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The New England Company of 1649: A Study in Philanthropy

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THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY OF 1649:
A STUDY IN PHILANTHROPY

by

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A Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Loyola University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Many historians have studied the New England Puritan and his missionary activities among the American Indian. The results of their research have often been uncomplimentary, but have revealed many interesting insights into the Puritan mentality. From the data received we know that most missionary activity of the early New Englanders ended in failure. One cause was the theology of orthodox New England. The Puritan's measure of conversion differed markedly from that of the Catholic and the orthodox Anglican. What the Puritan asked of the Indian was not symbolic allegiance or regular attendance at services, but full church membership. At the heart of the matter was the "conversion experience," without which no applicant could be admitted as a communicant. The experience had to be based on a deep knowledge of the Bible and a full awareness of the Puritan creed, and no Indian was likely to meet these standards without rigorous and prolonged effort. Neither could he fulfill the requirements without first being able to read the Bible. For this he must learn to read English or else find a New England clergyman who had command of the Algonquian tongue and enough time and

1 Among the more noted historians are James Truslow Adams and Perry Miller. Cf. bibliography for titles and authors.

patience to instruct the native in the mysteries of Puritan theology. Such preachers were hard to come by.

To the hurdle of theology, Puritan church polity added still another. The New England clergyman was entirely free from ecclesiastical supervision. Within the rather vague confines of Puritan precepts, the pastor was at liberty, as he set out upon his career, to preach where and when he pleased. However, once he entered a covenant with a church fellowship, he was bound by an extremely restricting commitment. By written agreement, he was obligated to serve the needs of the regenerate to the virtual exclusion of all others. The elect had chosen the pastor, and the elect expected the benefit of his talents. While any Puritan minister assumed that he should endeavor to uncover other saints, his primary obligation was always to serve the visible elect. Thus the Puritan church polity by its very decentralization tended to tie the pastor to his flock and to diminish the situations that might have led some clergymen into missionary work. The result was that the only missionaries the Indians saw in seventeenth-century New England were those who stole time from their parish duties.

Despite these barriers which hindered the Puritans from accomplishing the principal end of the Massachusetts' Charter, "to wynn and incite the Natives . . . to the onlie true God and Saviour of mankinde," it seems they had a strong desire to convert the Indians. For example, John Eliot, the greatest of the Puritan missionaries, was pastor of the First Church of Roxbury,

3U.S., Massachusetts, Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, ed. N.B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853), I, 17.
Massachusetts, almost all of his adult life. That he was able to dedicate so much of his time to the natives without losing his popularity with his white parishioners is a tribute to Eliot's remarkable energy and character. The commitment not only of John Eliot, but also of Thomas Hook and other Puritan clergymen in New England was not the only sign of the Puritan desire to convert the heathen to the Gospel. Those who remained at home in England to struggle with the Antichristian monarchy also manifested a desire for the conversion of the Indian.

The Puritan "good will" was exemplified in an Ordinance passed by Parliament on July 27, 1649, entitled "The President and Society for propagation of the Gospel in New England." The New England Company, as it was to be known, was comprised of sixteen members from whom were to be elected a President and a Treasurer. The purpose of the Company was to collect charitable donations for the furtherance of missionary activities among the Indians of New England. In order to facilitate and encourage this endeavor, Parliament permitted the Ordinance to be printed and distributed to the parishes throughout the different counties. The missionaries in New England also played an important role by writing descriptive narratives of their encounters with and conversions of the Indians. The collections, slow at first due to complaints made against the Company, eventually began to show...

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signs of improvement. Within ten years, between 1650 and 1660, the Company had collected a sum of £15,910. 15s. 6d., which for the Interregnum period was a considerable amount of money.

At this point a very interesting question arises. Just why did the New England Company collect such a substantial amount of money, and more, important, why did Englishmen contribute? Before elaborating upon this query, the reason for broaching the question must be answered. The years 1630-1660 marked a period of civil discord and religious conflict in England. The Civil War came to a close with the beheading of Charles I and the establishment of the Commonwealth. Any civil struggle will naturally breed economic conservatism. England was no exception. The Royalists had lost all when Charles went to the scaffold; the Puritans had paid heavily to finance their side of the struggle. Charitable institutions would naturally seem to suffer. In the Appendices of W.K. Jordan's *Philanthropy in New England, 1480-1660*, there is proof of this phenomenon. His charts for the years 1630-1660 show a steady downgrade in charitable donations.

A close study of the early history of New England unfolds quite a different historical background than that of England. There was no

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7 Maurice Ashley, *Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate* (Oxford, 1945). Economic conservatism after the Civil War is one of Ashley's main points.

involvement in Civil War. While religious toleration in England developed on a large scale, 9 a harsh intolerance grew steadily in New England, especially in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. 10 These intolerant policies were not well received in England and finally led to the revocation of its charter in 1684. 11 Financially she, too, was faced with serious problems and almost every capital investment that had been made by an Englishman ended in bankruptcy. As has already been discussed, the missionary activities of the New England Puritan had been unsuccessful and were attacked by many in England as well as in the Colonies. These problems will be discussed at length in Chapters II, III, and IV of this essay. Chapter II will treat the differences of opinion that arose between England and New England, emphasizing the religious, economic, and political aspects. In Chapter III a brief picture of the missionary activities in New England will be drawn, showing how, for the most part, they were a failure in the eyes of the Englishman at home. Chapter IV will treat about the New England Company, emphasizing its failures and shortcomings.

In the last two chapters an answer will be given to the query, why did Englishmen contribute? The reasons for such a question are three: the discontent between England and New England, the shallowness of missionary activities, and the problems of the New England Company. But, as has already been mentioned, a glance at the Ledger for the years 1650-1660 leads one to


10Perry Miller, Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1933), 212-262.

believe that the Company was a success. The answer that will be given is the
Millennial theory of Church History. It was believed by many seventeenth-
century ministers and laymen that the millennial period, described by St.
John's Book of Revelation, was close at hand. It suggested the following:
first, there would be a period of struggle with the Antichrist; second, the
New Jerusalem would descend from heaven; third, the righteous would be
resurrected; and fourth, a judgment would be given and the earthly utopia
would continue for a thousand years. Not all millenarians believed in exactly
the same progression, but they did agree on the fact that they were living in
an age which was different from the past; their age had an optimistic view of
life and history; they were progressing, not regressing.

Inherent in the doctrine of the Millennium were two other important
theories of the time. In order that the Millennium might be accomplished and
Antichrist defeated, Englishmen felt that the Gospel had to be spread
throughout the world and that the Jews had to be converted. John Eliot and
Edward Winslow\(^\text{12}\) were aware of the importance of this doctrine. In a series
of propaganda pamphlets known as the "Eliot Tracts," this topic is discussed
at great length, emphasizing that the Millennium will not be accomplished
until the "Jews" (Indians) are converted. Such a theory was not only
popular in New England, but also in England. Thomas Thorowgood, an English
minister, discussed the probability of the American Indians being one of the

\(^{12}\)Edward Winslow (1595-1656), a leader among the Plymouth settlers, agent
Lost Tribes of Israel in his *Jews in America*, published in 1650.\textsuperscript{13} It is
interesting to note that Thorowgood, in writing his second edition in 1660,
dedicated it to those who had contributed to the New England Company.

In Chapters V and VI a survey of the development and application of the
Millennium will be discussed. The main source of material will be drawn from
sermons preached by English ministers associated with the New England
Company as well as those not associated with the Company. Of the sermons to
be discussed, the majority of the authors had signed the "Eliot Tracts," which
leads one to believe that they were interested in the Company. And it also
can be concluded that they adapted Eliot's doctrines to many of their own
sermons. But actually to put one's hands on a sermon preached by Edmund
Calamy and Stephen Marshall, two ministers associated with the New England
Company, whose purpose was to urge contributions to the New England Company,
is virtually impossible in this country. Whether or not they are available
in England is another question. But we do know that they were aware of the
Millennial theory and did use it in many of their sermons.

In summary, then, it can be asserted that the Millennial theory of Church
History, the preaching of the Gospel, and the belief that the Indians were one
of the Lost Tribes of Israel were employed in the promotion literature
published by the New England Company for the years 1650-1660. These ideas
were considered by the Company as motivational forces, which would urge the

\textsuperscript{13}Thomas Thorowgood, *Jews in America*, ed. (London, 1650). Thorowgood's
theory was not treated as a probability but as an actuality. It will be
treated at further length in Chapter VI.
people of England to contribute to a Christian cause—the conversion of the American Indians. From the successful monetary results of the New England Company for these years, it can be concluded that such a motivational force was accepted by those in England who were willing to contribute to the preaching of the Gospel in New England.
CHAPTER II

ENGLAND VS. NEW ENGLAND

The study of American Colonial history has often led to a discussion of
the relationship between England and New England. To what extent did England
accept the policies of New England? Was their relationship friendly? These
are but a few of the questions a historian could possibly ask when studying
early Colonial history.

In the following chapter we will treat of this relationship on three
levels—political, economic, and religious. It will become evident that the
stress is laid upon the latter, not on the two former. This can be
attributed, I believe, to the extreme differences between the two groups. The
years 1640-1660 in England were noted for an upsurge in religious toleration,
while the New England Oligarchy became more intolerant than ever. Many
historians have attributed tolerance to Oliver Cromwell, but it is our con-
tention that the English Puritan, faced with the conflict of many different
sects, could do nothing but accept them. If the Cromwellian faction had
refused, it would have had to look elsewhere for support, but there was no-
where else to look. The New England Puritans, on the other hand, were
politically stable throughout the early years of the colony.

In 1620 a group of English Puritan Separatists landed at Plymouth and
established the first successful colony in New England. Under the leadership
of William Bradford, the Pilgrims, who had already left England to establish
a church in Holland, decided to set sail for the New World. In Holland it was difficult for them to make a decent living and the possibility of establishing Puritanism seemed impossible since they were not attracting many new converts. In fact their own children were faced with many religious temptations. The New World, they felt, would offer opportunities to start anew the spreading of the Gospel among their fellow Puritans and natives.  

