

Unit 3

UTOPIAN PROMISE

Puritan and Quaker Utopian Visions
1620–1750

Authors and Works

Featured in the Video:

John Winthrop, “A Model of Christian Charity” (sermon) and *The Journal of John Winthrop* (journal)
Mary Rowlandson, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson* (captivity narrative)
William Penn, “Letter to the Lenni Lenapi Chiefs” (letter)

Discussed in This Unit:

William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation* (history)
Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan* (satire)
Anne Bradstreet, poems
Edward Taylor, poems
Sarah Kemble Knight, *The Private Journal of a Journey from Boston to New York* (travel narrative)
John Woolman, *The Journal of John Woolman* (journal) and “Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes” (essay)
Samson Occom, *A Short Narrative of My Life* (autobiography) and “Sermon Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul, a Mohegan” (sermon)

Overview Questions

■ What different European and Native American groups inhabited the eastern shores of North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? What kinds of strategies did they adopt in order to forge community identities? What and whom did they exclude? What and whom did they embrace? How did their respective visions and ideals undermine, overlap, and compete with one another?

■ What qualities characterize the jeremiad form? How do jeremiads work to condemn a community's

spiritual decline while at the same time reaffirming the community's identity and promise?

■ How did the Puritans use typology to understand and justify their experiences in the world?

■ How did the image of America as a “vast and unpeopled country” shape European immigrants' attitudes and ideals? How did they deal with the fact that millions of Native Americans already inhabited the land that they had come over to claim?

■ How did the Puritans' sense that they were living in the “end time” impact their culture? Why is apocalyptic imagery so prevalent in Puritan iconography and literature?

■ What is plain style? What values and beliefs influenced the development of this mode of expression?

■ Why has the jeremiad remained a central component of the rhetoric of American public life?

■ How do Puritan and Quaker texts work to form enduring myths about America's status as a chosen nation? About its inclusiveness and tolerance? About its role as a “City on a Hill” that should serve as an example to the rest of the world?

■ Are there texts, or passages in texts, in this unit that challenge the myths created by the dominant society?

■ Why are the Puritans, more than any other early immigrant group, considered such an important starting point for American national culture?

Learning Objectives

After students have viewed the video, read the headnotes and literary selections in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*, and explored related archival materials on the *American Passages* Web site, they should be able to

1. discuss the variety of ways in which European settlers imagined Native Americans;

2. understand how myths about America's foundation were formulated, debated, and challenged by these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers;
3. explain the basic theological principles of the Quaker and Puritan faiths;
4. understand how the physical hardships of immigration and the challenges of living and traveling in unfamiliar landscapes shaped the culture of European immigrants in the New World.

Instructor Overview

Borrowing a phrase from the New England Calvinist minister Samuel Danforth, the historian Perry Miller described the Puritans who came to America to form the Massachusetts Bay Colony as having embarked upon an “errand into the wilderness.” Here, the metaphor of the “errand” captures the immigrants’ belief that they were on a sacred mission, ordained by God, to create a model community and thereby fulfill a divine covenant. While Miller was interested in the specific errand the Massachusetts Bay Colony Puritans envisioned for themselves, we might use his notion of the “errand” to consider the motivations behind the journeys of other groups who came to North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. What kind of errand did the Quakers in Pennsylvania believe they had embarked upon? The Pilgrims at Plymouth? The Anglicans, Catholics, and Sephardic Jews who also settled on the East Coast in the seventeenth century? Whatever they believed their errands to be, New World settlers were confronted with a variety of challenges—the physical difficulty of living in an unfamiliar land, friction with other immigrant groups, dissent within their own communities, conflicts with Native Americans—that complicated their attempts to create ideal communities. Unit 3, “The Promised Land,” examines the Utopian visions and dystopic fears represented in the works of William Bradford, Thomas Morton, John Winthrop, Anne Bradstreet, Mary Rowlandson, Edward Taylor, William Penn, Sarah Kemble Knight, John Woolman, and Samson Occom. This unit provides contextual background and classroom materials that explore how these early texts contributed to American literary traditions and helped create enduring myths about America.

The video for Unit 3 focuses on three texts that together represent the diverse early American visions of “the promised land.” John Winthrop’s sermon “A Model of Christian Charity,” Mary Rowlandson’s narrative of her captivity among the Narragansett and Wampanoag Indians, and William Penn’s “Letter to the Lenni Lenape Indians” all participate in a tradition of understanding personal and communal experience as the working of God’s will. Thematically, stylistically, and generically, however, the texts are very distinct from one another, revealing important differences in the authors’ religious convictions and positions within their communities.

Winthrop, a wealthy man and a leader within his Puritan congregation, delivered his lay sermon on board the ship *Arbella* before disembarking in Massachusetts. The sermon serves as an optimistic blueprint for the ideal Christian community, or “City upon a Hill,” extolling the virtues of a clear social and spiritual hierarchy, interpreting the Puritan mission as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy, and exhorting fellow congregants to maintain their purity. A generation later, Rowlandson wrote from a different Puritan perspective, as a woman held captive by Native Americans whom she viewed as agents of the devil. Her narrative of her wanderings and sufferings is an example of a Jeremiad, recounting the “trials and afflictions” that destroyed her earlier spiritual complacency and testifying to the sweetness of her repentance and eventual salvation. Penn, a Quaker and the wealthy proprietor of the Pennsylvania land charter, took an entirely different view of Native Americans in his letter to the Delaware Indians, written before he left England for the New World. His text is imbued with the tolerance and pacifism of Quaker belief, envisioning a utopian community in which Europeans and Native Americans would “live soberly & kindly together.”

The video’s coverage of Winthrop, Rowlandson, and Penn introduces students to these writers’ influential utopian and dystopian visions of the promise of America. How do these texts serve to form enduring myths about America’s status as a chosen nation? About its role as an example to the rest of the world? About its inclusiveness? How do these early visions of America’s status overlap, undermine, or compete with one another? Unit 3 helps answer these questions by offering suggestions on how to connect these writers to their cultural contexts, to other units in the series, and to other key writers of

the era. The curriculum materials help fill in the video's introduction to early articulations of "the promised land" by exploring writers who represent other, diverse traditions, such as Samson Occom (a Native American Calvinist minister), William Bradford (a Separatist Puritan), Thomas Morton (an Anglican protestor of Puritan doctrine), and many others.

The video, the archive, and the curriculum materials contextualize the writers of this era by examining several key stylistic characteristics and religious doctrines that shape their texts: (1) the role of typology—the Puritans' understanding of their lives as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy on both a communal and an individual level; (2) the importance of plain style—a mode of expression characterized by simplicity, accessibility, and the absence of ornament—in Puritan and Quaker speech, writing, clothing, architecture, furniture, and visual arts; (3) the diversity of Puritan and Quaker attitudes toward and ways of interacting with Native Americans; (4) the centrality of the Apocalypse, or the end of the world as it is prophesied in the Book of Revelation, to Puritan thought; and (5) the relevance of weaned affections—the idea that individuals must learn to wean themselves from earthly loves and focus only on spiritual matters—as a theological doctrine.

The archive and curriculum materials suggest how students might connect the readings in this unit to those in other units in the series. Students might ask, for example, Why are the Puritans considered such an important starting point for American culture and literature? Why do later writers such as Nathaniel Hawthorne and Louise Erdrich invoke the Puritans in their own work? How do Rowlandson's and Penn's perceptions of Native Americans compare to Christopher Columbus's, Thomas Harriot's, and John Smith's perceptions? How do the Native American perspectives offered in Unit 1 complicate Puritan and Quaker understandings of Indian culture? Why does Winthrop's metaphor of the "City on a Hill" resonate so deeply in American culture? How are the Utopian visions of the writers in Unit 3 adopted, reformulated, or undermined in the work of writers presented in later units?

Student Overview

Unit 3, "The Promised Land," explores the literatures and cultures produced by the different European and Native American groups who inhabited the eastern shores of North America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Many of the immigrant groups discussed in this unit—Puritans, Quakers, Anglicans, and others—arrived in the "New World" with optimistic plans for creating model societies that would fulfill God's will on earth. Most groups almost immediately encountered challenges that threatened those plans. The physical difficulties of living in an unfamiliar land, friction with other immigrant groups, dissent within their own communities, and conflicts with Native Americans complicated and undermined their attempts to build ideal communities. While groups such as the Puritans and the Quakers failed to turn their utopian dreams into realities, their visions, ideals, and even ideologies have left an indelible mark on conceptions of American national identity and continue to influence American literary traditions.

As the video demonstrates, John Winthrop's "A Model of Christian Charity," Mary Rowlandson's narrative of her captivity among the Narragansett Indians, and William Penn's "Letter to the Lenni Lenape Indians" all participate in a tradition of understanding personal and communal experience as the working of God's will. From Winthrop's vision of the Puritan congregation as "a City on a Hill" to Rowlandson's nightmarish account of personal and communal sin and redemption to Penn's idealistic commitment to peace and tolerance in his dealings with Native Americans, these texts demonstrate a shared belief in America's promise, even as they offer very different perspectives on how that promise should be realized. The study guide for Unit 3 also explores the diversity of early American visions of "the promised land" by examining the works of other writers from the period, such as William Bradford, Thomas Morton, Anne Bradstreet, Edward Taylor, Sarah Kemble Knight, John Woolman, and Samson Occom. The "Core Contexts" materials offer background on the religious doctrines, historical events, and stylistic developments that shaped the literature of this period.

A belief in America's potential to become an ideal society unites all of the writers discussed in Unit 3. Although the texts presented here offer radically

different conceptions of an ideal society, they all participate in the formation of enduring myths that continue to shape our literary traditions and our national imagination: the ideas that America is a “chosen” nation, that America should be a beacon to

the rest of the world, that America is a land of inclusiveness and tolerance, to name a few. For better and for worse, these early American texts helped create these ideas about America.

