New England Quarterly* 63.3 (1990): 357-95.

Theodore B. Strandness, *Samuel Sewall; A Puritan Portrait*. East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967.

M. Halsey Thomas, ed., *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*. 2 vols. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1973.

Peter Toon, ed., *Puritans, the Millennium and the Future of Israel: Puritan Eschatology 1600 to 1660*. Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1970.

Ola E. Winslow, *Samuel Sewall of Boston*. New York: Macmillan, 1964.

Selection 2:

Cotton Mather's biography of Governor John Winthrop is a Puritan hagiography that holds up the achievements of the first generation of New England's settlers as a religious and social ideal against which the backsliding descendants of Mather's day are to measure themselves. Employing the techniques of biographical parallels in Plutarch's *Lives* and typological foreshadowing and adumbration, Mather sets up a timeless memorial to the grandeur and triumph of New England's founders he eternalizes in his church history *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702).

[1] Analyze the opening paragraph of Winthrop's biography and Mather's stylistic use of parallelism, climax, and tri-colon. Why does Mather not seem to flinch from comparing New England with the glory that was Greece and Rome?

[2] Examine the structure of *Nehemias Americanus* and determine the representative patterns of Mather's biographical techniques.

[3] Mather employs the time-honored technique of typology in presenting Winthrop as a Puritan exemplar. What biblical characters does Mather draw on and how far do these Israelite heroes serve his purpose?

[4] Delineate the composite character traits of an exemplary Puritan leader. Why does Mather gloss over Winthrop's mistakes?

[5] Read coherent portions of John Winthrop's famous *Journal* and evaluate Mather's biography in light of your own impressions of Winthrop's character.

Further reading material:

Sacvan Bercovitch, *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

T. H. Breen, *The Character of the Good Ruler: A Study of Puritan Ideas in New England, 1630-1730*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970.

Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1958.

Samuel Eliot Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony: A Gallery of our Intellectual Ancestors*. Rpt. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1958.

James G. Moseley, *John Winthrop's World: History as a Story, The Story as History*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992.

Darrett B. Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965.

Lee Schweniger, *John Winthrop*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1990.

Selection 3:

Relating Remarkable Salvations recounts the story of Hannah Swarton who, like her famous predecessor Mary Rowlandson, went through the harrowing experience of captivity among the Indians and lived to tell the tale. This story is part of Mather's larger collection of narratives that aim at exemplifying God's providential intercessions on behalf of his faithful followers. On a much larger scale, Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, the mighty works of Christ in America, is an epic history of God's providential dealings with New England and the Puritan church at large.

[1] Draw a composite picture of Swarton's views of her Indian captors, their lifestyle, religion, and values and explain how Swarton's point of view reveals her Puritan upbringing.

[2] Examine Swarton's captivity narrative as a story of religious conversion following the patterns of sin, punishment, repentance, and redemption.

[3] Explain the function of biblical parallels and citations in Swarton's narrative.

[4] Compare and contrast Swarton's account with that written by a male captive, such as John Williams' *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (Boston, 1707), and explain how much gender accounts for their differing responses to their adventures?

[5] Explain Swarton's conflicting attitude toward her French Catholic intercessors. Why is life or death among the Indians more desirable to her than conversion to Roman Catholicism?

Further reading material:

- Patricia Caldwell, *The Puritan Conversion Narrative: The Beginnings of American Expression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.
- Frederick Drimmer, ed., *Captured by the Indians: 15 Firsthand Accounts, 1750-1870*. New York: Dover Publications, 1961.
- Daniel B. Shea, *Spiritual Autobiography in Early America*. Rpt. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988.
- Alden T. Vaughan & Edward W. Clark, *Puritans Among the Indians: Accounts of Captivity and Redemption, 1676-1724*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- Kathryn Zabelle Derounian Stodola and James Levernier, *The Captivity Narrative*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1994.

Selection 4:

Published in Boston in 1710, *Theopolis Americana* (God's American city) is an expression of Mather's fondest hope that Boston might not be excluded from the geography of salvation that Joseph Mede had confined to the territory of the ancient Roman empire as it existed during the lifetime of Christ's apostles. Unfortunately, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, Boston, as the hub of English mercantilism in North America, seemed to have abandoned the ideals worthy of a city of God in America.

[1] Examine Mather's imagery in the light of Revelation, chs. 21 and 22. Why does Mather deem it necessary to hold Boston up to such a lofty ideal?

[2] Critics have frequently pointed to Mather's *Theopolis Americana* as proof positive that the Puritan clergy expected Boston to be the capital of Christ's millennial kingdom. Does the supposed evidence in this homily hold up to close scrutiny? What did Mather really say about Boston's place in Christ's future kingdom?

[3] Mather's sermon is a jeremiad. Examine its structure, components, and didactic aims in light of this homiletic genre and explain how Mather tries to rectify the ethics of the marketplace.

[4] What particular forms of corruption does Mather detect among New England's merchants?

[5] Examine Mather's eschatological expectations in *Theopolis Americana* and explain how he aims at refuting Joseph Mede's rankling conjecture of America as hell.

Further reading material:

- Bernard Bailyn, ed., *The Apologia of Robert Keane*. Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1970.
- *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Loren Baritz, *City on a Hill: A History of Ideas and Myth in America*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc, 1964.
- Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978.
- John F. Berens, *Providence & Patriotism in Early America, 1640-1815*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1978.
- J. E. Crowley, *This Sheba, SELF: The Conceptualization of Economic Life in Eighteenth-Century America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974.
- Cecelia Tichi, *New World, New Earth*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

Chapter 4: The Pouring out of Grace in Peace and War.