Ten years later another group of Puritans, Nonconformists rather than Separatists, landed at Boston and established what was to become the most autocratic "Church-State" government in New England. Like Plymouth the Massachusetts Company left England for economic and religious reasons. John Winthrop, who was soon to become their most dominant leader, set down his arguments in his "General Observations for the Plantation of New England." They were both economic and religious. But to judge which was the more dominant is a difficult conclusion at which to arrive. One motive was the destruction of Antichrist, in the form of the French Jesuits and the establishment of a Church in New England to oppose and defeat them. But Winthrop is not the only means available for arriving at this conclusion. In the charter signed on March 18, 1628, it is stated that the colony:

maie be one religiously, peaceable, and
civilly govern'd, as their good life and
corderly conversation may vveyn and incite
the natives of the country to the knowledge
and obedience of the onlie true God and Savi-
our of mankinde, and the Christian fayth,

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which, in our royall intention and the ad-
vventurers free profession, is the principal
ends of this plantacon.15
Therefore, in the case of both colonies a strong de jure religious motive can
be established. But this motive sublimated their own religious freedom and
extended to the Indian as well.

The early years of the Plymouth Colony were filled with hardships. It
was not long before the Plymouth Company in England found that it received
little or no interest from its investments. The final collapse came in
December, 1621, when the stockholders decided to accept the present loss rather
than make further investments in the Company. They were not the first to
experience financial disaster in attempting to develop the colonization of
America, nor were they to be the last.17

The Massachusetts Bay Company's foundation, unlike the other colonies,
was different on two distinct counts. Under the influence of Matthew Craddock,
the first governor of Massachusetts Bay, all the officers of the Company
decided to emigrate to New England so that the same problems that confronted
the other colonies' investors would not hinder them.18 The second, which was

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15 U.S., Massachusetts, Records of the Governor and Company of the
Massachusetts Bay, ed. N.B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853), I, 17.


17 John Truscott Adams, The Founding of New England (Boston: The Atlantic
Monthly Press, 1921), 114-115.

18 Massachusetts Records, I, 49-52.
to be a point of contention among the members of Parliament for many years, was the conveyance of the charter to New England. With the charter in its possession, Massachusetts could more easily be governed as it desired. Without interference from the Mother Country, Massachusetts was for the most part both economically and politically free. But it cannot be concluded that it was economically and politically stable. Like Plymouth, Massachusetts' economic progress was slow, and it was not until late in its career that it could live independent of the Mother Country.

Earlier we remarked that the Puritans of the Plymouth Company were Separatists, while those of the Massachusetts Bay Company were Nonconformists. But to the colonists neither Massachusetts nor Plymouth was considered Separatist or Nonconformist. However, Massachusetts did establish what many historians refer to as a "Church-State." This was a unit in which the political and religious elements, in themselves and in their relations to one another, were but two aspects of the same method of regulating the lives of individuals in order to bring them into harmony with the will of God, Whose will was to be interpreted by the self-appointed ruler. The Magistrates, as they were called, felt they were best qualified religiously, and therefore politically, to govern. The effects of this political theology resulted in the same type of government the Puritans had fled from in England—an autocracy.

19 Ibid., I, 55.

This method of government the Bay Company introduced at an early date and was to cause the Company problems for many years to come. As a result it also caused the Company and all of New England to be looked upon with disdain by many Englishmen at home. It is only necessary to take a brief glance at the policies of New England and at the literature published in England to come to this conclusion.

The remainder of the chapter will stress matters which caused England to enquire into what was happening in New England. This does not mean that England was thoroughly disgusted with the colonies, but it does show that there were questions raised and that they became so irksome to England that she eventually revoked the charter of Massachusetts on October 13, 1684.21

Another problem that the reader may question is that it seems the writer refers to Massachusetts as New England. This, however, is not true, but much of the literature and many of the problems. It is true that Plymouth's policies were much more lenient than those of Massachusetts, but it is clear that Massachusetts set the policies and was the most dominant power throughout the period of colonial history. When the colonies were united in 1633 under the name of the "United Colonies of New England," it was Massachusetts who set the policies and dominated the councils.22

One of the first Englishmen to oppose Massachusetts was Thomas Morton. It


was a known fact throughout the Colonies that he had been selling firearms to
the Indians, which was unlawful according to England’s and New England’s law
courts. However, when he was brought before the judge, there was no mention
of firearms, but rather he was merely accused of wrongs he had committed
against the Indians, and above all for stealing a canoe. The sentence
inflicted upon him was extremely severe. He was placed in the stocks, sent
back to England, and his entire property was confiscated.\(^\text{23}\)

Another example of this type of punishment was that of Philip Ratcliffe.
A mentally unbalanced servant of Thomas Graddock, he was accused of talking
loosely about the church at Salem. After his arrest, he was punished by being
whipped, having his ears cut off, and then being fined, before being sent back
to England.\(^\text{24}\)

Both Norton and Ratcliffe plus many others sought asylum from Sir
Fernando Gorges, who had acquired one of the first charters in New England
and felt that Massachusetts had illegally acquired part of his property.\(^\text{25}\)
The result was an attempt to revoke the charter of Massachusetts and give the
governorship of New England to Gorges. On February 21, 1634 the newly created

\(^{23}\) Thomas Morton, The New English Canaan or New Canaan (Amsterdam, 1637). Morton tells the whole story in this little pamphlet.

\(^{24}\) Adams, Founding of New England, 151.

"Lords Commissioners for Plantations in General," under the leadership of
Archbishop Laud, ordered that Cradock return the Massachusetts charter. And
it was not long after that that Gorges was made Governor of the New England
colony under a new charter. But the plan failed because he was short of funds
and could not obtain the needed ships to conduct him and his Company to New
England.

The two most famous cases, the ones which were to cause the most
publicity in England, were that of Roger Williams and that of Anne Hutchinson.
Williams had arrived at Boston in 1631. Because of his renowned reputation
as a "godly minister" and holy man, he was offered the church at Salem. He
accepted and began preaching two heretical doctrines. The first dealt with
liberty of conscience, which was explained in terms of the separation of Church
and State; the other was the illegal possession of Indian lands. Williams
maintained that it was necessary for the English to buy the Indian territory
only after the consent of the Indians had been obtained. This conflicted with
the traditional Biblical idea which declared that land was meant for
agriculture and since the Indian merely hunted, the English therefore could
claim the right of ownership. Williams was soon arrested, forced to return to
England, but escaped to Rhode Island where he continued to cause the
magistrates many embarrassments. 27 It must be noted here that the people of

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Salem and of Massachusetts were beginning to become disturbed at the tactics of the magistrates and did show some resistance to Williams' removal. But despite their discontent they were not to win much ground until the Restoration of Charles II.

Anne Hutchinson, who had arrived in Boston several years after Williams, began teaching a "Covenant of Grace," which meant a religion founded upon the concept of a direct revelation in the individual soul of God's grace and love. This directly opposed the doctrine of the Puritan ministers, which was based upon God as the judge of fallen man who had to obey His laws unquestionably and whose laws in turn were interpreted by the Elders. There resulted a long controversy, but in the end Mrs. Hutchinson was convicted of breaking the Fifth Commandment and banished from the colonies.\(^\text{28}\) The important point about the Hutchinson controversy was that it involved several prominent Englishmen, one of whom was Sir Harry Vane, who was to play an important role in the religious and political struggles in England in the years to come. At the time Sir Harry was governor of the Colony. Impressed by the teachings of Anne Hutchinson, he joined her Congregation and gave her his whole hearted support. When Mrs. Hutchinson was put on trial, Vane was forced to resign his governorship, and shortly after returned to England in disgust.

The Great Migration, which began in 1630, slackened in 1639 and New England, which was beginning to establish a sound economic basis, was hit

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The Colonies suffered all the more when the flow of immigration came to a complete standstill in the latter part of 1640. The cause is often explained in terms of the political events in England, which showed more promise to the Puritan and therefore encouraged him to remain at home. But a close examination of the documents shows that the leaders of colonization, Lord Saye and Lord Brooke and John Pym, began encouraging Puritans to emigrate to Providence rather than to New England. The reason for their change of mind was the growing discontent in England concerning New England's religious persecutions and strongly intolerant policies. A.P. Newton goes so far as to say, "this estrangement had by the end of 1638 rendered the Puritan leaders in England almost as hostile to the ruling oligarchy in Massachusetts as were King Charles and Archbishop Laud." 30

Winthrop, concerned about this matter, wrote a bitter letter to Lord Saye. Saye's reply was a condemnation of the magistrates and Elders for their illegal use of Scripture texts to attain their own goals and ended "for what you say of the church not compatable with another frame of government, I pray put away that error . . . the church being wholly spiritual, can subsiste with any forme of outward government." 31


But the colonists did not easily learn their lesson. At the same time that religious toleration was making hugh strides in England, Massachusetts and New England were falling deeper into intolerant policies. The many examples of Quaker persecutions and the great number of rebukes from England did nothing to change their attitude. The saving factor for New England during all these years was the struggle that raged in England between King and Parliament. Both times that Laud had taken action in revoking the New England charter, 1634 and 1638, his attempts were halted due to the complications raised at home.

It was shortly after the last rebuke that the Laudian regime finally crumbled. The result was an English alliance with Scotland and the acceptance of the "Solemn League and Covenant." But many Englishmen were opposed to such a doctrine which they felt left no room in England for Independence. The Westminster Assembly, which convened on July 1, 1643, was to prove that England had advanced several steps toward religious toleration. In the early months of 1643, it appeared that the Presbyterians would take over and that a union between England and Scotland would result in that religious uniformity for which Laud had fought so hard. But there was one factor that the

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32George Bishop, New England Judged by the Spirit of the Lord (London, 1703). Bishop treats mostly of the Quaker persecutions and shows to what extent the magistrates went. His picture of these persecutions is very bloody and cruel and one can see very easily why the English became so irate concerning the action of the magistrates in New England.

Presbyterians did not take into account and Robert Baillie was the first to see the problem. "In the time of this anarchy, the divisions of people does much increase; the Independent party grows; but the Anabaptists more; and the Antinomians most."34 In other words it was not just the Independents with whom the Scots had to contend, but it was a growing number of sects that were beginning to unite to form a strong front.

The result of the large number of sects was the beginning of religious toleration in England. They came more and more to see that unless they were to unite and thereby understand each other, they would lose the battle to the Presbyterians, whom they all began to despise. In 1644, Roger Williams appeared in England and wrote The Bloody Tenent of Persecution. Within a short time many books and pamphlets flooded the English countryside speaking out for toleration. "But that coercive powers in matters of Religion," wrote John Goodwin, "for the suppressing of errors, schisms, heresies, etc., was never attributed to the civill Magistrate by any Christian."35 But the principles of toleration did not remain within the Assembly. By 1647 Cromwell and the army were dominated by those thoughts and ideas of the Independents which were manifested in The Heads of Proposals.