Video Overview

- **Authors covered:** John Winthrop, Mary Rowlandson, William Penn
- **Who’s interviewed:** Gary Nash, award-winning author and professor of American history (UCLA); Michael J. Colacurcio, professor of American literary and intellectual history (UCLA); Priscilla Wald, professor of American literature (Duke); Emory Elliott, professor of English (UC, Riverside)
- **Points covered:**
 - Description of the diverse early settlers in America and their diverse utopian visions and expectations for the New World.
 - Introduction to the Puritans and their belief in their own status as God’s “chosen people.” John Winthrop’s “Model of Christian Charity” explicates the nature of their “sacred errand” and outlines a blueprint for the model Puritan community.
 - Mary Rowlandson’s narrative of her captivity among the Narragansett Indians offers a later, more dystopian vision of New England. Her text functions as a jeremiad, denouncing the sinfulness of her society, urging repentance, and providing a model for salvation. Louise Erdrich’s 1984 poem “Captivity” offers a contemporary reinterpretation of Rowlandson’s experience.
 - Introduction to the Quakers and their commitment to nonviolence, tolerance, and inclusiveness. Penn’s “Letter to the Lenni Lenape Indians” shows a respect for Native Americans’ culture and rights that is quite different from Puritan attitudes toward Native Americans. Theological differences between the Quakers and the Puritans led to hostility and persecution.
 - Internal doubts and external enemies plagued the Puritans, as evidenced by the witchcraft trials of the 1690s. Neither Quakers nor Puritans succeed in creating perfect communities, but they are the sources of lasting myths and guiding principles that have shaped America over the centuries.

PREVIEW

- **Preview the video:** In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Puritans, Quakers, and other European immi-

grant groups arrived in the “New World” with optimistic plans to create utopian societies that would fulfill God’s will on earth. John Winthrop’s “A Model of Christian Charity,” Mary Rowlandson’s narrative of her captivity among the Narragansett Indians, and William Penn’s “Letter to the Lenni Lenape Indians” all participate in a tradition of understanding personal and communal experience as the working of divine will. From Winthrop’s vision of the Puritan congregation as “a City on a Hill” to Rowlandson’s nightmarish account of personal and communal sin and redemption to Penn’s idealistic commitment to peace and tolerance in his dealings with Native Americans, these texts demonstrate a shared belief in America’s promise, even as they offer very different perspectives on how that promise should be realized. While groups like the Puritans and the Quakers failed to turn their utopian dreams into realities, their visions, ideals, and even ideologies have left an indelible mark on American conceptions of national identity and continue to shape American literary traditions.

- **What to think about while watching:** How did the Puritans and Quakers respond to the social and political pressures caused by their immigration to a “New World”? How did they react when they came into contact with other immigrant groups and with Native Americans? How do the writers and texts explored in the video formulate enduring myths about America? How have their values and beliefs shaped American culture and literature?
- **Tying the video to the unit content:** Unit 3 builds on the concepts outlined in the video to further explore the diversity of the utopian visions and dystopic fears that shaped the early American experience. The curriculum materials offer background on Puritan and Quaker writers and texts not featured in the video, as well as information about some of the other religious and cultural traditions that developed in America. The unit offers contextual background to flesh out the video’s introduction to the historical events, theological beliefs, and stylistic characteristics that shaped Puritan and Quaker literature.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS FOR THE VIDEO

	<i>What characteristics of a literary work make it influential over time?</i>	<i>How are American myths created, challenged, and reimagined in the literature of this period?</i>	<i>What is American literature? What are the distinctive voices and styles in American literature? How do social and political issues influence the American canon?</i>
Video Comprehension Questions	What is new about Penn's "Letter to the Lenni Lenape"? How does he view Native Americans? How is his attitude toward Native Americans different from the Puritans' attitudes toward them?	What did John Winthrop mean when he proclaimed that New England would be "as a City on a Hill"? What benefits and responsibilities would such status incur for a community?	What are the characteristics of a jeremiad? How does Mary Rowlandson's text function as a jeremiad?
Context Questions	What is typology? What events and institutions did the Puritans choose to understand typologically? How did typology help them make sense of the world and their position within it?	How did internal doubts and external enemies problematize and challenge the Puritans' conception of their "sacred errand"? How did Native Americans and "witches" fit into the Puritans' sense of their mission?	Why do you think Louise Erdrich chose to reimagine Mary Rowlandson's experience in her poem "Captivity"? How does Erdrich's poem both draw from and challenge Rowlandson's narrative?
Exploratory Questions	Can you think of later, post-Puritan examples of jeremiads? Where can you see the influence of the jeremiad form in contemporary literature, culture, and politics? Why has the jeremiad remained a central component of the rhetoric of American public life?	How have Quaker beliefs and convictions influenced the development of American values?	Why do you think the Puritans, more than any other early immigrant group, have historically been considered the starting point for the United States's national culture? Why did leaders such as John F. Kennedy and Ronald Reagan choose to invoke John Winthrop's "City on a Hill" image in their late-twentieth-century speeches?

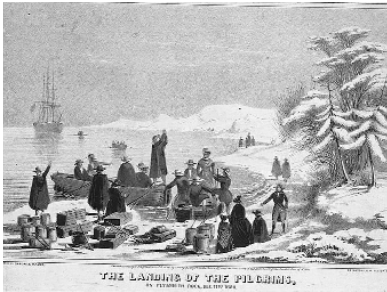
TIMELINE

	Texts	Contexts
1620s	Mayflower Compact (1620)	Plymouth Colony (1620)
1630s	William Bradford, <i>Of Plymouth Plantation</i> (1630–50 [pub. 1868]) John Winthrop, <i>A Model of Christian Charity</i> (1630) Thomas Morton, <i>New English Canaan</i> (1637)	Thirty Years Wars of religion across Europe (1618–48) Antinomian Controversy (1635–37) Massachusetts Bay Colony (1630) Pequot War (1637)
1640s	Anne Bradstreet, poetry (1642–69)	English Civil War (1642–48) Revolution, Charles I executed (1649) Cromwell's Puritan Commonwealth (1649–61)

TIMELINE (continued)

	Texts	Contexts
1650s	Anne Bradstreet, poetry (1642–69), <i>The Tenth Muse</i> (1650)	First Quakers to New England Halfway Covenant on problem of unconverted youth (1657–62) Boston authorities hang four Quakers (1659–60)
1660s		Charles II made king (1660) War with Duch; English annex New Netherland (New York) (1664)
1670s	Edward Taylor, poetry (1674–98)	King Philip's War (1675)
1680s	William Penn, "Letter to the Lenni Lenape [Delaware] Indians" (1681) Mary Rowlandson, <i>Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration</i> (1682)	Pennsylvania founded (1681–82) Glorious Revolution removes Catholic James II; John Locke asserts principle of consent of governed (1688) War with France (1689–97)
1690s	Cotton Mather, <i>The Wonders of the Invisible World</i> (1693)	Salem witchcraft trials & executions (1692–93) Judge Samuel Sewall openly prays for forgiveness for Salem trials
1700s	Sarah Kemble Knight, <i>Journal</i> (written 1704–05, pub. 1825) Samuel Sewall, <i>The Selling of Joseph</i> , first American anti-slavery tract (1700)	War with France (1702–13) Eighteenth-century secularization of New England, growth of liberal philosophies, deism, scientific rationalism, imperial trade and mercantilism
1730s	Jonathan Edwards, revivalist writings (1735–40s)	"Great Awakening," a revitalization of piety and enthusiastic religion that swept the British American colonies (1735–40s)
1740s		Peak years of British slave trade, involving New England shipping, southern colonies, Caribbean (1720–80) War with France (1744–48)
1750s	John Woolman, <i>Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes</i> (1745 [pub. 1754])	Emergence of organized religious anti-slavery in England (1750s) War with France (1754–63)
1760s	Samson Occom, <i>Narrative</i> (1768 [pub. 1982]) Briton Hammon, <i>Narrative</i> first ex-slave narrative	French cede Canada and claims to Indian lands east of Mississippi River to British (1763)
1770s	John Woolman, "Journal" (1774)	American Revolution (1775–83) Declaration of Independence (1776)

AUTHOR/TEXT REVIEW



[6324] Sarony and Major, *The Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, Dec. 11th, 1620* (1846), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZC4-4311].

William Bradford (1590–1657)

Born in 1590 in Yorkshire, England, William Bradford was orphaned at a young age and reared by his grandparents and uncles to be a farmer. Bradford broke with his family in early adolescence, affiliating himself with the **Separatist Puritans** and thereby making a religious commitment that would profoundly influence the course of his life. The Separatists dreamed of creating a purified religious community, free of the hierarchies and worldly rituals that they felt contaminated the Church of England. The sect was known as “Separatist” because, unlike most Puritan congregations, it rejected the Church of England entirely instead of attempting to reform it from within. Bradford and his fellow Separatists paid a high price for their controversial beliefs: religious persecution led them to flee England for safer harbors in Holland and eventually in America.

In 1620, Bradford and part of the congregation to which he belonged set sail for America on the *Mayflower*, bringing with them a patent granting them land in the territory of Virginia, where they hoped to set up their ideal church. Bad weather pushed them off course, and they landed well north of Virginia on the coast of what is now Plymouth, Massachusetts. There they began the difficult work of establishing a community in unfamiliar, and sometimes hostile, territory. Bradford was elected governor in 1621 and occupied that office, with only brief intermissions, until his death in 1657. In 1630 he began writing *Of Plymouth Plantation*, the history of his “Pilgrims” religious and civil settlement in the New World.

Bradford’s literary reputation depends, as scholar David Levin puts it, “as much on the quality of his historical intelligence as on the virtues of his style.” Indeed, Bradford’s text has long been celebrated for the “plain style” he endorses in its first paragraph. His simple yet artful prose, characterized by finely tuned sentences based upon the language and cadences of the Geneva Bible, is often regarded as a model of a specifically American style of writing. But, as Levin points out, Bradford’s text is no less notable for its historiographic project, a complex balance of religious exhortation and unvarnished reportage. Clearly, *Of Plymouth Plantation* is meant to serve as an account of God’s design in planting the Plymouth colony, interpreting events that might seem random or even commonplace to modern readers as evidence of God’s hand at work on earth. Bradford’s history extols the purity and strength of the first settlers in order to inspire subsequent generations to greater sanctity, combating what he perceived to be the spiritual decline of the community in the years following the initial settlement. While Bradford’s desire to read God’s will in the history of Plymouth colors his text—and frequently skews his understanding of non-Puritan people—his tendency toward exhortation is often balanced by an unflinching commitment to historical accuracy. He is surprisingly blunt in relating some of the troubles that plagued the Plymouth community, from rancorous differences between leaders to upsetting cases of sexual deviance among congregants. The result is a

complicated, engaging document that has become an integral part of the mythology concerning the foundation of America.