This chapter includes several significant documents from the period of the Great Awakening in America, two thanksgiving sermons about the fall of French Canada during the French-Indian War, and a popular postmillennialist sermon about the progressively unfolding blessings of the millennium. Each text develops a representative picture of important religio-political events in the first half of the eighteenth century, when the expectations of Christ's Second Coming were particularly pronounced. The selections from Jonathan Edwards are a New Light defense of the use and function of raised affections in the conversion process—an issue that was particularly obnoxious to such Old Light theologians as Charles Chauncy of Boston, whose *Enthusiasm Described and Caution'd Against* (Boston, 1742) and *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion* (Boston, 1742) charged the defenders of the Great Awakening with preaching enthusiasm rather than Calvinist conversion. The second selection from Jonathan Edwards is his famous Enfield sermon, which asserts God's justice in condemning reprobates to the hellfire of eternal damnation. Charles Chauncy's sermon is a providence history of the fall of Louisbourg, a French bastion on Cape Briton Island; John Burt celebrates the end of the French-Indian War in the fall of Quebec, the capital of French Canada; and Joseph Bellamy provides his vision of millennial happiness on earth after the fall of Antichrist.

Selection 1:

Jonathan Edwards' *Divine and Supernatural Light* provides the blueprint for many of his subsequent theological treatises and can even be read as a philosophical pillar in Ralph Waldo Emerson's Transcendentalist essays *The Poet*, *The Over-Soul*, *Self-Reliance*, *The American Scholar*, and *An Address*. Underlying Edwards' philosophical assumptions is the Renaissance concept of faculty psychology in which Memory, Imagination, Understanding, Affections, Will, and Action are the mainsprings of human behavior. Significant in Edwards' analysis of how God's divine and supernatural light impacts the reprobate in the conversion process is Edwards' logical distinctions between the operations of redemptive grace and mere enthusiasm, the occasional compunction and elevation of the emotions (affections) experienced even by the unregenerate when moved by their conscience.

[1] Examine Edwards' distinction between the workings of redemptive grace and common grace in light of the later romantic conception of *Primary* and *Secondary Beauty* as outlined in Samuel Taylor Coleridge's *Biographia Literaria* (1817).

[2] Discuss Edwards' assumptions about the divine and supernatural light and its restorative power in the human mind and heart.

[3] How can Edwards' parishioners avoid falling prey to mere enthusiasm if the effects of raised affections and redemptive grace are virtually identical?

[4] Define Edwards' crucial terms of tuition vs. intuition, reason vs. perception, and mind vs. heart, and compare them to Ralph Waldo Emerson's use in *The American Scholar*, *The Poet*, or *Self-Reliance*.

[5] Proper interpretation of sensory experience is fundamental to Edwards' theory. What particular illustrations and empirical evidence do you find most compelling and why?

[6] As a refutation of the Arminian heresy which asserted that God endowed man with the power of free will, Edwards' *Divine and Supernatural Light* demonstrates why humans have lost all ability to choose freely. Discuss.

Further reading materials:

- Charles L. Cohen, *God's Caress: The Psychology of Puritan Religious Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.
- Alan C. Guelzo, *Edwards on the Will: A Century of American Theological Debate*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1989.
- John Owen King, *The Iron of Melancholy: Structures of Spiritual Conversion in America from the Puritan Conscience to Victorian Neurosis*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.
- David Leverenz, *The Language of Puritan Feeling: An Exploration in Literature, Psychology, and Social History*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1980.
- Julius H. Rubin, *Religious Melancholy & Protestant Experience in America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Selection 2:

Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God has achieved the status of dignified notoriety in the annals of American literature, and for many readers this sermon neatly sums up everything that was wrong (or right) with American Puritanism. By the standards of his later philosophical works, *Sinners* represents merely a minor episode in Edwards' early career. This sermon is particularly memorable because Edwards' literary and theological artistry create something like a morality play in which vice and virtue, sin and punishment seem to be characters in a cosmic drama of redemption.

[1] Determine the source of Edwards' vivid imagery and explain why his illustrations were particularly effective for his intended audience.

[2] Demonstrate how Edwards dismantles the hope of the unregenerate they might escape God's judgment.

[3] Analyze the structure of *Sinners* and show how Edwards employs a process of cancellation to sway his audience's response.

[4] Construct a composite picture of Edwards' universe and show how God, Satan, and nature seemingly conspire against the wicked.

[5] Discuss the function of the four elements Earth, Air, Water, and Fire and the Newtonian concept of gravity in *Sinners*.

Further reading material:

- Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Conrad Cherry, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards: A Reappraisal*. Bloomington: Rpt. Indiana University Press, 1990.
- Joseph A. Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, & American Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
- Edwin Scott Gaustad, *The Great Awakening in New England*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957.
- Nathan O. Hatch and Harry S. Stout, eds. *Jonathan Edwards and the American Experience*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Robert W. Jenson, *America's Theologian: A Recommendation of Jonathan Edwards*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Perry Miller, *Jonathan Edwards*. Rpt. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973.
- William J. Scheick, *The Writings of Jonathan Edwards: Theme, Motif, and Style*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1975.

John E. Smith, *Jonathan Edwards: Puritan, Preacher, Philosopher*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.

Selection 3:

Charles Chauncy's *Marvellous Things done* is a thanksgiving sermon tracing God's providential hand in the fall of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. As if to refute the Deist argument that God's special providence is no longer tenable because his divine machine runs all on its own, Chauncy demonstrates how God has interceded on England's behalf at every step of the military campaign. On a cosmic level, the decisive defeat of the French at Louisbourg signals Antichrist's imminent fall and the end of time.

[1] Retrace Chauncy's cosmology and show how God employs secondary causes to see his will done.

[2] Demonstrate how Chauncy uses empirical evidence to contend that God's providence is still operational.

[3] Although Chauncy employs empirical evidence, he still feels the need to rely on biblical typology to underscore his thesis. To which type of evidence does he assign greater merit and why?

[4] Compare Chauncy's thanksgiving sermon with Increase or Cotton Mather's jeremiad. What are the characteristic elements of each homiletic sub-genre?

[5] In part II of *Marvellous Things done*, Chauncy refers to well-known Old Testament incidents where God offset the law of nature to accomplish the victory for his people Israel. Examine the tension between natural and supernatural causes in Chauncy's sermon.

Further reading material:

Robert A. Ferguson, *The American Enlightenment 1750-1820*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Alan Heimert, *Religion and the American Mind: From the Great Awakening to the Revolution*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Edwin S. Gaustad. *A Religious History of America*. Rev. ed. New York: Harper & Row, 1990.