In New England, however, Congregationalism was strongly entrenched and more firmly promulgated by the magistrates and ministers of that colony. Yet


35 John Goodwin, A Reply of Two Brethren (London, 1644), 61. Quoted from Perry Miller, Orthodoxy in Massachusetts, 1630-1650 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1933), 271.
the new English Parliament remained faithful to New England. The quo
warrant of 1636, revoking the charter of Massachusetts, was forfeited in 1641
and New England responded by declaring her allegiance to the new English
government. 36

At the same time that the Westminster Assembly was in session, New
England was forced by a number of strong Presbyterians to call a Synod at
Cambridge. 37 But the resulting Cambridge Platform, while it talked of friend-
ship toward the Presbyterians, remained firm in its beliefs that the Gospel
did not allow room for civil cohabitation. 38 Baillie wrote of the New
England Puritans: "they in New England are more strict and rigid than we,
or any church, to suppress, by the power of the magistrate all who are not of
their way." 39 The intolerance of New England against the Presbyterian and
other sects forced the Independents to rebuf the policies of New England and
by 1645 Sir Harry Vane was writing from England advocating that he and his
followers take up the example of England and the Independents:

which makes me hope that, from the experience
here, it may also be derived to yourselves, least
whilst the congregational way amongst you is
in its freedom, and is backed with power, it


37 Ibid., II, 139.

38 Milliston Walker, The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism (New
York, 1893), 197.

teach its opponents here to extirpate it and root it out, from its own principles and practices.10

New England's answer to such pleadings is exemplified in the case of Samuel Gorton, an Antinomian.11 He was brought to trial for heresy, punished, ordered to work in the streets with heavy chains wrapped around his feet, and eventually banished from New England. The methods employed by the magistrates in arresting Gorton were definitely illegal. Gorton, whose settlement was beyond the territory of Massachusetts, was forced to march to Boston by armed militiamen, who also burned his farm and scattered his livestock. Gorton's defense caused a widespread disapproval of his treatment among the members of Parliament and it was not long until the Commissioners for Plantations granted him a charter with free passage to his land at Sharonet.

It was not until 1646 that Gorton's Simplicities Defense was published in England. But its publication initiated a heated pamphlet war between Edward Winslow and the Gorton faction. In 1647 Winslow responded with Hypocrisy Unmasked, only to be confronted with New England's Jonas Cast up at London. Winslow, however, had the last word in New-England's Salamander.

The Colony, however, was saved once again by the political events which followed in England. On August 6, 1647 the army took control of London,


putting an end to Presbyterian rule. For the remaining thirteen years Parliament was to occupy itself with domestic policies, permitting the colonists to rule themselves. The threat of both foreign invasion and insurrection from within forced Cromwell and his Parliaments to remain aloof from establishing religious freedom in the colonies and a strong governmental surveillance of these colonies. Meanwhile, New England became more and more entrenched. When it came time to change her policies toward toleration, she was unable to perform the necessary requirements in a natural way. And it was not until her charter was revoked that she saw the light.
CHAPTER III

MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES

From the many sources available to the historian of missionary activities among the Indians of New England, we come to the conclusion that the zeal of the Puritan missionaries was at a high level. But in tabulating the results of their endeavors, we must conclude that their efforts were a failure. In treating this subject, our concern will not be to draw a comprehensive picture of New England missionary activity, but rather to judge to what extent Englishmen knew and cared about this work. And, judging from the pamphlets that were available to him in England, it seems that his enthusiasm would be slight.

Reports concerning the Indians reached England through two channels. The first was rumor. Ships that arrived in the English ports would naturally bring news of the natives from the stow-aways and other members of the crew, who would narrate their tales to fellow laborers on the docks. From the writings of John Eliot, the first apostle to the Indians, it can be concluded that these reports were not favorable. In his famous "Indian Tracts" Eliot was constantly referring to the evil reports that were carried back to England by men who had not ventured into the wilderness to survey his work. 12

The second means which would enable an Englishman to form an opinion about the Indians was through the numerous pamphlets written by New Englanders and missionaries. However, one caution must be suggested. Most of this literature was written from a propagandist's viewpoint, which naturally makes its interpretation difficult. But it does not mean that we cannot arrive at some conclusions.

One of the first pamphlets to reach the Mother Country from New England was Edward Winslow's *Good News From New England*, published in London in 1624.\(^4\) In general Winslow was favorable to the Indian, but envisaged him as a "heathen" and a "savage." In former letters, wrote Winslow, he had thought that "the Indians about us are without any Religion."\(^5\) But he and others discovered that they did worship some type of a God, who, for the Indians, was a Devil. This concept of the Indian was not the only one of its type. There were many New Englanders who drew the same conclusions and were not as favorable to the Indians as was Winslow.\(^6\)

These men, then, depicted in the Indian character the evidence of a Satanic opposition to the very principle of divinity. Thus, the Indian became a symbol to the Puritan of what man might become if he should abandon

\(^4\)Edward Winslow (1595-1655). He was an important leader among the Plymouth settlers, and was sent to England as their agent as early as 1630. Most of his career was spent in England, either as an agent of the Plymouth Colony, or as an agent of the New England Company. He was governor of Plymouth in 1633, 1634, and 1644.


\(^6\)For bibliography: Higginson, Vincent; Underhill, Lechford, and Jesselyn.
the Word of God and live apart from the Church of God. But to the Colonists
the Indian was not merely an image of non-religion; he was a wild man that had
to be brought to the civilized responsibilities of Christian manhood. This
belief would engender in the Colonists a strong desire to convert the Indian
to the "Church-State" fold. Save him and you would save one of Satan's
victims. Destroy him, and you would destroy one of Satan's cohorts. The
result of such a viewpoint of the Indian led to much propagandistic literature
which depicted Satanism as the core of the Indian, that is, of the savage
life. Its basic roots were merely a form of witchcraft which was condemned
by the Puritans of New England, as well as of England.  

The next group of pamphlets which reached England from New England mainly
dealt with the struggles between the Massachusetts oligarchy and the members
of non-Puritan Companies.  

The Indians were placed in the background and did not again play a leading role until 1643 in the "Eliot Tracts." These
pamphlets were written from the view of winning the English to contribute to
missionary activities.

In the minds of almost all the Puritan writers, it was first necessary to
civilize the Indian before he could be converted to the Christian way of life.
This is evident from the Puritan belief that a man must experience a
conversion which would separate him from the mass of mankind into the elect of

[16] George Lyman Kittredge, Witchcraft in Old and New England (Cambridge:

God. This conversion, which was the realization of a new birth, brought the
believer a conviction of salvation and a dedication to warfare against sin. 48
In order to experience such a metanoia, a certain degree of knowledge was
necessary. The person, at least, had to be civilized. Thus, the majority of
the New England ministers perceived the importance of civilizing the Indian
before he could begin the work of conversion. Such an endeavor would cost
money that was not abundant in New England at the time. The most obvious
solution to the problem, then, was to ask the people at home to contribute to
the work. But who would be willing to give it he did not know what was hap-
pening in New England and what progress the missionaries were making?

Before 1643 John White had written in his Planters Plea suggesting a
common stock of $10,000 which would suffice "to support the weight of general
charges." 49 However, these collections and those made later by Thomas Weld,
Hugh Peters, and William Hibbins also proved to be a failure. 50 As a result,
the "Elliot Tracts" were written for the purpose of aiding those in England
whose job it was to collect money for civilizing the American Indians.

The first, which was written by John Elliot, confirmed the reader in his
belief that the Indian had "sate in hellish darkness, adoring the Devill

48 Simpson, Puritanism in Old and New England, 2-5. The author gives an
excellent example of this type of conversion by discussing Thomas Goodwin's
acceptance of Puritanism.

49 John White, Planters Plea, from Massachusetts Historical Society
Proceedings, VIII, 2nd series (1894), 209. The Reverend John White was pastor
of a parish in England among whose parishioners was John Endicott. He is often
referred to as the "father of the Massachusetts Bay Colony."

himself for their God." It was not impressive, showing but little progress and emphasizing the many problems encountered in the attempt to convert the Indian. The surprising fact was that the few conversions made were due to the initiative of the Indians, not of the Puritans. One factor that hindered their progress was that the English colonists did not trust the Indian and were therefore slow and cautious in their approach.

Yet (mistake us not) we are wont to keep them at such a distance, (knowing they serve the Devil and are led by him) as not to inboden them too much, or trust them too farre; though we do them what good we can.52

But the pamphlet did point to a few good aspects of Indian life. Some signs of conversion were manifest, and the relations between the English and the Indian were satisfactory.

Despite the fact that the Indian was viewed as a "devil worshiper," Englishmen must have been mainly concerned with the slow progress the colonists were making in conversion and the little effort the ministers were exerting. In the second Treat the author, which was believed to be Eliot, gave a hint of this complaint.

If wee would force them to baptism ... or if wee would hire them to it by giving them coats and shirts, to allure them to it (as some others have done) wee could have gathered many hundreds, yea, thousands it may be by this time, into the name of Churches; but


use have not learnt as yet that art of copy-
ing Christians, or putting Christ's name and
Image upon copper battery.53

In fact, if the seventeenth-century reader of these pamphlets were at all
intelligent, he would have realized that according to these accounts there
were only three ministers active among the Indians and that no serious work
was begun until that undertaken in 1646 by John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew.54

From these Tracts and other pamphlets available to Englishmen, we must
come to the conclusion that the people of England had a rather dubious
conviction that the missionaries were successful. Eliot seems to have begun
working with the Indians in 1643.55 But the main problem, a problem which
all missionaries had to face, was language. It was impossible to teach the
Gospels or the truths of the Puritan way of life if communication were
impossible. So Eliot put himself to the task of learning the Algonquin
language. It was not until 1646 that he was able to preach to the Indians in
their own tongue.

Eliot's first sermon was preached at Nonsanum, about five miles from his
home. There he began the method that was to remain with him for years to
come: it began with prayers in English, and then he would preach a sermon
containing "all the principall matter of religion, beginning first with a

53 The Day-Breaking if not the Sun-rising ..., 15.

54 The three mentioned in the "Eliot Tracts" were Thomas Allen, John
Eliot, and Thomas Mayhew. However, Cotton Mather, in his Magnalia, mentions
many others—Samuel Treat, James Noyce, Rowland Cotton, Thorne Tupper, John
Cotton, Jr., etc.

repetition of the ten Commandments, and a brief explanation of them." He
warned of God's wrath directed at those who broke His commandments, and
continued speaking about Jesus Christ, the Redeemer of sins, the Last
Judgment, "the blessed estate of all those that by faith believe in Christ," the creation, the Fall of Man, Heaven and Hell, "not minding with any matters
more difficult, and which to such weak ones might at first seem ridiculous,
untill they had tasted and behelved more plains and familiar truths." The
remainder of the meeting was spent upon questions, and the Indians were given
apple and tobacco, while Eliot discussed the possibilities of building an
Indian town where they could begin their own "Church-State."