TEACHING TIPS

■ Bradford wrote Book I of *Of Plymouth Plantation* in 1630 and Book II from about 1644 to 1650. The dates of composition are significant because they mark periods of crisis in the Plymouth settlement's sense of its own purpose and worth. In 1630, the **non-separating Puritans** led by John Winthrop arrived in nearby Massachusetts Bay. Not only did this group represent a competing strain of Puritanism, but it also was better funded than the Plymouth colony and in possession of a more legitimate charter to the New England territory (in fact, it would absorb the Plymouth group in 1691). In the late 1640s, Puritans led by Oliver Cromwell transformed the political and religious situation in Old England, making the American Puritans' project seem somewhat redundant and certainly less novel. Once you alert students to the historical contexts that inform the two parts of Bradford's text, you might ask them to consider how these events color Bradford's account. To some extent, his decision to recount the Plymouth group's voyage and landing seems to be a way of defending their primacy among New England settlers. How might his account of the hardships the group faced upon landing affirm their claim both to the land and to spiritual purity? You might also examine how Bradford's tone and outlook changed in the fourteen years that elapsed between the writing of Book I and Book II.

■ It is useful to point out that Bradford differs from most early American writers in portraying Native Americans as *immediately* hostile: in *Of Plymouth Plantation* the natives first run from the Puritans and then attack them with arrows before any other kind of contact can be established. Bradford's low estimation of the Indians is evident in his brutal, graphic account of the Plymouth group's genocidal war against the Pequots in Chapter XXVIII. For Bradford, the bloodiness and horror of the war seemed "a sweet sacrifice, and they [the Puritans] gave praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands. . . ." You might ask students to analyze what assumptions lay behind Bradford's hatred of the Native Americans (he describes them as animals in Chapter IV) and how those assumptions were used to justify the colonization of Native American land.

■ Bradford's account of the Plymouth group's conflict with Thomas Morton and Morton's "consorts" at Merrymount is worth careful analysis and discussion, both because it provides insight into how the Puritans dealt with people who did not share their values and beliefs (both Native Americans and the English, in this case) and because it will serve as useful background when students read Morton's version of events in *New English Canaan*. You might ask students to consider whether Bradford is more outraged by what he perceives as Morton's "licentiousness" in matters of drink and sex or by Morton's decision to sell guns to Indians in exchange for fur pelts.

BRADFORD WEB ARCHIVE

[6324] Sarony and Major, *The Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, Dec. 11th, 1620* (1846), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZC4-4311]. Although no evidence directly links the *Mayflower's* 1620 landing to Plymouth Rock, this location has come to represent the birthplace of English settlement in New England.

[6326] Jean Leon Gerome Ferris, *The First Thanksgiving 1621* (1932), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-15915]. The Thanksgiving holiday has gained mythic status through representations of the event as a critical occasion of the Plymouth colony.

[6726] A. W. Anderson, *Plymouth Rock, in Front of Pilgrim Hall, 1834* (1909), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-97130]. Although no evidence directly links the *Mayflower's* 1620 landing to Plymouth Rock, for many this location represents the birthplace of English settlement in New England.

[6940] Anonymous, *Contemporary Model/Recreation of the Mayflower* (2000–2001), courtesy of Plimoth Plantation, Inc. Thousands of tourists visit this model of the *Mayflower* each year, contributing to the Puritans' mythic status as the original American settlers.

■ In 1994, Sophie Cabot Black composed “Arguments,” a series of poems in which she dramatizes the *Mayflower* landing from the perspective of Dorothy Bradford (William's wife), who died soon after the Separatist Puritans' arrival in the New World. Ask students to compare William Bradford's narrative of the *Mayflower* landing in *Of Plymouth Plantation* with Cabot Black's version of Dorothy Bradford's feelings about reaching America in “Landfall. 20th of November.” How does Cabot Black revise William Bradford's narrative? Why did she choose Dorothy Bradford as the subject for her poems? See Sophie Cabot Black, *The Misunderstanding of Nature* (St. Paul, MN: Graywolf, 1994).

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: In Chapter IV, Bradford refers to America as a “vast and unpeopled” country, but his subsequent account of the Plymouth settlement attests to the fact that the land was far from uninhabited. What other kinds of people do the Plymouth settlers encounter on their voyage and in the New World? How does the presence of “strangers” work both to challenge and to solidify the Puritan community?

Comprehension: Why is Bradford so outraged by Thomas Morton? What is the nature of the conflict between Morton's Merrymount community and Bradford's Pilgrims? What kinds of values did each group espouse?

Context: What does Bradford mean when he refers to “plain style” in the introduction to *Of Plymouth Plantation*? What values and beliefs are reflected in his prose style? How does it compare to the prose styles of other writers discussed in this unit (Morton or Penn, for example)?

Exploration: Compare Bradford's account of the Puritans' “Arrival at Cape Cod” and “First Thanksgiving” with contemporary ideas about the landing at Plymouth Rock and the holiday. Why have these invented traditions and myths become so central to ideas about America's national beginnings? Why are the Puritans considered such an important starting point for America's national culture?

Thomas Morton (c. 1579–1647)

The historical record does not offer much detail about Thomas Morton's early life beyond the basic facts that he was born in England, received a traditional education, worked as an attorney, and had connections within the court of King Charles I. Those connections with wealthy court gentlemen probably enabled Morton's first visit to North America in 1622 and, as part of a trade venture, his settlement there in 1624. He established a fur-trading post at Mount Wollaston (modern-day Quincy), Massachusetts, and quickly began turning a steady profit dealing in beaver pelts. Morton called his community Mar-re-Mount, supposedly in reference to its position overlooking the sea; his Puritan neighbors saw through his pun and called it “Merrymount” in an

indictment of what they viewed as the group's heedless indulgence in worldly pleasures. Indeed, the community at Mar-re-Mount did not share Puritan values and openly engaged in practices the Puritans condemned—drinking, dancing, and general “revelry.” Tensions between Morton and the Puritans escalated, both because of the discrepancies between their respective moral systems and because of Morton's decision to trade rum and firearms with the local Native Americans, a practice the Plymouth group perceived as inimical to the safety of all European settlers in the region.

The situation came to a head with the famous Maypole incident in the spring of 1627, the conflict for which Morton is best known. When Morton invited local Native Americans—men, boys, and “lasses in beaver coats”—to dance around the eighty-foot maypole he had erected at Mar-re-Mount in a celebration of spring, the Puritans were so outraged by this open display of “profaneness” that they sent a military contingent out to arrest him. Morton was deported to England in 1628, where he stood trial and was acquitted. He returned to New England in 1629 as a free man only to have the Puritans seize his property, burn down his house, and banish him again. Back in England in 1630, Morton dedicated himself to creating difficulties for the Puritans, calling the legality of their colonial charter into question and condemning their religious practices. In 1643 he returned to New England, where he was imprisoned for slander until 1645 and died two years later in the northern part of the Massachusetts colony (present-day Maine).

Morton's only literary work is *New English Canaan* (1637), a satirical tract he drafted as part of his campaign against his Puritan enemies while in exile in England. Although part of the book is dedicated to chronicling Morton's skirmishes with the Puritans—and ruthlessly satirizing the Plymouth group—*New English Canaan* is not simply a history, nor is it wholly satirical. The book is also meant to serve as a promotional piece, celebrating the wealth and promise of the lands of New England and encouraging non-Puritans to settle there. Morton's florid, urbane writing style and witty irreverence make him unique among seventeenth-century New England writers.

TEACHING TIPS

■ Ask students to read aloud a few sentences from the Morton selection. They will probably be struck by the difficulty of the prose and the proliferation of classical allusions. After reassuring them that Morton's style was intentionally highbrow and difficult (in many ways, the exact opposite of Bradford's prose), you might ask them to consider why Morton chose to write in this manner. Whom was he emulating? To what sort of audience was this text designed to appeal? Students who have some familiarity with English Renaissance writers will probably see the connection and understand that Morton was trying to establish himself as an educated, urbane Englishman who had more in common with people living in London than with the dour Puritans of colonial America.



[6740] Nicolaes Visscher, *Novi Belgii Novaeque Angliae Nec Non Partis Virginiae Tabula Multis in Locis Emendata* (1685), courtesy of the Library of Congress [97683561].

MORTON WEB ARCHIVE

[1210] John Underhill, *The Figure of the Indians' Fort or Palizado in New England and the Manner of Destroying It by Captayne Underhill and Captayne Mason* (1638), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-32055]. In 1636, English settlers engaged in a genocidal campaign to wipe out the Pequot tribe. Captain John Underhill chronicled the Pequot War in his *News from America* (1638), providing this sketch of the Puritans, along with their Narragansett allies, encircling and destroying a Pequot village.

[3217] *The Bible and the Holy Scriptures Conteyned in the Olde and New Testament* (1560), courtesy of the Library of Congress. Title page from the Geneva Bible depicting the pursuit of the Hebrews by the Egyptians, as described in Exodus. Puritans who envisioned themselves as New Israelites used this Bible.

[6324] Sarony and Major, *The Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, Dec. 11th 1620* (1846), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZC4-4311]. Plymouth Rock has been used as a symbol of New England's settlement as the first event in American history—a myth not supported by the complex history of Native Americans and European exploration and settlement.

[6740] Nicolaes Visscher, *Novi Belgii Novaeque Angliae: Nec Non Partis Virginiae Tabula Multis in Locis Emendata* (1685), courtesy of the Library of Congress [97683561]. This is a detail from the best-known map of New Netherland. The map details natural resources as well as geography. Beavers were a crucial, and profitable, trade item for places such as Thomas Morton's Mar-re-Mount.

■ Compare Morton's account of the maypole incident with Bradford's. Ask students to generate a list of where the two stories agree on the facts and where they differ. What is at stake in these different accounts? Which is more persuasive? As your students draw their conclusions, ask them to consider the audiences Bradford and Morton were trying to reach.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: What strategies does Morton use to satirize the Puritans in *New English Canaan*? How do the names he gives to the various characters in his tale undermine Puritan values and structures of authority? What is the significance of the title of his book?

Context: How does Morton's prose compare to Bradford's "plain style"? Bradford draws most of his metaphors and allusions from the Bible; what sources does Morton draw upon? What kind of identity is Morton trying to construct for himself through his literary style?

Exploration: Morton's portrait of Native Americans is quite different from the accounts offered by most other seventeenth-century American writers. What qualities does he ascribe to the Indians? How does his description of Native American culture compare to his description of Puritan culture? What reasons might Morton have had to portray the Indians so positively? Why do you think Morton's relationship to Native Americans was so threatening to the Puritans at Plymouth Plantation?

Exploration: What genre do you think *New English Canaan* falls into? Is it a history, a satire, a travel narrative, a promotional brochure, or some combination thereof?