Nathan O. Hatch, *The Sacred Cause of Liberty: Republican Thought and the Millennium in Revolutionary New England*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1977.

Henry F. May, *The Enlightenment in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Kingdom of God in America*. Rpt. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1988.

Selection 4:

Joseph Bellamy's popular sermon *The Millennium* was published at the height of the French-Indian War, when many Americans turned to the pulpit for solace to cope with the devastation of their communities. Bellamy hardly alludes to the contemporary crisis as he comforts his parishioners with visions of peace on earth and eternal bliss almost within their grasp. In Bellamy's postmillennial world, the French-Indian War is merely one of the final skirmishes before Satan's abyssment, for Christ's return in judgment at the end of the millennium is preceded by a thousand-year period of progressive improvement of the human condition. Interestingly, Bellamy's Edwardsian Calvinism seems to have undergone drastic modification. If Edwards defends Calvin's wrathful Jehovah whose arbitrary election is justified in Christ's limited atonement for the elect, Bellamy's merciful God seems almost transmuted into a kind and loving God of the Universalists, who is more concerned with redeeming all manner of sinners than with consigning them to hell.

[1] Compare Bellamy's characterization of God with that found in Edwards' *Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God*. What fundamental shift in ideology may account for their different views on redemption?

[2] Examine Bellamy's use of Old Testament typological parallels to comfort his parishioners in the face of political turmoil.

[3] Follow the logic of Bellamy's eschatological calculations outlined in points IV, V, and VI. What are his reasons for arguing that the millennium is not past or present but future? (See also **General Introduction** to the anthology, esp. pp. xiii-xxxiii.)

[4] What principal function does Bellamy assign to mankind on earth during the millennium?

[5] Compare the postmillennial vision of Bellamy with the premillennialist vision asserted in Cotton Mather's "Triparadiseus," published in *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather* (1995). What are the crucial differences between the two systems?

Further reading material:

James W. Davidson, *The Logic of Millennial Thought: Eighteenth-Century New England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.

C. C. Goen, "Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology." *Church History* 28 (March 1959): 25-40.

James Holstun, *A Rational Millennium: Puritan Utopias of Seventeenth-Century England & America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

James F. Maclear, "New England and the Fifth Monarchy: The Quest for the Millennium in Early American Puritanism." *New England Quarterly* 32 (1975): 223-60.

Perry Miller, "The End of the World," in *Errand into the Wilderness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. 217-39.

Marjorie Hope Nicholson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957.

Reiner Smolinski, *The Threefold Paradise of Cotton Mather: An Edition of "Triparadiseus."* Athens and London: University of Georgia Press, 1995.

Ernest Lee Tuveson. *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949.

Selection 5:

John Burt's thanksgiving sermon *The Mercy of God to his People* celebrates the reduction of Quebec, the capital of French Canada. Like Chauncy's earlier thanksgiving sermon, Burt's homily instills in his audience a sense of God's favoring of the Protestant cause of English America in its efforts to destroy Antichrist's French dominions in the north. Marked differences in tone and documentary evidence demonstrate that Burt was equally aware of the economic origins of the geopolitical conflict between the two rivaling mercantile empires.

[1] Compare the two sermons by Chauncy and Burt and speculate why Burt relies more on empirical data than on Old Testament typology to assert God's support of the British empire in America.

[2] Explain why Burt's modern assessment of the implications of the French defeat in Canada does not conflict in the least with the eschatological meaning he attaches to this geopolitical event.

[3] Examine the myth of America as a chosen nation in a promised land in Burt's sermon.

[4] If Burt's contemporaries could turn to newspapers and the pulpit for the latest headline news about colonial affairs, what similarities exist between the two mediums of disseminating information?

[5] Deconstruct the stereotypical representation of American Indians caught in web of European the mercantile expansionism.

Further reading material:

Francis Parkman, *France and England in North America*. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1892.

-----, *Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV*. Rpt. Boston: Beacon Press, 1966.

-----, *Montcalm and Wolfe: The French & Indian War*. Rpt. New York: Da Capo Press, 1995.

Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Chapter 5: The Arms of the Pulpit Regiment.

It is safe to argue that the Revolutionary War was fought as much in the open battlefield as it was in the colonial churches. The church became something of a clearing house for the latest political developments, and the clergy—in charge of the official interpretation of the unfolding events—supplied their parishioners with eschatological underpinnings that elevated the conflict between Britain and the American colonists to epic proportions. The pulpit literature of the period is filled with millenarian interpretations of the war. America, the promised land of God's chosen people, is under attack by the forces of darkness who, like the Egyptians of old or like the Amalekite enemies of Israel, are trying to enslave God's American Israelites, suppress the worship of the true God, and destroy America's Protestant churches. Old Testament typology provided numerous parallels to dress up the political conflict in religious garb. In the jeremiad sermons of the Revolution, Great Britain acted the part of pharaonic Egypt, or of Nebuchadnezzar's Babylon, or of Shalmaneser's Assyria, by keeping God's American Israelites in bondage. After the Quebec Act of 1774 granted French Canadians the privilege of practicing their Roman Catholic belief with impunity, George III was frequently identified as Antichrist's latest convert in charge of establishing Roman Catholicism in Protestant America. Other sermons continued to present George III as a benign, albeit ignorant ruler, whose greedy advisor and tyrannical Parliamentarians were imposing new taxation and arbitrary laws for reasons of personal enrichment. In this context, the story of Queen Esther and Uncle Mordechai, greedy Grand-vizier Haman and kind ruler King Ahasuerus is adapted to the political stage of the period with much success. Following the War of Independence, educators such as Ezra Stiles and statesmen such as the English Parliamentarian Richard Price were some of the first to give new directions to the young Republic dealing with the aftermath of the war and planning a new course as an independent nation.