As was mentioned earlier, Eliot did not want the Indians to mingle with
the English. His reasons were practical and well founded. It was a known
fact that drunkenness, to which the Indian was prone to fall, was caused by
the English who found it a profitable business to sell their goods, despite
the many laws against this practice. The desire to construct an Indian
settlement grew stronger in Eliot's mind, and in 1643 he postulated good
reasons why the work should be undertaken. The most important was to
instruct them in "Letters, Trades, and Labours, as building, fishing, Flax

56 The Day-Breaking . . . . 3.
57 The Day-Breaking . . . . 4.
58 Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, October
18, 1634. There are many other earlier references.
59 Ibid., October 12, 1651.
and Imp dressing, planting Orchards &c. and to prevent English cattle from eating the crops of the Indians.

In 1652 Eliot's ideas received confirmation from the Massachusetts court and he began his first settlement at Natick. In August of the same year the Indians met at this site "and finally they did solemnly choose two Rulers among themselves, the first chose a Ruler of an Hundred, they then chose two Rulers of Fifties, then Ten or Tithing men." Their government was to be based on the Scriptures in matters of both Church and State, because "They shall have no other Law-giver; the Lord shall be their Law-giver; the Lord shall be their judge, the Lord shall be their King, and he will save them."

Eliot was not the only one to build such a settlement. In 1643 Thomas Mayhew made his first convert, Hiacomes, a member of the Pokanoket Tribe. Like Eliot Mayhew did not take the initiative. His description of Hiacomes' conversion was proof, because that Indian placed himself under instruction, became a convert, and aided Mayhew in converting many fellow Indians. Shortly after, Mayhew began a settlement at Martha's Vineyard, an island south of Cape Cod. His reasons for isolation were much the same as Eliot's and by 1651 Mayhew was reported to have had 199 converts.

60The Glorious Progress of the Gospel . . . . 3.

61Records of . . . Massachusetts Bay, October 20, 1652.


63The Light appearing . . . (London, 1652), 23.

One of Eliot's purposes in establishing these settlements was to form a "Church-State" among the Indians. But in order to begin this work, it was necessary that the New England Elders should decide whether the Indian was ready for such a step. Shortly after, when the "Meeting-House" was completed, Eliot began to encourage the Indians "to make confession before the Lord of their former sins, and of their present knowledge of Christ, and experience of his Grace." The confessions were written down by Eliot, who presented them to several ministers from Boston who had come to Natick. Eliot felt it necessary to impress upon the ministers the seriousness of the Indians' conversion and to obtain from them permission for a "Church-State." Disappointment soon came. The Boston clergy felt they were not ready to take such an important step. This occurred in 1652 and Eliot did not actually accomplish his task until 1660. Whether the Englishman at home, who read these accounts, was discouraged or not is hard to measure. But he could not have been nearly as discouraged by Eliot's reports as by the narrations of Roger Williams and Robert Baillie. Roger Williams, as we have mentioned earlier, was banished from Massachusetts because of his religious teachings and practices. From the Bay Colony he made his way to Rhode Island and became a very close friend of the Narragansett Indians. Williams, unlike Eliot and the other New England missionaries, did

65 Light appearing ... 2-3.

66 A Further Account of the Gospel amongst the Indians ... (London, 1660), 10.

67 It was this close friendship that enabled Williams to win the Narragansetts back to the side of the English in the Pequot War.
not believe in converting the Indians. It was not that he doubted his abilities, because he expressed the possibilities of conversion that were open to him.

For our New England parts, I can speak it confidently, I know it to have been easy for myself, long ere this, to have brought many thousands of these natives, yea, the whole country to a far greater antichristian conversion than ever was heard of in America. I could have brought the whole country to have observed one day in seven: I add, to have received baptism, to have come to a stated church meeting, to have maintained priests and forms of antichristian worship, in life and death.68

Williams, therefore, was convinced that he could have converted many to Christianity, but he also believed that it would be of no avail if the Indian became a Christian because of Williams and not out of conviction of the truths of his religion. Yet Williams, while respecting the integrity of his conscience, did not ignore the Narragansetts. In fact he spent long hours learning their language and in 1643 published one of the first Indian dictionaries entitled, A Key into the Language of America: Or, An Help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America, called New-England.

Williams did not try to sentimentalize the Indians as many before him had done, but rather he spoke frankly of them. They were, he wrote, "barbarous men of blood, who are as justly to be repelled and subdued as wolves that assault the sheep."69 This, however, did not stop him from laboring among

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69Ibid., 51.
than. We might say that Williams was one of the few Englishmen that treated them as human beings. Unlike the other missionaries, he did not believe in the "covenant religion." No nation, except Israel, had a special calling from God to exert spiritual power in political affairs—least of all New England. The arguments that the natives were brutal were not to Williams a sign of a lack of civility because the history of Europe was also bloody and horrifying. Perry Miller is succinct and to the point when he says, "Typology relieved Williams of the necessity for being what his covenantal brethren so frequently were, racial and religious snobs."70

Williams' *Bloody Tenet* is filled with ridicule toward the New England oligarchy. Religious intolerance was for him a tyranny. But it was not only the religious intolerance in New England at which he poked holes; he also made many references to the relationship between the Indians and the "New Israel."

In New England, it is well known that they not only permit the Indians to continue in their unbelief (which neither they nor all the ministers of Christ on earth nor angels in heaven can help, not being able to work belief), but they also permit or tolerate them in their paganish worship, which cannot be denied to be a worshipping of devils, as all false worship is.71

Williams' criticism must have made some impact upon the Mother Country. Eliot, in one of his letters, refers to an incident that several Indians

70. Miller, Roger Williams, 53-54.

narrated to him about a visit they had made to Providence. His purpose was to criticize, not to emulate.

He (minister at Providence) asked him (Indian), why they did not learn of Mr. Williams who hath lived among them divers years? and he soberly answered that they did not care to learn of him, because he is no good man but goes out and works upon the Sabbath.\textsuperscript{72}

The pen of Robert Baillie was also at work against the New Englanders. He have soon his wrath vented upon Massachusetts Bay in regard to religious matters, but he also had several words to utter about their treatment of the Indian. It was known in England as well as in New England that the principal purpose in granting the charter was to "pam and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God and Savior of mankind, and the Christian faith."\textsuperscript{73} Baillie knew of the little progress that had been made and wrote, "I have read of none of the [New England ministers]\textsuperscript{74} that seem to have minded this matter: only Williams in the time of his banishment from among them did essay what could be done with these souls, and by a little experience quickly did find a wonderful great facility to gain thousands of them."\textsuperscript{75}

In summary we might say that the literature and rumors that reached England about the Indians did not present a good picture, while at the same time it was not completely derogatory. But when we consider the purpose for

\textsuperscript{72}The Clear Sun-Shine . . . (London, 1648) 31.

\textsuperscript{73}Records of . . . Massachusetts Bay, I, 17.

\textsuperscript{74}Robert Baillie, A Deissuasive from the Errors of the Time (Edinburgh, 1645), 21.
which the Puritans set sail for the New World, which was to spread the Gospel of Christ to the infidels, it is possible to have some doubts about their complete sincerity, especially since no serious work was begun until 1643 by John Eliot and Thomas Kenneh.
CHAPTER IV

THE NEW ENGLAND COMPANY

The New England Company, faced with the troubles of the Colonies and the apparent immaturity of Indian conversions, had also to struggle with its own problems, which, like many other charitable organizations, was eventually discredited. Earlier we mentioned that Thomas Weld, minister of Roxbury, Hugh Peters, minister of Salem, and William Hibbins, a prominent Boston merchant had been sent in 1643 to England to collect money for the colonies, whose financial status was in serious condition. The purpose of the mission was to explain to those in England, who had risked capital investments in the colonies, why payments were slow in coming, "to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here," and to help further the reformation of the churches in England. 75 Another object of the mission was to gain assistance for the conversion of the Indians. 76 John Winthrop, however, placed one stipulation on their mission: they should not "seek supply of our wants in any dishonorable way, as by begging or the like." 77

76 Winslow, New England's First Fruits . . ., 12.
Their mission was unsuccessful, although Hibbins returned in 1642 with 1500 for the colonies. Hugh Peters, who was to distinguish himself for his ideas on religious toleration, joined Cromwell's army, and remained in England until his death in 1660.78 Thomas Weld, continuing his efforts to raise money, ventured to take up a collection in the London parishes. The result of his work was a total of £875 and the consent of Parliament for the transportation of poor children to New England. But he, too, was soon forced to give up the work because of its ill success.79

In 1649 their efforts proved to be an embarrassment for the Company. It seems that many people felt Peters and Weld, who did most of the collecting and who left no record where the money was invested, had committed fraud. Many ministers made this clear to the members of the Company and wrote that the collections had been slow "because they (the benefactors) were unsatisfied in monies they had formerly collected for transporting children to New England and never knew how it was disposed and some went further in blaming those that had been agents in that work."80 Weld made an attempt to defend his previous actions in a tract entitled, "Innocency cleared containing a just defence of Mr. Weld and Mr. Peters . . ." and asked the Company to publish his letter. His purpose, he wrote, was "to silence the malicious, to satisfy

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80 A letter published by G.D. Scull in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register (Boston, 1847- ), XXXVI, 64-70.
the sober and to remove the obstruction of the contribution for propagating
the Gospel to the Natives in New England."61 For reasons that are not known,
the Company decided not to publish the document and the problem continued to
hinder contributions.

Against this problem and the hatred of many Englishmen toward the
Colonies, Henry Hutfield, in the dedication of The Light appearing more and
more towards the perfect Day . . . wrote that the purpose of the Indian
tracts was "to remove such false surmises and aspersions, suggested on purpose
to retard the work."62 Another objection raised by many was that "we had
more need to support learning at home than abroad," especially when they were
"barbarous Indians."63 Edward Winslow, aware of this complaint, wrote to the
Commissioners that "our levelers, they will have nothing to doe to promote
humaine learning, there is too much of it all reddy."64 But these were not
the only complaints made by the members of the Company to the Commissioners.
"The works of God mett with more opposition," they wrote, while "the
malitious prophane carelessse and envious tongues of too many" in New England
did nothing to make things easier.65 These reports hampered the work of the

61 Thomas Weld, "Innocency Cleared," from N.E.H.G.R., pub. G.D. Scull,
XXXVI, 65.


63 U.S., New England, Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies,

64 Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, I, 197.