Exploration: Read "The May-Pole of Merry Mount," Nathaniel Hawthorne's 1836 story about the conflict between Morton and the Puritans. How does Hawthorne portray the revelers? How does he portray the Puritans who confront them? With which group do his sympathies seem to lie? Why do you think Hawthorne chose this particular incident as the subject for his story?

John Winthrop (1588–1649)

Born into a wealthy landholding family in southern England in 1588, John Winthrop entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at the age of fourteen. At Trinity he considered studying to be a minister before ultimately deciding to become a lawyer. Although he did not choose to make the church his profession, Winthrop's faith and his commitment to Puritan ideals were nonetheless the dominant force in his life. While he and his fellow congregants shared many values and beliefs with the Separatist Puritans who had settled at Plymouth, they did not accept the doctrine of Separation. Rather than breaking entirely with the established Church of England, Winthrop and his group sought to reform it from within.

In 1629, uneasy about the English government's hostility toward

Puritanism and disgusted by what he perceived as the corruption of English society, Winthrop helped negotiate a charter forming the Massachusetts Bay Company and establishing the Puritans' right to found a colony in New England. The stockholders of the Company elected Winthrop governor, and, in 1630, he and nearly four hundred other Puritans set sail for the New World aboard the *Arbella*. In "A Model of Christian Charity," the lay sermon he delivered on the ship, Winthrop presented his vision of the ideal Christian community he hoped the Puritans would form when they arrived in Massachusetts. Premised on the belief that the Puritans were party to a **covenant**, or contract, with God, Winthrop's sermon uses this legal term to remind his followers of their spiritual and earthly duties as the "chosen people" of God. In "A Model of Christian Charity," he extols the virtues of a clear social and spiritual hierarchy, encourages the congregants to maintain an exemplary piety, and interprets the Puritan mission in typological terms (that is, as the fulfillment of biblical prophecy). Winthrop's famous proclamation that the new colony must be "as a City on a Hill"—truly a "model" society, unassailable in its virtue so that its enemies would have nothing to criticize and its admirers would have something to emulate—continues to resonate as an enduring myth of America.

Winthrop served as the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony for twelve of the nineteen years he lived there. His was a powerful voice in the shaping of Puritan social, religious, and political policies, and his *Journal* remains the most complete contemporary account of the first two decades of the Bay Colony's history. Composed during his busy career as a public servant, the *Journal* reflects Winthrop's often militant commitment to firmly establishing orthodoxy within his community. He chronicles both the external challenges the Puritans faced and the internal divisions—such as the religious controversies sparked by Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson—that threatened to fracture the group's unity. Throughout, the *Journal* interprets events in Massachusetts as acts of providential significance, reading everyday occurrences as evidence of either God's favor or God's displeasure.



[6751] Richard S. Greenough, *Statue of John Winthrop* (1876), courtesy of Architect of the Capitol.

TEACHING TIPS

- Review the "Core Context" segment on typology in this unit. Divide students into groups and ask them to locate typologizing moments in Winthrop's "Model of Christian Charity" or in his *Journal*. (The sermon is a particularly good source since Winthrop notes many parallels between the Puritans and the Old Testament Hebrews within it.) Ask students to consider the significance of the Puritans' insistence on understanding their own history as prefigured by the Bible. What kinds of pressures might this tendency to read biblical and divine significance into everyday affairs put on individuals and on communities? How might it work to comfort and reassure people?

- The theological issues at stake in Winthrop's condemnation of Anne Hutchinson's Antinomianism are quite complicated, but even students bored by a discussion of the distinction between a covenant

WINTHROP WEB ARCHIVE

[1363] Anonymous, *John Winthrop* (17th cent.), courtesy of American Antiquarian Society. John Winthrop was the first governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony. His somber-colored clothing marks him as a Puritan, while his ornate neck ruff indicates his wealth and social status.

[6751] Richard S. Greenough, *Statue of John Winthrop* (1876), courtesy of Architect of the Capitol. This statue was given, along with one of Samuel Adams, by the state of Massachusetts in 1876 to the National Statuary Hall Collection in the United States Capitol. The choice of Winthrop indicates his status both as a prominent American and as an allegorical representative of the nation's ideals.

[6942] Photo of a Statue of Roger Williams, Providence, Rhode Island (2002), courtesy of Christopher Moses. A Puritan whose unorthodox views alienated him from both the Massachusetts Bay and the Plymouth colonies, Roger Williams has been reclaimed by some contemporary scholars as a democratic and pluralist hero.

of works and a covenant of grace will be interested in the political and social implications of this controversy. Ask them to think about the role gender plays in Winthrop's attack on Hutchinson. Would her preaching be so threatening if she were not "a woman of a ready wit and bold spirit"?

■ In September 1638, Winthrop notes that Anne Hutchinson delivered a stillborn, misshapen child. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stillborn children and children with birth defects were called "monstrous births" and understood to represent either God's displeasure or the devil's influence over the mother. How does Winthrop describe Hutchinson's "monstrous birth" in his *Journal*? Why does her miscarriage seem so significant to him? Ask students to think about Winthrop's attitude toward motherhood, women's bodies, and childbirth. Keep in mind that Hutchinson served as a midwife within the Puritan community for many years prior to her banishment.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: Winthrop's *Journal* chronicles a number of the problems and controversies that challenged the early settlers at Massachusetts Bay. What kinds of external and internal threats undermined the unity of the group? What happened to people who deviated from orthodox religious tenets? What rhetorical strategies does Winthrop adopt when characterizing people whose beliefs were different from his own?

Context: The "Model of Christian Charity" was composed before Winthrop and the Puritans disembarked in Massachusetts. How do the hopes and values the sermon espouses compare to the realities Winthrop later recorded in his *Journal*? Does Winthrop's sense of the community's mission and his own responsibility to further it change over time?

Exploration: Why has Winthrop's metaphor of the "City on a Hill" had so much influence on American culture? Do you see evidence of the endurance of this idea within contemporary public discourse?

Anne Bradstreet (c. 1612–1672)

Anne Bradstreet was born in England in 1612 to well-connected Puritan parents. Her father, Thomas Dudley, was unusual in his commitment to teaching his daughter literature, history, and philosophy, and Bradstreet benefited from an extensive classical education such as was usually reserved only for male children. Her sixty years of life were troubled by recurring sickness and ill health, beginning with an attack of smallpox when she was sixteen. Shortly after recovering, she married her father's assistant, Simon Bradstreet. She immigrated to America with her husband and parents in 1630 as part of the group that sailed with John Winthrop on the *Arbella*. Although she later admitted that her "heart rose" in protest against the "new world and new manners" she encountered when she landed in Massachusetts,

Bradstreet overcame her resentment and made a life for herself as a dutiful and respected Puritan daughter, wife, and mother.

Bradstreet and her family moved frequently, living in Boston, Newtown (modern Cambridge), and Ipswich before settling in North Andover. While her father and husband embarked on long and successful careers in public service—both would eventually occupy the position of governor—Bradstreet raised eight children and composed poetry. In 1650, her brother-in-law, John Woodbridge, brought a manuscript of her work with him on a trip to London and had it published without Bradstreet's knowledge. The volume, *The Tenth Muse, Lately Sprung Up In America*, was the first published collection of poetry written by a resident of America, and met with popular and critical success both in England and among the Puritan patriarchy. While Bradstreet did not publish again within her lifetime, a posthumous collection containing her corrections to the original volume and several new poems was printed six years after her death. The fact that she took the time to rework and correct the original volume suggests that she was planning for further publication and provides evidence that she took her vocation as a poet very seriously.

Bradstreet received acclaim in her own time for her long meditative poems on classical themes, but the poems that have interested modern readers are the more personal and intimate ones, reflecting her experiences with marriage, motherhood, childbirth, and housekeeping. This personal poetry is notable for the tensions it reveals between Bradstreet's affection for the things of this world—home, family, natural beauty—and her Puritan commitment to shunning earthly concerns in order to focus on the spiritual. Her evocations of the passion she felt for her husband and her children are poignantly balanced by her reminders to herself that such attachments should remain secondary to her love for Christ. Bradstreet's reflections on the issue of women's status within the Puritan community and on her own role as a female writer also create tensions within her poetry. Her self-conscious musings about her claims to literary authority and intellectual equality in "The Author to her Book" and "Prologue" provide rare insight into the pressures inherent in being both a woman and a writer in Puritan New England.

TEACHING TIPS

■ When John Woodbridge, Bradstreet's brother-in-law, compiled her poetry for publication, he included a preface vouching for the book's authenticity and for his sister-in-law's character:

... the worse effect of his [the reader's] reading will be unbelief, which will make him question whether it be a woman's work, and ask, is it possible? If any do, take this as an answer from him that dares to avow it; it is the work of a woman, honored, and esteemed where she lives, for her gracious demeanor, her eminent parts, her pious conversation, her courteous disposition, her exact diligence in her place, and discreet managing of her family occasions, and more than so, these



[1219] Anonymous, *The Mason Children: David, Joanna, Abigail* (1670), courtesy of Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, gift of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd, 1979.7.3.

[1219] Anonymous, *The Mason Children: David, Joanna, Abigail* (1670), courtesy of Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, gift of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd, 1979.7.3. This rare early New England portrait of children offers insight into the life of the merchant class. Children were considered small, sinful adults—hence the adult head-to-body ratio, clothing, and posture. The lack of sensuality reflects the religious mores and plain style of the time.

[6728] Arthur C. Haskell, Gov. Simon Bradstreet House, 159 Osgood Street, North Andover, Essex County, Massachusetts (1934), courtesy of the Library of Congress [HABS, MASS,5-ANDON,1-]. The stateliness of this house reflects the prominence of the Bradstreet family, and its clean lines and balanced composition reflect the Puritan plain-style aesthetic.

poems are the fruit but of some few hours, curtailed from her sleep and other refreshments.

Read this prefatory material aloud to your class and ask students why Woodbridge felt compelled to include it. What does this preface reveal about women's status in Puritan society? What does it tell us about the kinds of anxieties Bradstreet probably felt with regard to her poetry and its publication?

■ Have students read aloud "A Letter to Her Husband, Absent upon Public Employment." While students may initially respond to this as a conventional love poem, try to stress how unusual its secular tone is within the corpus of Puritan poetry. Even though some of the imagery has spiritual and biblical resonance, what emerges in this poem is Bradstreet's erotic attachment to her husband, not her understanding of her marriage as a metaphor for her union with Christ. Her reliance on pagan imagery (the sun god, the zodiac) is notable in this context.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: Bradstreet's seventeenth-century language and syntax can be confusing. Pick one of her poems and write a line-by-line paraphrase of it in contemporary American English. What difficulties did you encounter in rewriting Bradstreet's images and ideas? What has the poem lost in translation?