Selection 1:

Oliver Noble's sermon is a representative text of the period in which Old Testament typology was adapted to the needs of the American cause. Locating his source in the memorable story of Queen Esther and Mordechai, Noble can at once present King George III as the benign King Ahasuerus of Assyria and blame the conflict between Britain and America on greedy "state-jobbers" who, like Haman, the Assyrian grand-vizier, keep their liege lord in ignorance about his loyal American Israelites for reasons of personal enrichment.

[1] A little more than a year before the united colonies declared their independence, Noble still hopes to reconcile the Crown with the American colonists. Explain Noble's reasons.

- [2] Identify the parallels between the Book of Esther and the political conflict of the period.
- [3] Explain why Noble blames greed and corruption in government for the tension between Britain and her American colonies.
- [4] By the time of the American Revolution, the myth of the Puritan Errand into the Wilderness had accrued the status of a truism. Compare Noble's use of seventeenth-century American history with that in Samuel Danforth's *Errand into the Wilderness* or with John Cotton's *Gods Promise to his Plantation*.
- [5] Underlying American fears of disenfranchisement is James II's revocation of the Puritan Charter in 1684 leading up to the Glorious Revolution of 1688/89. Examine the rationale of Noble's claim that the British Parliament has no grounds for imposing new laws on America since the first Massachusetts Charter of 1629 was a contractual agreement between king and settlers.
- [6] What particular grievances does Noble identify as a breach of contract between king and colonists?
- [7] Noble establishes a logical connection between Liberty and the Americans' right to worship God in their accustomed fashion. Explain.

Selection 2:

John Carmichael's sermon to Captain Ross' company of the militia was preached in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the colony known for her large number of pacifist denominations such as the Quakers, Amish, Hutterites, and Moravians. To plead pacifism at a time when the colonies were most in need of separating patriots to the American cause from loyalists to the Crown was a dangerous undertaking, for whoever did not support America's interests was liable to charges of being an enemy. Carmichael turns to the Bible to convince his Pennsylvania militia that war is indeed lawful when the cause is righteous. At the same time, he knows that in attacking pacifist dissenters for misconstruing the biblical maxims of "love your enemy" and "turn the other cheek," Carmichael runs the risk of inciting mob action and violence against all those who sat on the sidelines of contemporary politics.

- [1] Explain why Carmichael feels the need to justify how the patriotic clergy serving the Prince of Peace can advocate war.
- [2] Examine Carmichael's strategy of refuting the pacifist doctrines that many Pennsylvania denominations were likely to cite in support of their neutrality.
- [3] In justifying the legitimacy of Christians taking up arms, Carmichael appeals to the law of nature just as much as he does to the law of the Bible. Explain his rationale.
- [4] Christian soldiers defending America's cause were to follow particularly stringent codes of conduct. Explain what was at stake.
- [5] On the one hand Carmichael calls on his militia audience to remain loyal to King George III while on the other he charges them with taking up arms against Great Britain. Explain this seeming paradox.
- [6] Carmichael's sermon ends on the millennial hope that Christ will intercede on behalf of liberty and Protestantism and establish a mighty empire in America. What eschatological vision does Carmichael present?
- [7] In spite of the antagonistic stance toward pacifism, Carmichael calls for toleration rather than coercion. Does he contradict his own didactic ends?

Selection 3:

Samuel Sherwood's well-known *The Church's Flight into the Wilderness* echoes the title and intent of Samuel Danforth's *A Brief Recognition of New-England's Errand into the Wilderness* (1671) preached a little more than a century earlier. By the time of the Revolution, the myth-making historiographies of the seventeenth century had become the foundation of America's ideological claim to the status of God's chosen people, America as the promised land, and the Protestant church as the Woman who had sought refuge in the American Wilderness. Thus Sherwood's sermon is an apt testament to the adaptability of biblical typology to the political events of the period.

[1] Explain Sherwood's need to speak for all Protestant denominations in America rather than restricting himself to a small group of elect Puritans found only in particular churches.

[2] Sherwood opens his sermon with a defense of the prophetic nature of John's Revelation. What inferences can you draw from his self-conscious apology about the essential instability of prophetic utterance and historical fulfillment in Sherwood's day?

[3] Establish a list of Apocalyptic symbolism in Sherwood's homily and explain his allegorical application to contemporary politics.

[4] Sherwood insists that the Protestant reformation under Henry VIII had remained imperfect and would not achieve the apex of purification in America. Retrace Sherwood's rationale.

[5] What is the meaning of Sherwood's leading motif of the Woman carried on eagle's wings in the American wilderness?

[6] The Quebec Act of 1774 restored the right of French Catholics to worship in freedom. Explain Sherwood's response to the French-Indian War and George III's toleration of Catholicism in light of Sherwood's apocalyptic underpinnings.

[7] Sherwood's sermon presents contemporary events as evidence of an imminent millennium. Explain.

Selection 4:

Chief Justice of South Carolina, Drayton seems to hail the Declaration of Independence as a masterpiece of political jurisprudence. While the heady celebration of the Fourth of July was still freshly in his memory, Drayton addresses the legislature of South Carolina to demonstrate that America's Independence is justified by Crown's unilateral breach of contract with the colonists. At the same time, Drayton is well aware that at this juncture of the United States' infancy America needs sound laws to prevent the young nation from fallen into chaos.

[1] In the opening of his address, Drayton celebrates the rise of the American empire. Examine this visionary claim in light of George Herbert's poem "The Church Militant."

[2] Licentiousness, moral corruption, and the pursuit of riches Drayton interprets as the principal reasons for the fall of great empires. What precedents does he have in mind?

[3] Examine Drayton's legalistic argument based on Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651) that in the state of nature mankind is free to follow its own inclination. However, since the exercise of unlimited freedom ultimately infringes on the rights of others, mankind enters into a contractual agreement by giving up some rights in exchange for mutual protection and happiness. In this way, all parties are bound to their side of the contract. Determine why Drayton feels justified in defending American Independence on the grounds of breach of contract.

[4] Why does Drayton feel the events of the Glorious Revolution in 1688 set a precedent for the events of 1776.

[5] What specific causes does Drayton mention for Britain's oppressive and tyrannical laws?