65 Ibid., XI, 431.
Company, but the many Indian tracts tried with some success to dispel these objections.

Before the Company was formed, John Eliot had been writing to his friends in England for financial support. Lady Armine, a well-known philanthropist and wife of Sir William Armine, Member of Parliament for Lincolnshire, had been sending him an annuity of £20 since 1643. What, therefore, was to stop him from continuing this practice, a practice which the Company immediately disliked. In a letter from Winslow dated April 5, 1652 this became evident.

"We are very much troubled by private Collections sent by Mr. Butcher and procured by him to the great prejudice of the Works, wee endeavorings to purchase Lands of Inheritance and to mayneteyne the Works with the Revenue, Hee sendings over what he totts, & wee knowe not but by accident what hee sends nor to shome, soe that wee are like to bee att noe certeyntyes."

The Company’s position can be understood when it is considered that people were petitioned from two sources, private and organisations. What made things worse was Eliot’s continual complaints to his friends that he was not receiving enough from the Commissioners to live decently. This would certainly confirm those in the belief that the Company was mismanaging their contributions. The Society was well aware of this problem and wrote the Commissioners that the news that Eliot was receiving only £20 a year "flyeth

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86 Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston, 1895-), XIV, 125.

like lightening and takes like tinder, men being extremly glad to meet with any thing that may Geoiller over theirs Covetiousness and dull their scale in soe good a work." 88 They believed the work would "suffer from Thousands of pounds by it." 89 In order to keep Eliot from writing to his friends, the Company insisted that the Commissioners of the United Colonies pay him more for his generous labor. 90 Although money was advanced to Eliot, the fire had spread in England and the Company's enemies, among whom was Hugh Peters, quickly added fuel. Peters, who was not at all sympathetic toward the Indians, made some rather derogatory statements. "In plain terms hee heard the workes was but a plaine Cheate and that there was noe such things as Gospel conversion amongst the Indians." 91

Like all other charitable and non-charitable organizations, the Company found it difficult to transfer money from the counties to London without fraud being committed by those in charge. The minutes of the Society bear full witness to this problem, which was to plague it from 1650 through to 1660. In order to stop such actions, the London members hired messengers who rode to the different counties urging collections and who would then return the money to the Company. These messengers were paid 30s. a week while on tour and each one was provided with a horse which the Company bought for him. 92 This gave some assistance, but fraud still remained a problem.

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88 Acts of the Commissioners . . . , II, 118.
89 Ibid., II, 119. 90 Ibid., 120.
In the Ordinance of July, 1649, Parliament declared that the Company was to be represented in New England by the Commissioners of the United Colonies. This Confederation, formed in 1643 because of the threats from Dutch and French expansion and the continuance of Indian wars and hostilities, consisted of eight members, two from each Colony (Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Massachusetts).\textsuperscript{93} The Commissioners were perfect for the part the New England Company wanted them to fulfill. However, a glance at the Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies shows that their relationship was fraught with difficulties.

The first problem, which was mentioned above, was the poor distribution of goods and money to both Eliot and Mayhew. But the one that caused the Company the most embarrassment resulted from the means used by the Company of transferring funds.

The method employed for the first five or six years was the shipment of goods to the Commissioners who in turn would either give the material to the missionaries or sell it to the colonists; the proceeds were then transferred to the missionaries or invested in property in the colonies. Such a method had many loopholes, one of which was fraud. The best example can be taken from a shipment of arms and ammunition.\textsuperscript{94} The colonists were in need of these materials to protect themselves from the Dutch, the French, and the

\textsuperscript{93} Acts of the Commissioners . . ., I, 29.

Indian menace.

In 1652 the first shipment was made in the Johns Adventure which consisted of such articles as twenty barrels of musket shot, sixty barrels of powder, two barrels of flints, and eighty muskets. It was to be distributed among the four colonies, which were in turn to pay the Commissioners in money, barley, wheat, peas, and beef, and the proceeds were to go to the missionaries and Indians. The result, unhappily, was that the Colonies refused to pay, and when this news reached the Company, it caused a good deal of friction between the two associations.

Instances such as these also caused the Company problems from another area. The old complaint of Peters and Weld began showing its face again. What was happening to the money that was given to the Company? In order to put an end to such suspicions, in 1653 the Company ordered the Commissioners to send accounts to clear the numbers in England of the charges made against them. But little progress was made. In 1655 the Company became more irritated about the affair when the Council of State ordered them to present their accounts. The result forced the numbers to realize that things were not working too smoothly. A sharp reprimand was shipped to the Commissioners.

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95 Acts of the Commissioners . . . , II, 104.


97 Ibid., II, 162-165.

ordering them to send someone to England who would render their accounts to the Company to prevent embarrassment. The Commissioners acted but problems still remained. 99

These complaints mentioned by the Company were known to the English public, and we can conclude that an Englishman would have some doubts in his mind as to the integrity of the Company's actions. If we combine these doubts with religious intolerance in New England, especially in Massachusetts, together with the little progress made in conversion and with the few missionaries active in the work, we can rightly ask the question: why did they give so generously?

CHAPTER V

THE MILLENNIUM

Up to this point the friction between England and New England in the areas of politics, religion, missionary work, and the activity of the New England Company has been discussed. It has been stated that certain signs of discontent were manifest in England. However, this discontent did not hurt the New England Company to a great degree for its donations did reach a sizable sum. To what can this be attributed? One answer lay in the Millennial theory of Church History. In this chapter the theory will be discussed from an historical viewpoint, placing emphasis on the Cromwellian period.

The Millennial theory is as old as the Jewish tradition. However, was the first to make use of this doctrine in the Christian era, and it is to him that the English Protestants constantly referred. The masterly work of the author of the Book of Revelation presented in a series of visions, at once hazy and seemingly clear, the image of his own contemporaries' desires; and the image, more remarkable yet, could easily be adapted to the

100 Cf. S.J. Case, The Revelation of John: A Historical Interpretation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1919). We have made no attempt to delve into the beliefs of Jewish history to prove our point for this would be a thesis in itself. Another work that can be of some assistance on this point is Case's The Millennial Hope (Chicago, 1918).
changed conditions of a period more than 1,400 years after the author wrote his masterpiece. The book was intended to foretell the course of the warfare between the powers of darkness and those of light during the period immediately after the author's own time. It prophesied and warned of great afflictions, both political and natural, which would soon plague the faithful, but assured the true Christians of ultimate victory. The traditional apocalyptic figure of the Messiah was identified with Christ, and the apocalyptic themes were shaped into a rich mosaic which served a most effective propagandistic purpose. The symbolic figures refer to actual persons and happenings in the Roman Empire of the second century; the four horsemen, for instance, probably refer to invasions of alien tribes, and to such economic problems as the increase in wealth on the one hand and the increase in poverty on the other. Opposition to emperor-worship is a master theme of the book; the beast of chapters 12 and 13 is Nero revived, and the epistles to the seven churches are blasts against the cult of the imperial family. After the period of tribulations, the New Jerusalem will descend from heaven, the righteous will be resurrected, a judgment will be given, and the earthly utopia—the holy city on earth—will continue for a thousand years. The period of happiness will be followed by a short episode of intense affliction, after which the Kingdom of God will be finally established.

In this chapter it will be discussed how the English Protestants took the work of John and interpreted it for their own age. The works of both John Foxe and Joseph Mede show how the different periods of history foretold by John parallel that of English history. For the Englishman of the Tudor and early Stuart eras, Antichrist appeared in the person of the Pope. Once the
Reformation is accomplished and the Pope defeated, the New Jerusalem will appear. But during the Cromwellian period the scene shifts and the characters appear in different garb. Antichrist becomes for Cromwell and his followers the bishops or anyone opposing their faction. Sermons in parishes and before the House of Commons constantly refer to the Book of Revelation, drawing parallels for their own times. Inherent in the Millennial theory and prevalent in the sermons is the necessity of preaching the Gospel and the conversion of the Jews. These two points are of importance in this essay for it was to the spreading of the Gospel and the conversion of the Jews (many believed the Indians to be one of the Lost Tribes of Israel) that the English contributed. If this theory were readily applied to the many problems of the age, could it not be applied by the New England Company? In the next chapter it will be pointed out how this doctrine was employed by the missionaries in New England and by the ministers in England. But at this point it is necessary to see its widespread use and application in England from 1580 through to 1660.

This Millennial theory of Church History was given high recognition in John Foxe's Acts and Monuments, also known as The Book of Martyrs, published in 1587. Although the work was mainly an English martyrology, it gave the Englishman a view of universal history which centered upon England and the English Church. To him the course of history was a battle between Christ and Antichrist. It began with Christ, who had defeated the Jews, and continued into the Roman Empire until the Roman pagan was converted and conquered. Then there appeared on the chair of Peter another and final prototype of the Antichrist—the Pope. He reigned gloriously until the Reformation, when
Christ appeared again during the Protestant upheaval. But Luther and his followers were not the first to struggle with Antichrist. The Reformation had begun in England with John Wycliffe and had spread to the Continent, where the struggle raged most furiously. Since it began in England, so also would it end in England and Antichrist would be brought to his final doom. 101

Although the doctrine varies throughout subsequent years, it remains basically the same. The Millennial theory was not by nature solely a Puritan doctrine, but was characteristically Protestant. Doctor Joseph Mede, fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, gave impetus to its belief in 1627 in his Clavis Apocalyptica, 102 in which he spelled out each stage of the "seven vials" in the historical events of the past. The first represented the rising of the Albigensians and Waldensians; the second, poured out upon the sea, is the work of Luther and the Reformers; the third, upon the rivers, must be the anti-Catholic laws of Elizabeth; the fourth is being realized in the Thirty Years' War; the fifth is to be the destruction of the Throne of the Beast, Rome itself; the last of these preparatory events is to be the conversion of the Israelites, accomplished somehow by destroying the Turkish power. The seventh will be nothing less than the final judgment, which is to


102 Mede's book was first translated by Richard More, entitled The Key of the Revelation (London, 1643). Mede's Clavis Apocalyptica previously appeared in three editions (1627, 1632, and 1642). More's translation was ordered by Parliament in 1643, and it is easy to see that Mede's work was a propaganda document of considerable value in the contemporaneous situation.
coincide with the period of the millennium.  