Comprehension: Anne Bradstreet composed a number of "elegies," that is, poems that relate the experience of loss and the search for consolation. In an important sense, elegies are designed to defend the individual against death. Whose loss is mourned in "Before the Birth of One of Her Children," and how does Bradstreet console either the mourners or herself?

Context: What are some of the recurring themes and images in Bradstreet's poetry? How does she balance abstract, theological concerns with personal, material issues? What does Bradstreet's poetry tell us about motherhood and marriage in Puritan New England?

Context: In the poem "Here Follows Some Verses upon the Burning of Our House," how does Bradstreet struggle with her Puritan commitment to the doctrine of "weaned affections" (the idea that individuals must wean themselves from earthly, material concerns and focus only on spiritual matters)? How does she turn the experience of losing her possessions to spiritual use? Does she seem entirely resigned to casting away her "pelf" and "store"? In what terms does she describe the "house on high" that God has prepared for her?

Exploration: How sincere is Bradstreet's evaluation of her poetry as the "ill-formed offspring of my feeble brain"? Should we read this kind of self-abasement as a calculated rhetorical pose, a poetic convention, a defensive maneuver, or as evidence of extreme insecurity? Why does she make a point of avowing "Men have precedency" and "Men can do best"? Keep in mind that Bradstreet was writing in the immediate aftermath of the Antinomian controversy

and the banishment of Anne Hutchinson. How might a consciousness of the dangers of female speech and female writing inform her work?

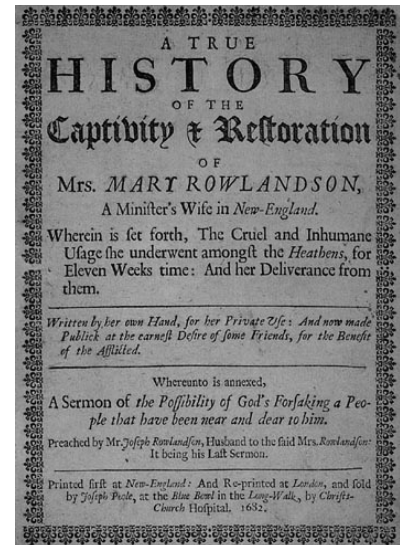
Exploration: Anne Bradstreet's poetry has often been compared to that by Sor Juana Inez de la Cruz, the first female poet to write in the Spanish American colony of New Spain (the area that is now Mexico and the southwestern United States). How does Bradstreet's "Prologue" compare to Sor Juana's "Prologue"? What justifications does each poet give for women composing poetry? How do their attitudes toward death compare?

Mary Rowlandson (c. 1636–1711)

Born around 1637 in Somerset, England, Mary White was the sixth of ten children. Her family immigrated to New England when she was very young, settling first in Salem and later in the frontier town of Lancaster, in the Massachusetts colony. In 1656, Mary married Joseph Rowlandson, the Harvard-educated Puritan minister of Lancaster, and for the next twenty years she occupied the role of a Puritan goodwife, tending to her home and raising children. Her life was radically disrupted on February 10, 1676, when a contingent of Narraganset Indians attacked and burned Lancaster, killing seventeen people and taking twenty-four others (including Rowlandson and three of her children) captive. This incident is the basis of Rowlandson's extraordinary account of her captivity among the Indians, a narrative which was widely read in her own time and which today is often regarded as one of the most significant early texts in the American canon. Rowlandson's tale shaped the conventions of the **captivity narrative**, a genre that influenced the development of both autobiographical writings and the novel in America.

The attack on Lancaster and on Rowlandson's home was part of a series of raids in the conflict that has become known as King Philip's War, named for the Indian leader Metacom (called "Philip" by the English). Although the war was immediately provoked by the Plymouth colony's decision to execute three members of the Wampanoag tribe, it should also be understood as the culmination of long-standing tensions between Native Americans and European settlers over land rights and colonial expansion. By the late seventeenth century, many Native Americans in the New England region were suffering the devastating effects of disease and starvation as European settlers encroached upon their homes and hunting grounds.

During her captivity, Rowlandson experienced the same physical hardships the Indians faced: she never had enough to eat and constantly relocated from one camp to another in a series of what she termed "removes." Her traumatic experience was made all the more harrowing by her Puritan conviction that all Native Americans were agents of Satan, sent to punish and torment her and her community. After eleven weeks and a journey of over 150 miles, Rowlandson was finally ransomed on May 2, 1676, for goods worth twenty pounds. Because Lancaster had been destroyed in the raid, she and her hus-



[2788] Mary Rowlandson, *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, A Minister's Wife in New England* (1682), courtesy of Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

band spent the following year in Boston, then moved to Wethersfield, Connecticut, where Joseph Rowlandson became the town's minister. After he died in 1678, Mary Rowlandson married Captain Samuel Talcott and lived in Wethersfield with him until her death in 1711 at the age of seventy-three.

Rowlandson tells her readers that she composed her narrative out of gratitude for her deliverance from captivity and in the hopes of conveying the spiritual meaning of her experience to other members of the Puritan community. In many ways, her narrative conforms to the conventions of the **jeremiad**, a form usually associated with second-generation Puritan sermons but also relevant to many other kinds of Puritan writing. Drawing from the Old Testament books of Jeremiah and Isaiah, jeremiads work by lamenting the spiritual and moral decline of a community and interpreting recent misfortunes as God's just punishment for that decline. But at the same time that jeremiads bemoan their communities' fall from grace, they also read the misfortunes and punishments that result from that fall as paradoxical proofs of God's love and of the group's status as his "chosen people." According to jeremiadic logic, God would not bother chastising or testing people he did not view as special or important to his divine plan. Rowlandson is careful to interpret her traumatic experience according to these orthodox spiritual ideals, understanding her captivity as God's punishment for her (and the entire Puritan community's) sinfulness and inadequacy and interpreting her deliverance as evidence of God's mercy.

But in spite of its standardized jeremiadic rhetoric, Rowlandson's narrative is also marked by contradictions and tensions that sometimes seem to subvert accepted Puritan ideals. On occasion, the demands of life in the wilderness led Rowlandson to accommodate herself to Native American culture, which she viewed as "barbaric," in order to work actively for her own survival even as she cherished an ideal of waiting patiently and passively for God to lead her, and to express anger and resentment even as she preached the submissive acceptance of God's will. Thus, Rowlandson's *Narrative* provides important insight not only into orthodox Puritan ideals and values but also, however unintentionally, into the conflicted nature of her own Puritan identity.

TEACHING TIPS

■ When Rowlandson's *Narrative* was first published in 1682, it was printed with a "Preface" written by the influential Puritan minister Increase Mather, and with a sermon composed by her husband, Joseph Rowlandson. Some scholars have speculated that Joseph Rowlandson and Mather were also extensively involved in the production of the *Narrative* itself; the frequency and aptness of biblical quotations in the text might indicate the hand of an experienced cleric. After providing students with this background information, ask for their opinions on whether or not (or to what extent) Rowlandson was mediated and guided by Puritan authorities when composing this text. Ask them to offer specific textual evidence to back up their speculations.

You might point students toward the numerous biblical quotations and toward Rowlandson's explanations of how she accessed and derived comfort from these particular lines of scripture.

■ Rowlandson opens her *Narrative* with totalizing, dehumanizing descriptions of Native Americans as “hell-hounds,” “ravenous beasts,” and “barbarous creatures.” As the text progresses, however, she seems to become more willing to see her captors as individuals, and even as people capable of humanity and charity. Ask students to analyze her portraits of individual Indians and to trace the evolution of her attitude toward Indians in general. Which Native Americans come in for the most criticism? Which does she view more positively? What might motivate her varying assessments? How might changes in Rowlandson's own status within the Wampanoag encampment influence her attitude toward individual Indians? You might point students toward her discussions of the various Native Americans who engage in economic transactions with her or give her food, her quite positive portrait of Metacom (or “Philip,” as she calls him), and her bitter description of Weetamoo, a Wampanoag “squawsachem,” or female leader.

■ Students may want to compare Rowlandson's description of Weetamoo to Benjamin Church's description of other Wampanoag squawsachems in his *Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War*. How does each text portray these Native American female leaders?

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: The subject of food receives a great deal of attention in Rowlandson's *Narrative*. How does Rowlandson's attitude toward food change over the course of her captivity? Why is she so concerned with recording the specifics of what she ate, how she acquired it, and how she prepared it? What kinds of conflicts arise over food? What do her descriptions of eating tell us about Native American culture and about Rowlandson's ability to acculturate?

Context: How does Rowlandson use typology within her *Narrative*? What kinds of biblical images does she rely on to make sense of her captivity? How does her use of typology compare with that of other writers in this unit (Winthrop or Taylor, for example)?

Context: In his preface to the first edition of Rowlandson's *Narrative*, published in 1682, Increase Mather describes her story as “a dispensation of publick note and of Universal concernment” and urges all Puritans to “view” and “ponder” the lessons it holds for them. Does Rowlandson always seem to understand her captivity in Mather's terms? How do the moments when Rowlandson narrates her experience as personal and individual complicate this imperative to function as a “public,” representative lesson for the entire community?

Exploration: Many scholars view the captivity narrative as the first American genre and trace its influence in the development of other forms of American autobiographical and fictional writings. Why do you think the captivity narrative became so popular and influen-

ROWLANDSON WEB ARCHIVE

[2115] *Harper's Magazine*, *The Captivity of Mrs. Rowlandson* (1857), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-113682]. This is an illustration from an 1857 *Harper's Magazine* feature on “The Adventures of the Early Settlers in New England.” This wood-carving print depicts events chronicled in the *Narrative of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*.

[2788] Mary Rowlandson, *A True History of the Captivity and Restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson, A Minister's Wife in New England* (1682), courtesy of Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Subtitle: “Written by her own Hand, for her Private Use: And now made Publick at the earnest Desire of some Friends, for the Benefit of the Afflicted.”

[2916] Charles H. Lincoln, ed., *Map of Mrs. Rowlandson's Removes, Narratives of the Indian Wars* (1913), courtesy of Charles Scribner's Sons. This map shows Rowlandson's “removes” in terms of twentieth-century landmarks.