[6] Even though freedom of religion seems a minor issue in Drayton's address, demonstrate how religious and political aims were two sides of the same coin.

[7] Although the cry for freedom, liberty, independence, and the pursuit of property is a mainstay of the literature of the time, these enlightened privileges were to be applied to all Americans. Examine this claim in light of Drayton's "Presentments" appended to his address.

Selection 5:

The anonymous "Address to General St. Clair's Brigade, at Ticonderoga" is a prime example of how religion and politics frequently make common cause in a bed of rhetoric. Moreover, this text demonstrates how the speaker's patriotic propaganda does not shrink from turning the Bible's message of peace upside down. Like a coach instilling enthusiasm in his team just before the players encounter their superior opponents, the anonymous speaker resorted to the most effective techniques of instilling courage in his detachment of American loyalists about to face Britain's professional army in the Battle of Ticonderoga.

[1] Read the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew, chs. 5-6) and explain how the speaker turns Christ's message of peace into war propaganda.

[2] What are the ideological assumptions behind the anonymous Address that allow the speaker to count on the effects of his biblical inversions?

[3] Examine the emotional appeals used in this text and determine how martyrdom in the cause of America is tantamount to martyrdom in the cause of God.

[4] If this Address is an indication of the particular logistic problems of American troops, what are the greatest obstacles to America's victory?

Selection 6:

As the odds were stacked against America's military victory, defeat in battle was more than likely. Consequently, the pulpit regiment had to explain why the American cause was far from being defeated, even though individual battles might be lost now and then. Since God is summoned in support of his Protestant Israelites, Nicholas Street tries to explain the devastation of the war in light of God's providential punishment of his backsliding Americans. Biblical typology in the framework of the jeremiad again proved to be an effective tool to give comfort in distress even as Street called for redoubled effort to meet the foe.

[1] How does the trial of the Israelites in the Sinai wilderness during the Mosaic exodus function as a typological parallel to the peculiar trials of the American States alluded to in the title of the sermon?

[2] If the War of Independence winnows the kernel from the chaff, why are the American Israelites tested before they are found worthy to enter their promised land?

[3] What specific Old Testament parallels appear to be used over and over again in the sermon literature of the period?

[4] The temptation to give in to the British overlord and to sue for peace was tantamount to the Israelites murmuring against Moses in their effort to return to the proverbial fleshpots of Egypt. What modern counterparts to Egypt, Pharaoh, the Red Sea, the Sinai desert, manna, water flowing from the rock in the wilderness, the forty-year sojourn in the desert, the crossing of the Jordan, the promised land, etc. does Street discover in the American Revolution?

[5] What is the ideological basis for Street's argument that the devastation of the war is really a sign of God's paternal love for his Americans rather than a sign of their abandonment? In short, demonstrate how Street succeeds in extracting good out of evil and hope out of defeat.

Selection 7:

Abraham Keteltas manifests few qualms about enlisting God in the armies of the Continental Congress. By rehearsing the many Old Testament incidents in which God interceded on behalf of his people, Keteltas demonstrates that the cause of the Israelites is the cause of God; consequently, if Keteltas could demonstrate that America still follows the ancient precepts dear to Jehovah of Armies, then God would see to it that the British foe would not prevail. The separation of church and state was little more than an ill-advised pipe-dream for which there was no room when God's armies engaged the British Philistines.

[1] When America's losses betokened signs of ill omen, Keteltas calls on his audience to redouble their faith in God. What specific recommendations does he make and how does the practice of righteousness achieve the desired military success?

[2] Toward the end of his sermon, Keteltas yokes the sacred with the profane by declaring "the cause of liberty, united with that of truth & righteousness, is the cause of God" (p. 435). How does Keteltas justify that the political cause of the United States is the cause of God?

[3] Describe the philosophical and theological juncture in such highly charged terms as liberty, freedom, religion, property, oppression, Popery, tyranny, etc.

[4] What particular British atrocities are indications to Keteltas that the bonds of familial affections are forever sundered?

[5] Explain why the terms *liberty* and *freedom* abound in the sermons of the Revolutionary period, while they seem to be completely absent in similar sermons of the seventeenth century? What ideological revolution has taken place to explain that *liberty* and *freedom* have become sacrosanct terminology that are used interchangeably with God, religion, righteousness, the church, and America?

Selection 8:

Ezra Stiles' hefty sermon to the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut unites the myth of America as a chosen nation, the recent history of the War of Independence, and moral exhortations about the political corruptions in American government with his grand vision of the United States elevated to glory and honor. As president of Yale College and as an elected representative to the General Assembly at Hartford, Connecticut, Stiles readily joins religion and politics by defending America's Protestant churches against attacks from Episcopalian quarters that the New World churches lacked legitimacy because their clergymen had not been ordained by Anglican ministers. With American independence nearly secured on the eve of the Peace Treaty of Paris (3 September 1783), Stiles could celebrate America's stunning victory as a prelude to the progressively unfolding events leading to the millennium.

[1] In the opening of his election sermon, Stiles argues that as in the times of Moses, the rise and fall of empires is directly linked to their moral state. How does this thesis guide Stiles in his assessment of the state of the young independent nation?

[2] In the first part of his doctrine (I), Stiles foretells the future prosperity and power of the United States. What evidence does he muster to support his vision of future glory?

[3] In the second part of his doctrine (II), Stiles sketches the role of religion in America's civil government. How much evidence is there to suggest that he speaks of the separation of church and state in the modern sense as codified in the Bill of Rights, in the First Amendment to the United States Constitution, effective less than eight years later?

[4] Stiles seems to argue that the dispersion of Noah's descendants into America mark the conclusion of God's command to the patriarch and his children to replenish the earth. Yet Stiles does not seem to be satisfied with this explication of the origin of native Americans. What competing theories does he offer and why are these issue important to him?

[5] What tension between liberty for the young nation and continuation of slavery in America is evident in Stiles' election sermon?

[6] In examining the drawbacks of monarchical governments, Stiles paradoxically advocates a well-ordered democratic aristocracy based on annual elections and revocable at pleasure. What particular danger does Stiles feel lurks in a true democracy?