Both Foxe's and Mede's ideas received a great access of importance and influence from the apocalyptic stirrings during the period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. The optimistic interpretation of history is to be found again and again in the sermons of preachers who, as the intellectual as well as the spiritual leaders of their flocks, thoroughly aired the problems of religion and history in the light of the new world-spirit. Such opinions were held by Presbyterians, Independents, and many other sects, each using the doctrine to attack the other. The one thing, however, they did have in common, was an optimistic view of history.

Earlier, it was mentioned that John Foxe depicted the Pope as Anti-Christian. But now that the Papacy did not play as important a role, Antichrist soon became the Bishops. This was brought upon by the political situation of the 1630's. The Puritans, desirous to remove Archbishop Laud, found the Book of Revelation a spiritual means to their end. In a sermon before the House of Commons on November 17, 1640, Stephen Marshall made use of such a doctrine. He began by setting forth the familiar doctrine of

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104 Some of the more influential ministers were Edmund Calamy, Simeon Ashe, Samuel Bolton, Stephen Marshall, William Couge, Henry Archer, Thomas Case, William Dell, and many others.

105 Stephen Marshall was one of the members of the Smectymnuus, which was an anagram composed of the initials of five ministers, not calculated nor intended to conceal their identity. Their chief purpose was the erection, throughout England, of a godly ministry free from prelatical control.
calling and covenant, taking as his text a case from the history of the chosen people of the Old Testament. Chron. II. 15:2, in which the Lord had granted victory to Asa the king, was perfect for proving his point. When a prophet is in covenant, he must overthrow his enemies and rebuild Zion. God, he felt, was with the English Parliament. If they did His Will, the task of the Reformation would be accomplished, for He had set them aside to accomplish this work.

The Bishops are God's enemies and Parliament's enemies and because they remain, God has not "come and erected his Justice seat among us." But "when the pressures of the Church are greatest, the opportunities of appearing for the LORD are most seasonable, and great are their Rewards who then stick to him." In order to accomplish Christ's coming, the Gospel must be preached throughout all of England. No land can "be accounted Christ's Kingdom, where the preaching of the Word, which is the Rod of his power, is not established." There is one interesting point that evolves from this sermon and most of the sermons preached before the House of Commons which should be adverted to at this time. The Kingdom of Christ was to be

107 Marshall, Sermon Before Commons, 4.
110 Ibid., 26.                    111 Ibid., 28.
established by means of the Gospel. Unless the Gospel were preached, Anti-
christ would not be defeated. Such a concept fits neatly into the Puritan
ideology. As we mentioned earlier, they put great stress on Gospel preaching,
and it was the spreading of the Gospel among the Indians that the New England
Company was supporting. More will be said on this subject later.

In a sermon entitled, Gods free Mercy to England . . ., preached by
Edmund Calamy before the House of Commons on the day of the monthly fast,
February 23, 1641, he spoke of the necessity of the fast in terms of the
coming of the Millennium. The fast, he said, will aid us to victory and each
monthly fast, "which (if rightly kept) will be as the twelve Gates of the
New Jerusalem spoken of, Rev. 21. Every fast will be as a Gate to let us
in, into a part of the New Jerusalem of Mercy, and Happiness promised to the
people of God, here upon earth." He continued by saying that God had
given England a mission. We are not only Protestants, but "reformed
Protestants." We have defeated the Pope and his cohorts and "the time of
the singing birds is come." Both Stephen Marshall and Edmund Calamy had
signed several of the "Eliot Tracts," and were closely connected to the New

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112 The title given to the Company by Parliament was "The President and
Society for propagation of the Gospel in New England."

113 Edmund Calamy was also a member of the Smectymnuus, and a very
influential minister in London during the Cromwellian period.

114 Edmund Calamy, Gods free Mercy to England . . ., Preached before the
House of Commons (London, 1642), 3.

115 Ibid., 30.
Thomas Case, another signer of the "Elliot Tracts," chose this same topic as the subject of his sermon entitled, God's rising, his enemies scattering.

His point was that God had risen in England and that the English were called upon to take advantage of this occurrence in order to defeat the Antichrist.

The Millennial concept was clearly mentioned in Joseph Caryl's The Saints . . . , preached in 1641. The text used was Revelation II. V. 16, 17. According to Caryl the providence of God was manifesting itself in the events of the present age. "The actions of these times are now a making, and will shortly make a full exposition of this Scripture (Revel.)." Their times were the greatest in all of English history; it was a time "wherein they behold the Lord God Almighty, taking to himself his great power and reigning."

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116 Thomas Case was also a very influential minister of the Gospel in London. He and Marshall were good friends.

117 Thomas Case, God's rising, his enemies scattering . . . (London, 1642), 23.

118 Joseph Caryl was a London Minister of the Gospel who was often invited to preach before the House of Commons.


120 Ibid., 1.

121 Ibid., l.
Sermons, however, were not the only means used to spread this progressive idea of history. Thomas Goodwin, in a book entitled, The Great Interest of States and Kingdoms, dealt with the Apocalypse in the same manner as did Joseph Mede. John Durie used the Book of Revelation as the topic of a tract dedicated to Samuel Hartlib, entitled The Revelation Revealed. This stimulated Hartlib himself to write his own work entitled Clavis Apocalyptica. Hartlib, whom Jordan calls "the greatest and very probably the most influential, of all the many 'projectors' of the revolutionary era," treated the entire cycle of history, showing the stages in the struggle with Antichrist.

In a group of pamphlets entitled, Cromwell's March into Scotland, 1650-1651, a secular tone was given to the millennial concept, and the extent to which its principles can be applied was vividly depicted. One pamphlet from this series, entitled A Declaration of the English Army, drew a clear picture of the purpose of the English march into Scotland. The Antichrist,

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122 Thomas Goodwin was a very influential minister of the Gospel in London. He played an important role in the Westminster Assembly. His works were also read in the Colonies.

123 He also covered the outpouring of the "seven vials."

124 John Durie was a minister of the Gospel in England who spent much of his time in Holland in exile.


126 This is the title given to the pamphlets at Newberry Library. There are also many other pamphlets in the Library listed under the Commonwealth.
declared the Army, who had arisen in Scotland over the debate on religious toleration and the Scots' support of the Monarchy, must be destroyed. The Civil War was considered for the Church of Christ, "a time of Deliverance, . . . and destruction and ruine to Babylon." But the struggle that had begun in the 1630's had not been completely obliterated due to the religious intolerance running rampant in Scotland.

Cromwell also had a high regard for religious liberty, which he felt was necessary for establishing the New Jerusalem. In another pamphlet from this series, entitled Letters and Passages between His Excellency The Lord General Cromwell and the Governor of Edinburg Castle, Cromwell stated that unless religious liberty and separation of Church and State should be declared, the army would remain in Scotland. "When they purely trust to the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds. . . . which is able to square and fit the stones for the New Jerusalem," we will withdraw.128

We could continue endlessly in a long string of books and sermons preached before the House of Commons and other occasions in order to prove the point that the Millennial theory of Church History was imminent in the sermons and writings of the day. But before delving deeper, two points ought to be mentioned. The first, in order to accomplish the task which God had

127 A Declaration of the English Army . . . , 3.

128 Letters and Passages between His Excellency the Lord General Cromwell and the Governor of Edinburg Castle . . . , 7.
given to the Puritans, the people of England must employ the means that God had provided them—the spreading of the Gospel. The second, which was mentioned many times in their sermons, was the converting of the Jews. William Gouge, in a sermon preached before Parliament in 1615, entitled *The Progresse of Divine Providence . . .*, employed Scripture to prove this very point. "Among other better things to come," he said, "the recalling of the Jews is most clearly and plentifully foretold by the Prophets."129

The same point is mentioned in a tract entitled, *The Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth*, written by Henry Archer in 1612. Unlike Joseph Mede, Archer felt that the "seven vials" had not yet been emptied, and that great sorrows were still to be expected before the end.131 The Papacy, he felt, began its wicked aspect about 406 A.D., and according to his speculation, its final destruction would occur about 1666.132 By that time the opponents of Antichrist will have sufficient power to defeat the papacy. And what is most interesting, the Jews would be converted, and the prophecies fulfilled.133

129William Gouge was a London minister of the Gospel and preached often on love and marriage. In his millennial beliefs he stressed the more negative side which emphasized chastisement.


132Ibid., 46.

133Ibid., 57.
Archer was not the first to mention the conversion of the Jews. He had also mentioned this in his sixth stage of the outpouring of the "seven vials." It was believed by many Englishmen of the time that the conversion of the Jews was necessary before the Millennium would be accomplished. This doctrine also stimulated their belief in the nearness of the defeat of Anti-christ because the Jews in England were, in fact, showing signs of conversion.

In this chapter we have covered the Millennium, illustrating its different meanings throughout the history of Protestant England. The person of Antichrist was differently garbed in each case: first, the Pope; then, the Bishops; and finally, whoever Cromwell's and Parliament's enemies might be. In other words, the Millennial theory was flexible and could be made applicable to any situation. However, its basic principles always remained the same. The struggle with Antichrist was nearing its final stage, and a millennium or utopia of God's Saints would be established.

It was also pointed out in this chapter that two basic concepts, inherent in the Millennial theory, the preaching of the Gospel and the conversion of the Jews, were understood and accepted by many Englishmen. These two ideas will have an important role to play in our essay. In the next chapter we will see how this doctrine was applied to the New World and, more important, to the Indians. Another important aspect of the next chapter will be a consideration of the manner in which the New England Company and those involved in its promulgation employed this concept. A study of the documents published by the Company will be investigated in order
to arrive at the motivational force postulated in the introduction. It is important to keep in mind that the Company was not the first to come to the solution that the Gospel must be spread in the New World and that the Indians must be converted before the Millennium would be accomplished. In fact the New England Company may not have been conscious of their use of this theory, but one cannot go away from the documents that were published by the Company without some notion of the Millennium and all that it involved.
CHAPTER VI

NEW ENGLAND AND THE MILLENNIUM

"But ye shall receive power, after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost part of the earth."135 This Scripture text, quoted by John Donne, in his sermon of November 13, 1622 to the "Honourable Company of the Virginia Plantation," was an exhortation to the stalwart soldiers of Christ to establish the Kingdom of God in the New World. Donne, although not a Millenarian, strongly believed that these men had been called by God to establish His Kingdom, a New Canaan, in the wilderness of Virginia.136 It was this concept of the New World that urged John Winthrop and his Puritan dissenters to leave all their possessions and set sail for the Promised Land, to build the "city set on a hill."137 For the Puritans America was to be "the good Land," a veritable Canaan. The Atlantic, if not the Red, was their "vast Sea," and the successful conclusion of their voyage, the end of their tribulations.138 In justifying


136Ibid., IV, 267-272.