[4439] *Judea Capta* Coin (71 C.E.), courtesy of the American Numismatic Society. This Roman coin depicts the biblical image of *Judea capta* (Israel in bondage). Mary Rowlandson's *Narrative* typologizes her experience in terms of the *Judea capta* ideal, understanding her purifying ordeal in the wilderness as a parallel of God's punishment and ultimate redemption of the “New Israel.”

[7178] Vera Palmer, Interview: “Erdrich and the Captivity Narrative” (2001), courtesy of Annenberg Media. Palmer, a distinguished American Indian activist and scholar (Ph.D. Cornell), discusses themes of the captivity narrative as they appear in the poetry of Louise Erdrich.

tial? What might make it seem particularly “American”? Can you think of any nineteenth- or twentieth-century novels or films that draw on the conventions of the captivity narrative?

Exploration: Compare Rowlandson’s captivity narrative with Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca’s *Relation* from Unit 2. How do these texts portray Native Americans differently? What do they have in common? What kind of audience does each author write for? How does each of these narratives differ from the Yellow Woman stories in Unit 1?

Edward Taylor (c. 1642–1729)

Edward Taylor was born in Leicestershire, England, in 1642 to Nonconformist parents of modest circumstances. In his mid-twenties, frustrated by the climate of intolerance toward Puritans, he fled England for Massachusetts. Entering Harvard with advanced standing, Taylor embarked on a course of study to prepare himself to become a minister. In 1671 he accepted a call to the ministry in the town of Westfield, a farming community on the fringes of the colony. He spent the rest of his life there, rarely leaving Westfield even for visits. Because the area was threatened by Indian attacks throughout the 1670s, Taylor’s church building had to do double duty as a fort, delaying the formal organization of the congregation as a Puritan church until 1679. As the most educated man in Westfield, Taylor served the town by assuming the roles of physician and teacher as well as minister.

Taylor’s education had left him with a lasting passion for books, and his library was a distinguished one, though many of the books were his own handwritten copies of volumes he could not afford to purchase in printed form. Much of Taylor’s time was devoted to writing sermons for public presentation, but he also produced a large corpus of some of the most inventive poetry in colonial America. While he did not publish any of this poetry in his lifetime, viewing it instead as a personal aid to his spiritual meditations and as preparation for giving communion to his congregation, he did carefully collect and preserve his manuscripts. His collection was not published until the twentieth century, after it was discovered in the Yale University Library in 1937.

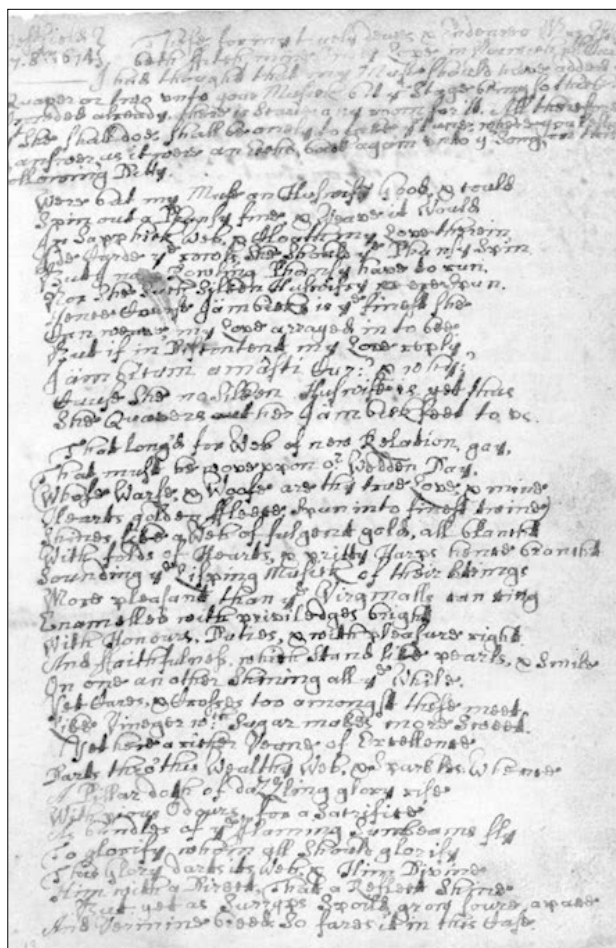
Taylor experimented with a variety of poetic forms, composing paraphrases of biblical psalms, elegies, love poems, a long poem called *God’s Determinations* in the form of a debate about the nature of salvation, and his five-hundred-page *Metrical History of Christianity*. His best-known poems, a series of 217 verses called *Preparatory Meditations*, are lyric explorations of the Puritan soul and its relation to the sacrament. The poems’ struggles with complicated theological issues are carefully contained within rigidly structured six-line stanzas of iambic pentameter. While the metaphors and metaphysical conceits in *Preparatory Meditations* are elaborate (they are sometimes compared to the work of the English poet John Donne), much of Taylor’s other poetry is characterized by its plain-style aesthetic and its homely metaphors of farming and housekeeping. Taylor’s work is not easily

categorized because his poetic experiments are so varied, employing forms ranging from common meter to heroic couplets and imagery ranging from the traditionally typological to the metaphysical. Still, all of Taylor's work reflects his commitment to orthodox Puritan theology and his concern with ascertaining and sustaining a belief in his place among God's elect. His poems enact, in literary critic Sacvan Bercovitch's words, the "endless ritual celebration-exorcism of the Puritan self."

TEACHING TIPS

■ Taylor's use of puns and elaborate metaphors can make his work difficult for students to understand, especially when Taylor relies on archaic terms having to do with trades such as carpentry, weaving, smithing, printing, domestic economy, or horticulture. Have students use the *Oxford English Dictionary* to look up the complete history of unfamiliar terms (examples might include "nipper," "squitchen," "selvage," "knot," "stock," "fillet," "distaff," "huswifery," "quilt ball," "kenning," "rigalled," or "receipt"). Use their research to investigate both the cultural context of Taylor's imagery and his playful use of the different meanings of a single image.

■ Ask students to examine the different metrical forms and stanzaic patterns at work in Taylor's poetry. Why does he use heroic couplets in the "Preface" to *God's Determinations* (found in *The Norton Anthology of American Literature*) only to switch to other forms in the later sections of the poem? How does the predictable, relatively rigid ababcc verse form of the *Preparatory Meditations* relate to the complicated spiritual struggles explored within the poems? You can use students' formal analyses of the poems to investigate the relationship between the ritualistic and the sincere, the irrational and the rational, within Taylor's Puritan theology.



[6745] Edward Taylor, manuscript page of Taylor's *Poetical Writings* (year unknown), courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: How does the main text of "Meditation 8" relate to the poem's prefatory biblical citation ("John 6.51. I am the Living Bread")? What is the extended metaphor at work in this poem? What is the significance of Taylor's focus on a basic domestic chore that is usually performed by women? Do you notice similar imagery in any of Taylor's other poems?

Context: Compare Taylor's "Prologue" to the *Preparatory Meditations* and "Meditation 22" with Bradstreet's "Prologue" and "The Author to Her Book." How do these Puritan poets deal with their anxiety

TAYLOR WEB ARCHIVE

[2469] John Foster's Woodcut Map of New England. This map says it is "the first that ever was here cut, and done by the best Pattern, that could be had, which being in some places defective, it made the other less exact: yet doth it sufficiently shew the Scituation of the Country, and conveniently well the distances of Places." It is from William Hubbard's *The present State of New-England, being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians*, printed and published by Foster in Boston in 1677.

[6745] Edward Taylor, manuscript page of Taylor's *Poetical Writings* (year unknown), courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. This image shows a page from a manuscript of "Edward Taylor's Poetical Writings."

about their own literary authority? Do they share similar concerns? How are they different? What conclusions do they arrive at?

Exploration: The only book of poetry known to have had a place in Taylor's personal library was Anne Bradstreet's *Tenth Muse*. Does his poetry seem influenced by her work? How is it different? How does his work fit or not fit within the tradition of "plain style"? Many critics have argued that Taylor's poetry is best understood within the tradition of the English metaphysical poets, such as John Donne and George Herbert. Metaphysical poetry is characterized by its ornate language and by its profusion of metaphors and paradoxes. Where do you see this style at work in Taylor's poetry? Does he seem more comfortable with one style than the other? Does he ever seem to meld the two?

William Penn (1644–1718)

William Penn was an unusual convert to Quakerism. Most Quakers came from relatively humble backgrounds and possessed little formal education, but Penn was Oxford-educated and a member of an elite and wealthy family. His father, an intimate of King Charles II, had served as an admiral in the Royal Navy and held substantial property in Ireland and England. Despite his conventional Anglican upbringing, Penn found himself drawn to the controversial religious ideas of non-conforming Protestants at an early age (he was expelled from Oxford for religious nonconformity). During a visit to Ireland, Penn encountered Quaker preaching, began to attend meetings regularly, and eventually converted to Quakerism in 1667.

Penn was attracted to Quakerism for many of the qualities that made it so controversial: the sect's belief that divine grace resided within all individuals in the form of an "**inner light**," "spirit," or "Christ within" was powerfully egalitarian and radical in its implications, which Penn found appealing. Emphasizing the importance of unmediated, individual feeling in spiritual enlightenment, Quakers viewed scripture as secondary and rejected entirely the institution of professional clergy. Because they believed that all life was sacred, they refused to engage in violence or enlist in military service. Quakers' egalitarian spirituality also led to tolerance of people who did not share their beliefs and confidence in women's spiritual equality. Because these beliefs were threatening to the rigidly hierarchical social order of seventeenth-century England, Quakers were perceived as heretics and, as such, were persecuted.