[7] By the second half of the eighteenth century, the idea of secular progress was virtually indistinguishable from the postmillennial ideology of man's approaching perfection during a thousand-year period of scientific and religious improvement. Does Stiles envision a secular millennium or a religious millennium in which God rather than man holds sway?

[8] Why is Stiles so concerned with proving that America's Protestant churches are indeed legitimated by a long succession of spiritual anointing that goes back to the apostolic church?

[9] What specific modifications to the seventeenth-century concept of the Errand into the Wilderness can you discover in Stiles' election sermon?

[10] Why does Stiles feel the work of the Reformation begun by Luther is not yet complete?

Selection 9:

Although an English Parliamentarian who never set foot on American soil, Richard Price was a staunch defender of the American Revolution. The vast continent of America, Price argued, was the last refuge for oppressed mankind. Here Western civilization would reach its climax and highest state of perfection. Here reason and virtue would usher in peace on earth in the form of a secular millennium already begun in the young independent nation. In supporting his vision of America's future happiness, Price provides much empirical evidence that distinguished him, with his French colleague Turgot, as Europe's foremost statistician. What makes Price's *Observations* so interesting from a modern perspective is that his treatise provides a programmatic approach to how America might truly actualize its grandeur. His recommendations proved truly visionary.

[1] Richard Price's enthusiastic assessment of the American Revolution and its significance to mankind seems boundless. "Next to the introduction of Christianity among mankind," Price argues, "the American revolution may prove the most important step in the progressive course of human improvement." What specific evidence does he muster in support of his hyperbolic praise?

[2] Although Price abstains from giving expression to his vision of America, his convictions seem to be grounded in his own millennial expectations. Discuss.

[3] Compare Price's recommendations to the articles in the Bill of Rights. What specific parallels can you identify?

[4] Price accords liberty of conscience and freedom of religion an important place in his recommendations to the American people. How closely does his argument approach twentieth-century standards of religious toleration?

[5] Public education and freedom of speech are central to Price's vision of America's future glory. Discuss.

[6] What specific threats to America's prosperity and happiness does Price discover and what specific solutions does he offer?

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Chapter 6: Visions of a New Nation under God.

The poems and tracts in this final chapter illustrate how writers in the early Republic almost single-handedly set out to create a national literature worthy of the young United States. For if political independence from Great Britain was the first step, America's cultural and intellectual emancipation could only be achieved if her arts and literature developed a distinctively American texture. In this process, they elevated America's discovery, settlement, Indian wars, and the Revolution to epic stature even as they expressed their vision of the new nation in millenarian terms. No doubt, the millennial fervor asserted in copious sermons from the revolutionary pulpit left an indelible impression on their Weltanschauung. College educated as most of them were, they had been exposed to the Calvinism of Harvard, Yale, and Princeton as an integral part of their curriculum or, indeed, they were seeking preferment in holy orders after completing the rigors of their study of divinity. In either case, the millennial impulse of homiletic literature not only shaped their visions of America's future but also became intrinsic to their poems as they set out to establish a literature befitting the new condition of the New World. Among the best-known poets of the period are Philip Freneau, John Trumbull, Joel Barlow, Timothy Dwight, and David Humphreys—all but Freneau belonging to the circle of Connecticut or Hartford Wits. Mercy Otis Warren is the only female writer of stature of the period. As a playwright, poet, historian, and member of the elite who knew most of her heroes on a personal basis, Warren presents a distinctly female perspective on her times—surpassing her male peers in virtually every respect but in fame. In invoking Calliope's epic fire, Warren's fellow poets struggled to adapt the muse of Homer, Virgil, and Milton to the American scene, only to encounter problems with the very nature and didactic intent of the genre itself. By its very nature, the epic code hero is larger than life, for he embodies all the ancient virtues of his culture, goes on his quest to restore the lost values of his civilization, is succored by the benevolent Gods whose authority needs to be reasserted, and accomplishes extraordinary feats of valor that no one but the chosen hero can achieve. Heroes of this caliber did not exist in Homer's lifetime either. Hence placing his protagonist in the mythical past of a golden never-never land allowed poet and audience to suspend their sense of disbelief and glory in their famous ancestor from whom their civilization had evolved. How could such time-honored values be put to good use at the founding of a modern empire such as the United States of America? If all men are created equal, if monarchical forms of government implicitly contradict representative democracy, if this new experiment in civil government has no equal in the past or present, and if America had cut itself off from the influence of her European past and could only look to a golden future in which her idealism could be actualized—how then could the epic genre be adapted to the needs of a new nation when its intrinsic literary purpose contradicted the very democratic ideals it sought to celebrate? Problems of this nature proved insurmountable: an American epic with America as hero and American virtues to be perfected in the golden future of the millennium rather than in the mythical golden past—those were the Herculean task to be performed. Truly, America was no place for the trappings of the ancient epic. A new condition required new forms of literature—not epic poetry, but the novel would eventually fulfill that task.

Selection 1:

Philip Freneau's *The Rising Glory of America*, his commencement exercise delivered at Princeton, can be seen as one of the earliest and best examples of a whole host of poems celebrating the birth of America as new world empire. Moving quickly beyond the subjects of Columbus' discovery and the origin of America's indigenous populations to the topic of her agrarian and sylvan beauty, the poem ends on a postmillennial vision of eternal happiness securely anchored in America's progressive movement toward perfection. Similarly, Freneau's romantic "The American Village" contrasts the fertile splendor of America with the dystopian vision of Oliver Goldsmith's *Deserted Village*. With the Indians war whoop confined to the safe distance of the Western frontier, Freneau could now sentimentalize with impunity their lost civilization and savage nobility. Freneau's shorter selections provide a useful insight into his radical Deist philosophy that allowed him to celebrate Nature's God without by quoting from the book of creation.

[1] What ideological underpinnings does Freneau reveal in elevating the agrarianism of English North America above the pursuit of Spanish gold in South America?

[2] What specific theories of Indian origin do the three interlocutors present? Which of their theories comes closest to our modern knowledge about the origin of Amerindians?