138Ibid., II, 297.
their removal from England, John Cotton, in *Gods Promise to His Plantation*, drew this same parallel of the Jews leaving Egypt. Their task, then, was to build the Kingdom of God, to make the New World an example for the Old, to convert the Indians, and to prepare the way for the Coming of Christ.

Winthrop's and Cotton's ideas were not revolutionary to the English Protestant. Richard Eburne, in his *Plain Pathway to Plantations*, drew the same parallel. "The glory of God cannot but be much furthered thereby, were it but only that the Gospel of Christ should thereby be professed and published in such places and countries by those alone that shall remove from hence to inhabit there." The world-view of the Protestant and Puritan alike encompassed not only England, but also the distant shores of New England. If the Millennium were to be accomplished in the near future, America was to play a leading role in the struggle with Antichrist. Eburne was the first to stress the importance of the spreading of the Gospel among the Indians in order to fulfill the prophecies that John had foretold.

"Their [the Indians'] conversion," he wrote, "must be before the end of the world can be." The vocation of the English in his own day, Eburne thought,


140 Reverend Richard Eburne was Vicar of Henstridge in Somerset. Eburne's pamphlet was promoting a particular settlement in Newfoundland and advocating in general a program of expansion overseas.


142 Ibid., 27.
was the same as that of the early Christians. The "light rising first from the Jews, as from His East or Orient, is carried over all the world and hath given light to us English that sat in darkness." This light had begun with Christ in Jerusalem, spread to "Greece, Italy, Germany, France, and rose to us also, and is now making day to the Indians and Antipodes." 113

This concept, which had begun in the 1620's, became important in Colonial thought as the years progressed. The Millennial view of history permeated all areas of Puritan life, molding their motives, and controlling their conduct. The many books and pamphlets written on the subject easily attest to its importance. We find Samuel Gorton, who was mentioned earlier, sarcastically charging the Massachusetts government of John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Richard Bellingham, and Increase Nowell for "looking after, and foretelling so much of the coming of Christ, driving the day before you still for certaine years . . . , witnesse your prorogation thereof, if not to the descention of Christ from heaven to the earth, to reign certaine years, yet to the calling of the Jews, (whom ye your selves are, according to the flesh) and to the destruction of that man of sin . . . ." 114

Both John Winthrop and John Cotton, as was attested by Gorton and others, were ardent believers in the Millennium. One reason, ascribed by Winthrop, for setting said to the land where there "is sweet air, fair rivers, and plenty of springs, and the water better than in England," was

113Ibid., 28-29.
114Samuel Gorton, Simplicities Defense, 23.
"to carry the gospel into those parts of the world and to raise a bulwark against the kingdom of Antichrist which the Jesuits labour to rear up in all places of the world."  

The same ideas were postulated by John Cotton, who informed those departing from England for Massachusetts that they had a patent from heaven, by reason of "the grand Charter given to Adam and his posterity in Paradise," to preach and spread the Gospel of Christ throughout Massachusetts and among the Natives. Many of Cotton's works were devoted to an exegesis of the Book of Revelation. In a tract entitled, An Exposition upon the Thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation, he worked out in detail the meaning of this text in terms of his present age. The forty-two months of the fifth verse, he wrote, indicated 1,260 days, which were to be read as years; and, fixing the date for the first supremacy of the Pope at 395 A.D. He concluded that the end could be expected about 1655. Cotton also discussed the same matter in The Pouring Out of the Seven Vials, which was based on the sixteenth chapter of the Book of Revelation.

John Eliot also believed in the Millenial theory of Church History. In The Light appearing more and more towards the perfect day, he wrote, "the peaceable summer beginning to arise out of these distressed times of perplexity, all those signs preceding the glorious coming of Christ are

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116 Cotton, Gods Promise, 11.

117 Cotton, An Exposition upon the Thirteenth Chapter of the Revelation (London, 1655), 5-10.
accomplishing."

Two years later, Eliot in *Tears of Repentance*, related this doctrine to the reign of Cromwell, which naturally won him a friend and many supporters.

>Envy itself cannot deny that the Lord hath raised and improved You Cromwell in an Eminent manner to overthrow Antichrist, and to accomplish, in part, the Prophecies and Promises of the Churches Deliverance from that Bondage ... Now as the design of Christ in these daies is double, namely, First, To overthrow Antichrist by the Wars of the Lamb, and Secondly, To raise up His own Kingdom in the room of all Earthly Powers which He doth cast down, and to bring all the World subject to be ruled in all things by the Word of his mouth.*

These ideas, promulgated in New England, had their origins in England. In the previous chapter, the Millennial concept was treated in detail, discussing the works of Joseph Mede, Thomas Goodwin, and Henry Archer, men whose works were read throughout the Colonies and who extended a great influence upon them.

It cannot be denied that the Millennial view of Church History played an important role in the lives and thought of the people in England and New England. Their chief task, which was to be accomplished before the Millennium would be fulfilled, was the spreading and preaching of the Gospel.

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Puritan dissenters, who left England for the New World, was the spreading of the Gospel so that the Kingdom of God might be extended. But the preaching of the Word of God was not to be spread among Englishmen alone; rather, it was to go beyond them, to the Indian as well. Did not the charter of 1628 state that the purpose of the colony was to "wymn and incite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the onlie true God and Saviour of mankinde . . . ?" But why the Indian? Was he not a devil worshiper, a cohort of Satan?

The answer to this very interesting query lay in another belief promulgated in England and New England at the time. Although the Indian was considered by many as having a satanic nature, he was also believed to be a descendant of one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel. John Eliot, whose work among the Indians was explained earlier, strongly adhered to this doctrine. In his pamphlet entitled The Glorious Progress of the Gospel, amongst the Indians in New England, he discussed the origins of the Indians at some length. The purpose of this tract was a petition to Parliament requesting that body to pass the Ordinance which would create the "Company for the promoting and propagating of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England and adjacent parts in America." After a vivid description of his work among the Indians, Eliot postulated his belief that the Indians were one of the ten

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152 Records of the Governor . . . of Massachusetts, I, 17.

Lost Tribes of Israel. "I find," he wrote, "that they have a traditional belief in God, viewing him as their father and the Creator of their universe. When they pray, the word employed to address their God is 'Father.'"154 Many of the words used in their conversation are of Hebraic roots, a fact which strengthened Eliot all the more in his doctrine.155 Many of the Indians spoke of their family trees and their forefathers whom, they believed, had migrated from a distant land unknown to them. Eliot believed this to have meant that the Indians were of the race of men, descendants, in order, of Adam, Noah, and those Asiatic Tartars who had come to America by a landbridge from northern Asia.156 Another factor, which confirmed his understanding, was their concept of good and evil. The Sachem was considered head of the tribe; it was to him that they looked for advice.157 Did not the Israelites have the same tradition? These pamphlets were read in England, and were written to help promulgate the work of the New England Company.

Another tract, from which Eliot received some of his later ideas, was Thomas Thorowgood's Jews in America.158 Like Eliot, Thorowgood believed that the Indians had descended from Adam and Noah. They had wandered for many

154Ibid., 22. 155Ibid., 22.
156Ibid., 24-25. 157Ibid., 27.
158Thomas Thorowgood was a minister of the Gospel in the County of Norfolk and did much to aid Eliot and the Company.
generations across Asia, slowly making their way to America and New England. But his real arguments lay in the similarity between the American Indians and the Jews. Many of the religious rites and customs of the Indians were the same as those of the Judaic tradition; their words and manner of speech were the same; they wore garments fashioned as the Jews, "a single coate, a square little cloake, and go barefoot." The most interesting of his arguments was based on the Indian tradition of circumcision. Just as it was common among the Jews to circumcise their children, so also was it a frequent occurrence among the Indians. The real proof, he felt, lay in the fact that the Indians themselves acknowledged the fact that they were one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel.

Thorowgood's Tract did not go unnoticed. Sir Harman L'Estrange's Americans no Jewes, or Impossibilities that the Americans are of that race, was a direct attack upon him. But Thorowgood did not remain silent. In 1660 he published his second edition to the work entitled, Jews in America, or Probabilities, that those Indians are Judaical, made more probable by some Additionals to the former Conjectures. In the "Epistle Dedicatory" he mentioned the great number of contributions he had received for the Indians since his previous publication. The present work, he wrote, was dedicated to those people in Norfolk who had proved their desire to return one of the

159 Thomas Thorowgood, Jews in America (London, 1650), Part One.

160 Thorowgood, Jews in America (London, 1660), 2.
Lost Tribes of Israel to the fold of Christ. Published with the second edition was a lengthy letter from John Eliot describing his work with the Indians in order to prove their Judaic background.

Thomas Thorowgood, John Eliot, Edward Winslow, and a group of English Puritan ministers were not content with merely proving that the Indians were one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel. Their argument penetrated to the core of the Millennial theory. Their age, they felt, was the age in which the Millennium would be accomplished. If this were to happen, the conversion of the Indians (Jews) was necessary. In the 1650 edition of Thomas Thorowgood's *Jewes in America*, he wrote, we (Englishmen) should rejoice in the fact that the Jews are being converted "for certainly the time is coming, That as there is one Shepherd, there shall be one Sheepfold." This edition, as well as the 1660 edition, was written to the people of Norfolk for contributions to the spreading of the Gospel in New England. As was mentioned above, Thorowgood made this clear in his "Epistle Dedicatory." Judging from the 1660 edition, he was successful and listed the names of those who had contributed, thanking them and encouraging others to do the same.