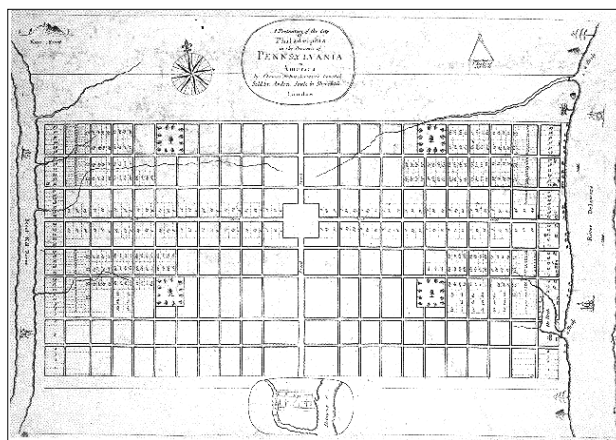
After his conversion, Penn began preaching Quaker doctrine and lobbying extensively for religious tolerance; these activities resulted in his imprisonment on several occasions. Eventually, a combination of shrewd business acumen and a commitment to finding a safe haven for Quakers led Penn to make plans to found a colony in the New World. In 1681, he convinced Charles II to grant him a large piece of land west of the Delaware River and north of Maryland, to be called "Pennsylvania" in honor of Penn's father. As the sole proprietor, Penn had the power to sell plots of land, to make laws, and to establish a

system of government. Because he believed in a limited monarchy and a system of checks and balances, Penn invested much of the power of the government in the settlers of Pennsylvania, creating a legislative assembly of freely elected representatives. Pennsylvanians enjoyed guaranteed civil rights and religious freedom from the start. Penn's commitment to civil liberties and cultural pluralism also moved him to make diplomatic relations with Native Americans a priority, a consideration that was unique to Pennsylvania among American colonies. Before setting up his government, Penn addressed a letter to the local Lenni Lenape Indians, acknowledging their right to the land and assuring them of his respect and his intention to always deal fairly with them. Thanks largely to the tone that Penn initially set, Native Americans and European settlers lived peacefully together in Pennsylvania for over half a century.

Despite its fine record of religious and racial tolerance, the colony did not always live up to Penn's utopian ideals or entrepreneurial vision. Legal entanglements, border conflicts with other colonies, debts, and political intrigue in both England and Pennsylvania caused problems. Penn was forced to move back and forth between England and the New World several times, trying to deal with personal debts and to settle conflicts within the colonial community. He left the colony forever in 1701. His final years were marred by a period of incarceration in debtors' prison, a debilitating stroke, and disappointment over the profligacy of his son. Although Penn was ultimately unable to transform his utopian vision into a political reality, his legacy lives on in the prolific collection of writings he produced (over 130 books, pamphlets, and letters) and in long-standing American ideals of tolerance, cultural pluralism, and the separation of church and state.

TEACHING TIPS

■ Students may assume that the seventeenth-century Quakers and Puritans were similar to one another since they shared some traits: both groups immigrated to escape persecution and dreamed of creating a utopian society that would purify the Christian religion and serve as a model to the rest of the world. It is crucial that students understand that, despite these similarities, the Quakers and Puritans were fundamentally different from one another and endorsed radically different values. The Puritans' insistence on rigid hierarchies, religious conformity, and a typological worldview were completely at odds with the Quakers' commitment to religious and racial tolerance, their pacifism, their support of women's spiritual equality, and their belief that written scripture was secondary to an individual's "inner light." The Puritans were so outraged by Quaker theology that they banished, tortured, and even executed Quakers who attempted to preach in



[1216] William Penn, Plan for the City of Philadelphia, in *A Letter from William Penn . . . to the Committee of the Free Society for Traders of That Province, Residing in London* (1683 [1881]).

PENN WEB ARCHIVE

[1211] John Sartain, *William Penn Portrait (The Armor Portrait)* after 1666 Portrait, Penn Aged 22, Only One Taken from Life (n.d.), courtesy of Pennsylvania State Museum. Penn at 22. The piece from which this portrait was copied was composed four years after his expulsion from Oxford as a result of his denunciation of the Anglican Church and sixteen years before his voyage to America.

[1214] Benjamin West, *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (1711), courtesy of the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. The work portrays Penn's 1682 peace meeting with the Delaware tribe in Shackamaxon (present-day Kensington, Pennsylvania). Although there is no evidence that this meeting between Anglos and Indians actually took place, it has become part of American mythology—in large part because of West's painting.

[1216] William Penn, *Plan for the City of Philadelphia*, in *A Letter from William Penn . . . to the Committee of the Free Society of Traders of That Province, Residing in London* (1683 [1881]). Penn's plan reflects Quaker hopes for a colonial utopia of human reason informed by inner divine revelation. The right-angled plan treats the land like a Lockean blank slate and differs sharply from Native American settlement patterns.

[2092] Constantin Brumidi, *William Penn and the Indians* (ca. 1878), courtesy of Architect of the Capitol. This is a representation of Penn with the Lenni Lenape (Delaware) Indians at the time of the Treaty of Shackamaxon in 1682, designed to ensure the friendship between the Native American group and Penn's Pennsylvania Colony. *William Penn and the Indians* is a panel from the Apotheosis of Washington frieze, by Brumidi, which lines the rotunda of the United States Capitol.

[2094] Major, *William Penn at the Treaty-Signing in 1682* (1882), courtesy of Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Lithograph on title page of *Bicentennial March: 1682–1882: William Penn's March* by Aug. Loumey (Philadelphia: Lee & Walker, 1882). This depiction of Penn at the signing of the treaty with the Delaware Indians at Shakamaxon shows him wearing a Broadbrim or "Quaker hat," usually gray or brown and made of felt or beaver.

[4092] William Penn, *The Frame of the Government of the Province of Pennsylvania in America* (1682), courtesy of the Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division [27]. Title page from Penn's charter.

[5214] Iroquois wampum belt, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Wampum, usually found in bead form and made from Quahog shells found along the southern New England coast, was an important item for exchange and political dealings among Indians; after European settlement, it came to resemble a type of currency.

[7175] Gary Nash, Interview: "Penn and the Indians in Comparison to the Puritans" (2001), courtesy of Annenberg Media. Nash, the award-winning author of *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* and a professor of American history at UCLA, discusses similarities and differences between William Penn and the Puritans, particularly their relations with Native Americans.

Massachusetts. Ask your students to make a list of the differences between Quakers and Puritans. Have them consider how the values of each group have had a lasting effect on American values, politics, or national character.

■ In his "Letter to the Lenni Lenape Indians," Penn explains his belief that the Indians and the Quakers (and indeed all people) share the same God and are ruled by the same moral laws: "This great God has written his law in our hearts, by which we are taught and commanded to love and help and do good to one another, and not to do harm and mischief one unto another." This statement helps elucidate the Quakers' commitment to pacifism and their theological doctrine of the "inner light," or the manifestation of divine love that dwells inside and thus unites all humans. Ask your students to consider the implications of the idea that God "has written his law" in all people's hearts. Have them compare this notion to Puritan ideas about spiritual election. How might these different views of spirituality have affected the way Puritans and Quakers chose to deal with Native Americans?

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: In his "Letter to the Lenni Lenape," Penn acknowledges that Europeans before him have treated Native Americans with "unkindness and injustice." What specific problems do you think he is referring to? How does he propose to right these injustices? What is new about his approach? Why do you think he decided to acknowledge this history of European exploitation of Indians in his letter? What effect do you think it would have had on the Native Americans to whom the letter is addressed?

Context: Read the land deed documenting Penn's purchase of land from Machaloha, a member of the Delaware tribe, included in the archival material. What assumptions underwrite this legal document? Why do you think Penn decided to codify his purchase of Native American land in this way? How does the deed compare to the wampum belt included in the archival materials?

Context: Compare the migration legend of the Lenni Lenape (Delaware) Indians to the migrations stories told by Bradford in *Of Plymouth Plantation*. How does each speak of the place from which the came and the home they made upon arriving?

Exploration: What role did the Quaker tradition in Pennsylvania have in the development of America as a nation? Do you see any legacies of Quaker thought and practice within our culture today?

Sarah Kemble Knight (1666–1727)

Sarah Kemble was born in Boston in 1666, the daughter of Thomas Kemble, a successful merchant, and Elizabeth Trerice, who descended from an old and established Massachusetts family. In 1689, she married Richard Knight, a sea captain considerably older than herself. Even before her husband's death, Sarah Kemble Knight assumed

many of the family's business responsibilities, running a shop in Boston, taking in lodgers, and working as a court scrivener copying legal documents. Her familiarity with legal issues—as well as her habitual independence—probably underwrote her decision in 1704 to journey to New Haven, Connecticut, to help settle the estate of her cousin Caleb Trowbridge on behalf of his widow. The overland trip from Boston to New Haven was long and difficult in the early eighteenth century; although the route was an established one used by postal riders, the road was rough and travelers found it necessary to hire local guides to conduct them from one town or rural inn to another. At the time, it was unusual for a woman to embark on such a journey alone.

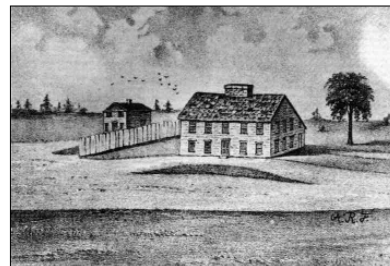
Knight was a careful diarist, resolving to “enter my mind in my Journal” at the end of each day of travel. The resulting record is a unique and entertaining document, both because Knight's experience was so atypical and because her lively, often humorous narrative voice marks a break with the more somber tradition of Puritan journals and narratives. The *Private Journal* is in fact very secular in its content, tone, and style, containing little moral didacticism and almost no spiritual self-examination. Instead, Knight is witty, worldly, and sharply keyed in to the social distinctions and class hierarchies that structured colonial New England. All of Knight's experiences are filtered through her sense of her own middling social and economic position. She is ruthlessly sarcastic about the ignorance and poor taste displayed by the rustic “bumpkins” she encounters in the country, and extremely proud of “the wonderful civility” shown to her in the city by members of ranks of society higher than her own. She condones slavery and is appalled that some farmers allow their slaves to “sit at table and eat with them.” Throughout the *Journal*, she refers to Native Americans in dehumanizing terms, comparing them to animals. Despite her off-putting prejudices, however, Knight manages to paint a vivid and engaging picture of a broad cross-section of early American society, describing both backwoods and urban life with humor and an ear for colloquial language.

Knight ended her journey in March 1705, returning safely to her home in Boston. In 1714 her daughter married John Livingston of New London, and Knight moved with them to Connecticut, where she continued her business and land dealings. When she died in 1727, she left her daughter a very large estate, attesting to her shrewdness and skill as a businessperson.

TEACHING TIPS

■ Early in her *Journal* Knight narrates a moment of fear and uncertainty brought on by feeling alone in the woods, acknowledging that she experienced some spiritual concern about her “call” to make such a journey:

Now returned my distressed apprehensions of the place where I was:
the dolesome woods, my company next to none, going I knew not



[7057] Annie Fisher, *Fisher's Tavern in Dedham*, courtesy of the Dedham Historical Society, Dedham, Massachusetts.

KNIGHT WEB ARCHIVE

[6750] George F. Wright, *Gurdon Saltonsall* (c. 1710), courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery. This portrait depicts the Reverend Gurdon Saltonstall (1666–1724) of Connecticut, Knight’s host in New London. Born in Massachusetts and educated at Harvard, Saltonstall became governor of Connecticut in 1708.