[3] Why does Freneau elect to celebrate William Penn rather than John Winthrop (see Cotton Mather's *Nehemias Americanus*) as the wise lawgiver of the Western world?

[4] Although using elements of Virgil's *Georgics*, Freneau assigns to Commerce and Science a significant function without which America would remain marooned in rustic simplicity. Discuss Freneau's political leanings in the context of Jefferson's agrarian versus Madison's industrial vision for America.

[5] Why does Freneau have to resort to visions of the future to celebrate America and why is this future vision invested in a progressively unfolding millennium?

[6] What important lesson is America to learn from Britain's loss of empire?

[7] Discuss the place of science in Freneau's shorter poems and explain his Deist conception of nature.

[8] In his "Belief and Unbelief," Freneau examines the conflict between faith and empirical evidence. What problems were his contemporaries faced with?

[9] Freneau's "American Village" celebrates America's sylvan beauty and agrarian ideals that transformed the wilderness into a fertile garden. What religion-political vision of America is he formulating?

[10] If America is the last paradise on earth, what specific warnings does Freneau impart to his audience?

[11] Discuss Freneau's sentimental story of Indian love and self-sacrifice? Why do his views of the Indians differ from those of his predecessors?

[12] How does Freneau's subject of Indian valor become a unique theme in American literature?

Selection 2:

Mercy Otis Warren is a writer of the first order in the early Republic. Her fame, however, was eclipsed by her male counterparts who populated the political and literary landscapes. As a member of the elite who had first-hand knowledge of the political intrigues of her time, Warren presents a distinctly female vision of the Revolution and the young Republic. Although best known for her many plays and for her famous *History of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1805) in two hefty volumes, it is Warren's poetry that best demonstrates her witty views of Republican womanhood.

[1] Warren's "Political Reverie," first published in 1774, is steeped in the events of the coming Revolution. What specific warnings to Great Britain are voiced here?

[2] George Herbert's "Church Militant" describes the westward movement of religion, civilization, and the arts. To what end does Warren employ these themes in her poem?

[3] What parallels between the fall of the Roman and British empires does Warren elucidate?

[4] "The Squabble of the Sea Nymphs" celebrates the events of the Boston Tea Party. What neoclassical trappings does Warren employ to dress up her Indians in Greek garb?

[5] If the sea nymphs were displeased with the gods' decision to exchange their consumption of ambrosia for tea, what particular role does Warren assign to her female compatriots in the events of the tea party?

[6] Geoffrey Chaucer's "Wife of Bath" tale claims that women most of all crave to be in control. How does Warren treat this misogynist view of women?

[7] The quarrel between the nymphs is an indication of how the patriotic prohibition against tea consumption tested the allegiance of all Americans. Discuss.

[8] If American men were to fight in the field of battle, American women were to do their duty at the home front. Discuss how Warren pokes fun at her female contemporaries who are unwilling or unable to make their contribution to the war effort.

[9] In her poem "Simplicity," Warren identifies the danger of vice and corruption. What political analogies does she have in mind, and how does her association of simplicity and happiness with pomp and war reveal contemporary views of the causes of conflict between Britain her American colonies?

[10] The rise and fall of empires lies at the heart of Warren's "Simplicity." By pointing to the fate of Rome and Carthage, she warns Britain to beware the writings on the wall.

Selection 3:

John Trumbull is well-known for his Juvenalian satires of Yale College's antiquated curriculum, his formal verse satire of Britain's bungled attempt to subdue America, and his call for an independent American literature. His "Essay on the Use and Advantages of the Fine Arts" is his valedictorian address to his Yale classmates, in which he traces the rise and fall of literature from its origins in Greece and Rome to its fall in the Britain's Augustan age. Like George Herbert before him, Trumbull looks at America as the seat of culture and civilization in which literature and the arts must attain perfection.

[1] Trumbull pleads for the importance of the arts and literature to the elevation of society. What specific function does he assign to them, and how do his recommendations hold up to modern views of their function in society?

[2] Trumbull seems to argue that when the arts and literature are divorced from serving the common purpose of life, they degenerate into mere amusements. Explain why you agree or disagree with this claim.

[3] Explain how Trumbull traces the westward movement of the arts and literature from Greece to Britain.

[4] Explain Trumbull's criteria for holding some British authors in high esteem while he denigrates others. Do modern critiques agree with his assessment?

[5] What are the causes if the decline of polite letters in Great Britain?

[6] Trumbull's "Essay" ends on poetic presentation of his prose argument in which he decried the tyranny of neoclassical pretensions to style. Do the neoclassical conventions of his concluding poem affirm or contradict his argument?

Selection 4:

Joel Barlow is best known for his lengthy epics *The Vision of Columbus* and *The Columbiad*—poetic attempts to elevate Columbus' discovery of the New World to epic grandeur. Similar didactic aims are operating in his *Prospect of Peace* and *The Conspiracy of Kings*. The former celebrates the movement of civilization from Europe to America and foretells the dawn of America's millennial happiness; the latter is a trenchant indictment of aristocratic egotism in the face of starving peasants in Europe. In short, Barlow's poetry aims at correcting the foibles of European society just as much as his commendation of America's future supremacy aims at instilling hope in his readers' bosoms.

[1] Like his predecessors, Barlow traces the progress of civilization from East to West. What evidence does he submit in his “Prospect of Peace” that suggests that America will be the next guardian of culture?

[2] Barlow’s “Prospect of Peace” quickly moves beyond the events of French intervention on America’s behalf to the rising glory of America. Explain his reasons for presenting the young nation’s future happiness in millenarian terms.

[3] Like many of his contemporaries, Barlow, too, resorts to the poetic device of a vision to sketch America’s future. Explain how this device functions as an antithesis to the epic convention of setting the action in the mythical past.

[4] What future role does Barlow assign to the young nation? What modern American policies are inspired by similar vistas?

[5] Discuss the *Zeitgeist* of Barlow’s “Conspiracy of Kings” as a product of the French revolution.

[6] What is Barlow’s attitude toward the French revolution and its significance to the political developments in Europe?