The same argument is found in *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel*,

161 Ibid., 1. 
162 Ibid., 25-42. 
165 Ibid., 1660 edition, 1.
amongst the Indians in New England, published by Edward Winslow in 1619. The "Epistle Dedicatory" was addressed to Parliament and the Council of State. As was mentioned above, its purpose was to convince them to pass the bill for the incorporation of the New England Company. It began with a question. What happened to the ten Lost Tribes of Israel? Winslow answered by stating that one of these tribes was in America, and that the Puritan ministers in that country were making progress in their conversion. That they were Jews was proven in several different ways. His first argument was based upon authority. A certain Rabbi-ben-Israel, a Jewish doctor, living in Amsterdam, had attested to the fact. Another great sign was the conversions that were going on at the time. "Especially considering the juncture of time wherein God hath opened their hearts to entertain the Gospel, being so nigh the very years, in which many eminent and learned Divines have from Scripture grounds, according to their apprehensions foretold the conversion of the Jews." 166

After putting forth his arguments Winslow then praised the Parliament for the work they had done and asked them to continue this work by passing the bill which would establish the New England Company. He appealed to the doctrine of the Millennium. "God hath set a signall mark of his presence upon your Assembly, in strengthening your hands to redeem and preserve the civill Rights of the Common-weale." He then asked them to continue their work by spreading the kingdom of God throughout the world. 167


167 Ibid., Epistle Dedicatory.
In the same pamphlet, John Downham, an English minister, wrote an "Appendix to the foregoing Letters, holding forth Conjectures, Observations, and Applications" that the American Indians are one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel. The nature of the letter was propagandistic and it continually appealed to the Millennial theory as a motivational force in encouraging Parliament to establish the New England Company and in asking the people of England to give to such a worthy cause. "The palpable and present acts of providence, the conversion of the Indians doe more than hint the approach of Jesus Christ; And the Generall consent of many judicious, and godly Divines, doth induce considering minds to beleive, that the conversion of the Jewes is at hand." The Indians, he wrote, "may be as the first fruits of the glorious harvest, of Israel's redemption." In the next part of the letter, he put forth his arguments proving that the Indians were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel. They were much the same as Eliot's and Thoroughgood's conjectures, based on the fact that they believed in many things similar to that of the Judaic tradition. At the end of the letter he made a final appeal to Parliament and to the people of England to give to the missionaries. For motivation he once again appealed to the Millennium. "These and the like considerations prevale with me to entertain (at least) a Conjecture, that these Indians in America, may be

168 Ibid., 1. The names of these ministers were listed by Winslow. They were Marshall, Downham, T. Goodwin, Whitaker, Nye, Case, Calamy, Simpson, Ash, Greenhill, Carter, and Bolton. It should be noted that Marshall, T. Goodwin, Case, and Calamy discussed the Millennium in many of their sermons. Cf. Chapter V.

169 Ibid., 22-28.
Jews (especially of the ten Tribes.) And therefore to hope that the work of Christ among them, may be as a preparatory to his own appearing." At this point it cannot be argued that the Millenial theory of Church History was not a motivational force in the establishment of the New England Company. In the "Eliot Tracts" that followed, the Millennium was often referred to along with the conversion of the Indians as one of the Lost Tribes of Israel.

It must be mentioned, however, that although many ministers in England and New England assented to the doctrine that the Indians were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, they did not all agree as to when they would be converted. Some held that they were to be converted before the overthrow of Antichrist, while others, drawing upon the Book of Revelation, chapter fifteen, for support, felt they must wait until after Antichrist had been destroyed. John Cotton, who was one of the chief exponents of this position, frequently had his doubts as to the solidity of such a doctrine. "Yet, nevertheless," he conceded, "that hindereth not, but that some sprinklings, and gleanings of them may be brought home to Christ, as now and then some Proselytes were brought into the fellowship of the Church of Israel." It was on this point, as on many others, that Robert Baillie took issue with Cotton. He regarded this "both a groundless and exceeding unseasonable fancie, too apt, if not guarded against, to discourage and cool

170Ibid., 28.

the most laudable fit of zeal, that God has lately wakened in the breasts of many gracious brethren."\textsuperscript{172}

However, the concept of the Millennium and that of the Indians as one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel can only be judged by its impact on later generations. Its roots lay in the earlier history of the Colonies, and spread rapidly during the 1650's and thereafter. Judging from the writings of Samuel Sewall, Cotton Mather, Increase Mather, and others, it can be postulated that the ideas of Eliot, Thoro good, and the other Puritan ministers had a considerable influence. In 1681, Samuel Sewall asked "why the Heart of America may not be the seat of the New Jerusalem?"\textsuperscript{173} Assured that the Indians were of Jacob's posterity, he concluded that America would be the site of the New Jerusalem, fixing its location somewhere in Mexico.\textsuperscript{174} But Cotton Mather, who could suggest that the "last conflict with antichrist would be to the westward," based his arguments on a more spacious geographical knowledge. Somewhere in "the brave Countries and Gardens, which fill the American Hemisphere," would be the "Holy City in America; a City, the Street whereof will be Pure Gold."\textsuperscript{175} These ideas remained popular throughout the eighteenth-century and are even found in many of the early nineteenth-century

\textsuperscript{172}Robert Baillie, \textit{The Dissuasive Vindicated} (London, 1655), 42.

\textsuperscript{173}Samuel Sewall, "The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729," \textit{Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society} (Boston, 1878-1882), 5th series, V, 56.

\textsuperscript{174}Ibid., V, 56.

\textsuperscript{175}Cotton Mather, \textit{Magnalia}, II, 97.
writers. Both Thomas Jefferson and Samuel Stanhope Smith held that the
color of the American Indians showed basic resemblances to those of
Northern Asiatic peoples. Their arguments, based on the old traditions and
scientific research, concluded that physical and linguistic similarities
between the two nations proved their blood relationship. 176

In this chapter we have attempted to draw a picture of the Puritan
concept of New England from the beginning of colonization to 1660. When
John Winthrop and the early Puritans set sail for New England, they
envisioned themselves as the Israelites, who had wandered forty years in the
desert in search of the Promised Land. For the Puritans New England was
their Promised Land; it was here that they would establish the New Canaan, the
New Jerusalem. And as the years progressed, the encounter with the Indians
soon led many to believe that they were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel, who
had wandered for years until they, too, had reached New England. It was the
task of the Puritan to convert them, to return them to the fold of Christ,
in order that the Millennium, which was close at hand, might be accomplished.
Both John Eliot and Thomas Thoroagood were most enthusiastic about this
concept, and their arguments were promulgated in the pamphlets they wrote for
the New England Company. These pamphlets were propagandistic in nature,
written in such a manner to motivate those in England who might contribute to
the Company.

176Roy Harvey Pearson, The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and
CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this essay we broached the question of motivation. The reasons for such a query were three: the discontent between England and New England, the shallowness of missionary activities, and the problems of the New England Company. But a glance at the Ledger for the years 1650-1660 lead one to believe that the Company was a success.\textsuperscript{177} The natural response to this investigation was, why were they successful? In Chapters II, III, and IV the problems that the New England Company had to encounter were discussed.

Chapter II dealt with the political, economic, and religious differences that developed between England and New England. England, at the time, was in a state of political turmoil. The Civil War began with the political struggle between King and Parliament; it ended with the religious conflict between Independents and Presbyterians. The result was the acceptance of religious toleration. New England, on the other hand, was politically stable, but her religious policies were all but tolerant. Thanks but to the Civil War, New England's charter would otherwise have been revoked for its

\textsuperscript{177}The amount of money contributed which is cited by George Parker Winship in The New England Company of 1649 is £15,910. 15s. 6d.
intolerant policies. In 1649, therefore the Colonies and England were not on the best of terms.

Chapter III brought out another problem that would plague the chartering of the New England Company. If this Company were to be established to collect money for the missionaries in New England, how does one explain the lack of missionary activity? Were there not only two ministers, John Eliot and Thomas Mayhew, involved in the work? The "Eliot Tracts" were an attempt to solve this problem, but certainly questions and doubts must have arisen.

Chapter IV dealt with one of the Company's biggest problems—the work of the New England Company itself. Many Englishmen felt that the New England Company was mismanaging its funds. It appeared that they were correct. Parliament, disturbed with the reports it had received, ordered an investigation. The Company was forced to submit a report of all her transactions, and certain restrictions were laid down. This would certainly make an Englishman hesitate before contributing to the missionaries. However, the Company was a success. Why?

In the last two chapters an attempt was made to answer the queries which arose in Chapters II, III, and IV. The Millennium was a widespread doctrine in both England and New England. Inherent in this theory was the preaching of the Gospel and the conversion of the Jews. The Indians, who were considered by many as one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel, must, therefore, be

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178 The Massachusetts charter was finally revoked in 1684. However, three other attempts were made earlier, but due to domestic problems, England could never enforce it.
converted before the Millennium was to be accomplished.

In Chapter V a survey of the development and application of the Millennium was drawn. Of the sermons discussed, most of their authors had signed the "Eliot Tracts," which leads one to believe that they were interested in the Company. It can also be concluded that they may have adapted Eliot's doctrines to many of their own sermons. But actually to put one's hands on a sermon preached by Edmund Calamy and Stephen Marshall or others, whose purpose was to urge contributions to the New England Company, is virtually impossible in this country. Whether or not they are available in England is another question. It can only be concluded that they did use the Millennium in many different instances. It seems that they also could have employed the theory in their promotion of the New England Company.

In Chapter VI it was pointed out how these ideas were spread throughout England in the promotion literature published by the New England Company. But to what extent such a theory actually played in motivating the English to contribute to the Company, is hard to calculate. Thomas Thorowgood, although not mentioning any definite amount of money collected, did dedicate the second edition of his Jews in America to those who had contributed to the Company. He listed twenty persons, all of whom were from Norfolk.179 Whether his pamphlet was distributed beyond Norfolk or not, is hard to determine. However, if we take into consideration the popularity of the

179 There we three ministers who signed Thorowgood's pamphlet: Edward Reynolds, Edmund Calamy, John Durie, and Simeon Ashe. Two of these, Ashe and Calamy, were of the group of ministers in London who backed the New England Company.
Millennial theory and the numerous ways in which it was employed, we can make a strong assertion that it was more than likely used in some of the sermons preached before the many congregations that were requested to contribute.

Thomas Thorowgood was not the only Englishman to use the Millennial Theory in his promotion literature. Edward Winslow, John Eliot, and John Downham made explicit reference to the importance of the conversion of one of the ten Lost Tribes of Israel in *The Glorious Progress of the Gospel*. This work, published in 1649, was written as a motivational force to encourage Parliament to pass the bill establishing the New England Company. John Downham, who was a member of the group of English ministers promoting the Company, wrote an Appendix to the pamphlet giving further proof of the theory.

Finally, taking these factors into consideration, it can be stated that the Millennial theory of Church History, the preaching of the Gospel, and the belief that the Indians were one of the Lost Tribes of Israel were employed in the promotion literature published by the New England Company. These ideas, therefore, were considered by the Company as motivational forces, which would urge the people of England to contribute to a Christian cause—the conversion of the American Indians. From the successful monetary results of the New England Company for the years 1650-1660, we can conclude that such a motivational force was accepted by those in England who were willing to contribute to the preaching of the Gospel in New England.
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The thesis submitted by Mr. Paul J. Borgmann, S.J.
has been read and approved by the director of the
thesis. Furthermore, the final copies have been examined
by the director and the signature which appears below
verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been
incorporated, and that the thesis is now given final
approval with reference to content and form.

The thesis is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

[Signature]

[Date]

Signature of Adviser