[7] Read Edmund Burke’s *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790) and explain why Barlow depicts Burke as a hypocritical schemer who is interested in nothing more than personal profit.

[8] Explain the title of Barlow’s poem in the context of his presentation of the political events of his day.

[9] Contrast Barlow’s declaration of the rights of man with the pomp of privilege and tyranny of Europe’s monarchs.

[10] Explain Barlow’s hope that the revolutions in America and in France are the harbingers of a political millennium in which mankind attains peace and plenty liberated from the tyranny of priestcraft and monarchy.

[11] Read the Communist Manifesto and describe the parallel visions of mankind’s future bliss as outlined by Karl Marx and Joel Barlow.

Selection 5:

Timothy Dwight was not far behind in sketching his vision of America’s rising glory. Educated at Yale College, Dwight was an ordained minister, became president of his alma mater, and celebrated the United States in belle lettres just as much as he did in his sermons. In presenting his pastoral vision of America on an epic scale, Dwight’s extremely popular poem “America” becomes the blueprint for his later *Greenfield Hill: A Poem in Seven Parts*, which gives scope to the entire spectrum of North America’s history from discovery to the end of times. Naturally, the only literary genre appropriate for such a vast topic seemed to be the heroic epic—or so Dwight thought as he emulated his Homeric and Virgilian exemplars. Both of his poems testify to the ecstatic hope of the times that the American Revolution would usher in Christ’s millennium of peace and bliss, even as Dwight portrayed these halcyon days in pastoral and agrarian splendor on the American soil.

[1] Compare the visions of George Herbert’s theory of civilization’s westward movement with that of Dwight in “America.” What development in this theme can you identify?

[2] Examine the myth of the Puritan errand in Dwight’s poem and compare it with that in Wigglesworth’s poem.

[3] Discuss Dwight's treatment of the French-Indian War and the fall of French Canada in the context of the sermons by Charles Chauncy and John Burt.

[4] As in the poems and sermons of his contemporaries, Dwight's vision ends on the coming millennium. Compare the Dwight with Joseph Bellamy.

[5] Discuss the seven-part structure of *Greenfield Hill* and explain its coherence (or lack thereof) of the poem.

[6] Examine the topical arrangement of part 1 of *Greenfield Hill*. What significance can you attach to the progression (if any) from the description of New England to his Address to the Clergy?

[7] Outline Dwight's view of New England's agrarian prospects.

[8] Not aristocratic opulence but competent sufficiency of the middling classes is the aim of *Greenfield Hill*. Discuss.

[9] What are Dwight's views on female education and the effects of African slavery on the young nation?

[10] Part III of *Greenfield Hill* describes the devastation of war wreaked upon Connecticut by the British overlord. Examine Dwight's portrayal of the British Redcoats in the annals of American history.

[11] Examine the eschatological dimensions of the war against the British Antichrist in *Greenfield Hill*.

[12] Part IV commemorates New England's first Indian war against the Pequods (1636/37), an Algonquian tribe that lived in SE Connecticut. Compare Dwight's representation of the Amerindians with that in Freneau's "The American Village" and explain why these two contemporary views differ so markedly.

[13] Examine the role of the clergyman in Part V of Dwight's poem. If the clergy's role changed from Office to Profession in the eighteenth century, where does Dwight's poem stand on these issues?

[14] Dwight assigned the clergy a leading role in the society of the early Republic. How does the clergy's advice complement that given by the farmer in Part VI?

[15] "The Farmer's Advice to the Villagers" can be read as belonging to the category of self-help manuals and advice literature popularized in Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanack*. Discuss.

[16] The grand finale of Dwight's consummate vision of America's future glory occurs in part VII. Compare Dwight's ideas with those of Freneau, Trumbull, Barlow, or Humphreys.

[17] What republican virtues does Dwight uphold for men and women in the new nation?

Selection 6:

David Humphreys is the fourth member of the "Connecticut Wits." Like his fellow poets, Humphreys presents his vision of America as a lubber land of happiness and agrarian opportunity that gave rise to the myth of America as the land of golden opportunities. Millions would be transported by their imaginative recreation of this myth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, leave their homes in the Old World, and spare neither effort nor money to become Americans. The patriotic fervor of Humphreys' poems still rings with genuine sincerity and freshness. His idealism, galvanized by America's victory in the War of Independence, animated the narrator's vision of America as cornucopia for the world. Though closely related in subject matter and ideology, Humphrey's poems equally match those of his peers in literary sophistication and poetic grace.

[1] *A Poem on the Happiness of America* starts with George Washington's retirement from public office. What particular qualities of Washington does Humphreys uphold for emulation?

[2] Discuss Humphreys sentiments on marriage, women, and domesticity in the context of the rising ideals of republican womanhood.

[3] Why does Humphreys vision of America as an agricultural paradise allow for such rivaling causes as commerce and industry?

[4] Explain Humphreys belief in progress and in America's future supremacy as a world power.

[5] *A Poem on the Future Glory of the United States of America* is framed by Humphreys introductory essay and empirical evidence to back up his assertions. Does his introduction contradict the poetic nature of his subject?

[6] The Algerine captivity of American merchants was the first international crisis in which the young Republic was forced to flex its military muscle. How does America's diplomatic and military success give shape to Humphreys' vision of America's future glory?

[7] Humphreys fear that the government of the United States would drift into anarchy is a startling revelation and seemingly contradicts the didactic intent of this poem. What specific concerns does he mention and what solutions does he offer to prevent anarchy from taking root?

[8] Toward the end of his poem, Humphreys celebrates the founding of Washington, D.C., the future capital of the young nation. Discuss.

[9] Notwithstanding Humphreys' largely secular vision of America, his poem ends on the millennial consummation of the kingdom of God throughout the world. How do these visions complement each other?

[10] Humphreys' *Poem on the Industry of the United States of America* is dedicated to the prince regent of Portugal—the Iberian kingdom to which Humphreys was assigned as an American plenipotentiary. What Republican values does Humphreys celebrate that are not commonly found in a monarchy?