[7057] Annie Fisher, *Fisher’s Tavern in Dedham*, courtesy of the Dedham Historical Society, Dedham, Massachusetts. Like most eighteenth-century travelers, Knight rented rooms in public inns and taverns. In her journal, Knight recalls going to Fisher’s Tavern to find a guide to take her to Billings’s Tavern her first night on the road. Drinking was a popular Puritan activity, and taverns played an important role in the social and political lives of towns.

[7060] Anonymous, *The Reverend James Pierpont* (1711), courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery. In his will Pierpont gave eight acres of land upon which the first meeting house was built. Pierpont appears in Knight’s *Private Journal* when he mediates on behalf of Knight. His dress in the portrait reflects a persistence of “plain style” into the eighteenth century, at least among the orthodox Calvinist ministers.

whither, and encompassed with terrifying darkness; the least of which was enough to startle a more masculine courage. Added to which the reflections, as in the afternoon of the day that my call was very questionable, which, till then I had not so prudently as I ought considered.

While this passage sounds akin to the kind of spiritual examination common in traditional Puritan autobiographical writings, Knight quickly undercuts its religious tone. Rather than recount an assurance of grace or gratitude for God’s mercy, she instead reports her relief at catching a glimpse of the moon, which she proceeds to describe in neoclassical heroic couplets. You might ask students to focus on this passage in order to highlight the difference between the secularism of Knight’s *Journal* and the profound religiosity of most of the other texts included in this unit. Ask them to consider the significance of Knight’s homage to “Cynthia,” the pagan goddess of the moon, in a moment of uncertainty and distress.

■ While Knight does not seem to have written her *Journal* for publication, she probably did circulate it in manuscript form for the amusement of her friends and relatives. Ask students to look for clues that might indicate the kind of audience Knight imagined reading her book. You might point out her lack of introspection, her sarcastic comments about social inferiors, and her inclusion of poetry and allusions to European literary texts. What kind of image was Knight trying to create for herself?

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: What kinds of prejudices color Knight’s descriptions of the people she meets on her journey? What do her responses to people of different economic status and race reveal about the social hierarchy that structured colonial America?

Context: What role, if any, does spirituality play in Knight’s worldview and her understanding of her journey? When does she bring up religion? How does her *Journal* compare to other journals and autobiographical narratives included in this unit (for example, those of Bradford, Rowlandson, and Woolman)?

Exploration: Literary critics disagree on the generic categorization of Knight’s *Journal*. It has been read as participating in the traditions of the picaresque, mock-epic, and the captivity narrative, while it has also been cited as a foundational text in the development of American travel writing and the American comic tradition. How would you categorize the *Journal*? What kind of influence do you think it may have had on later American writing?

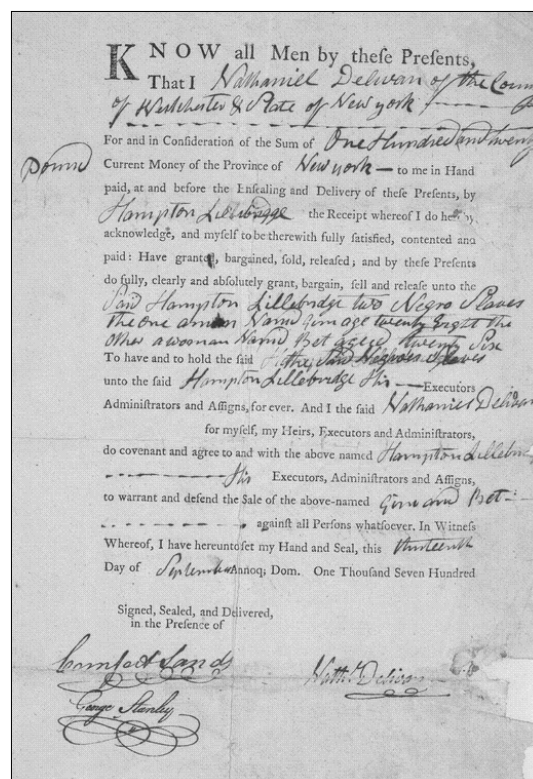
John Woolman (1720–1772)

John Woolman was born into a Quaker family in West Jersey (later New Jersey) in 1720. From an early age, he manifested a deep sensitivity toward spiritual matters that would become the basis for his

lifelong commitment to Quaker precepts and devotion to what he called “the inward life.” Woolman attended a local Quaker school, but, like many Quakers of the early eighteenth century, had no further formal education. Instead, he served an apprenticeship to a tailor and eventually established a business of his own: tailoring, dealing in retail goods, managing a farm, and writing legal documents. The success of his commercial ventures eventually gave Woolman cause for concern; he worried that the time and energy he devoted to his business was interfering with his faithfulness to the callings of God. True to his conscience, he deliberately scaled back his operations and found that “a humble man with the blessing of the Lord might live on a little.”

At the age of twenty-three, Woolman felt called to the Quaker ministry, a vocation that involved speaking at meetings and traveling as an itinerant preacher. As a result of this spiritual commitment, he undertook many difficult missionary journeys, traveling to the southern colonies, into New York, through Native American lands in northern Pennsylvania, and to England. Woolman dedicated his ministry to fighting social injustice and spoke frequently against war, materialism, the exploitation of Indians, and the inhumane treatment of the poor. The cause that would become his passion and the focus of most of his energies, however, was the abolition of slavery. Convinced that slave holding was inconsistent with Christian principles, Woolman preached, wrote, and confronted individual slave holders in his quest to put an end to “this dark gloominess hanging over the land.” In 1754 and 1762, he published the two parts of his treatise, *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, a carefully argued, powerful plea for abolition. Woolman’s convictions also moved him to renounce sugar and clothing colored with dyes since these commodities were produced by slave labor. While his activities did not lead to the abolition of slavery as an institution in his own time, Woolman did succeed in converting individuals and in persuading the organized Quaker church in Pennsylvania to officially adopt abolitionist resolutions. His writings and his example were also important in laying the groundwork for the abolitionist movement that would flourish in the nineteenth century.

Woolman died in 1772 after contracting smallpox while traveling through England on a preaching tour. He left behind a *Journal*, a kind of spiritual autobiography, which was published by the Society of Friends in 1774 and is the piece for which Woolman is best remembered. Written both as a personal exercise in self-examination and as a spiritual guide for others to consult, the *Journal* has remained popular for over two hundred years: it has never gone out of print since its first publication and has gone through over forty editions. Notable for its clear, plain writing style and its moving articulation of religious conviction, the *Journal* influenced such later American writers as John Green-



[6746] Nathaniel Delivan, *Bill of Sale for Slaves*, New York (1700), courtesy of the Library of Congress, Rare Books and Special Collections, Printed Ephemera Collection.

WOOLMAN WEB ARCHIVE

[1107] David H. Burr, *Map of New Jersey and Pennsylvania Exhibiting the Post Offices, Post Roads, Canals, Railroad* (1839), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-96653]. This map provides a geographical context for Woolman’s travels in Pennsylvania.

[1575] *To Be Sold, on Board the Ship Bance Island . . . Negroes, Just Arrived from Windward & Rice Coast* (ca. 1780), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-10293]. A newspaper advertisement for the sale of slaves at Ashley Ferry outside of Charleston, South Carolina. Plantation owners paid higher prices for slaves from the “Windward” or “Rice Coast,” the rice-growing regions of West Africa that ranged from Senegal down to Sierra Leone and Liberia.

[2793] The Quaker Meeting, courtesy of George Fox University. Quaker churches like this one are “plain-style” buildings defined by their linear design, exposed structural supports, and open lighting. These unpretentious interiors have no altars or pulpits, creating unadorned spaces that allow congregants to concentrate on their individual relationships with God. Illustration from Sydney George Fisher, *The True William Penn* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1899).

[2909] Thomas Fairland, *George Fox* (1914), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-49456]. Facsimile of portrait drawn on stone. George Fox (1624–1691) founded the Society of Friends, or Quakers, based on the principle of the direct guidance of the Holy Spirit. In the portrait Fox wears what would become known as a “Quaker hat.”

[6746] Nathaniel Delivan, *Bill of Sale for Slaves*, New York (1700), courtesy of the Library of Congress, Rare Books and Special Collections, Printed Ephemera. Early opponents of slavery like John Woolman addressed the institution’s existence in all of the British colonies. Hudson Valley wheat plantations used slaves, while merchants and ships from ports like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia brought slaves to those towns along with southern and Caribbean colonies.

leaf Whittier, Henry David Thoreau, and Theodore Dreiser. Woolman’s commitment to social justice and his concern with issues that continue to haunt American culture—problems such as bigotry, violence, materialism, and poverty—have given his work a lasting relevance.

TEACHING TIPS

■ Woolman participates in a long tradition of Quaker journal-keeping begun by George Fox, the founder of the sect. Pious Quakers routinely composed spiritual autobiographies to be published after their deaths as examples and guides for those who read them. It seems clear, then, that Woolman carefully crafted and revised his *Journal* in anticipation of its eventual publication. Given this information, ask students to consider how Woolman’s sense of audience and literary conventions might have influenced the composition and shaped the meaning of the *Journal*.

■ Woolman frequently explains his religious motivations in terms of “openings,” or “drawings” sent to him by God. Ask students what they think he means by these terms. What rhetorical purpose do they serve? How do they work to justify Woolman’s actions? Ask students to reflect on the potential problems this passive ideal of acting only when moved by God might pose for someone like Woolman. In explicating the tensions between activity and passivity in the *Journal*, you might point out Woolman’s consistent use of the passive voice in his description of religious experiences.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: What rhetorical strategies and appeals does Woolman use to argue against slavery in *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*? Which are most persuasive? Which do you think would have been most effective in persuading other eighteenth-century Americans to abolish slavery?

Context: Woolman’s *Journal* has been celebrated as a particularly beautiful and effective example of “plain style.” How does his use of this style compare to that of other plain stylists discussed in this unit (Bradford, Bradstreet, and Penn, for example)? What kinds of values and beliefs might Woolman’s style reflect? Are they the same or different from the values held by Puritan plain stylists?

Exploration: How do Woolman’s concerns prefigure later social movements in America (abolitionism, civil rights issues, the development of welfare programs, for example)? Can you trace his influence in any contemporary discussions of social justice issues? What might Woolman think of contemporary American society? How would he feel about the ongoing problems of racism, bigotry, poverty, violence, and materialism?

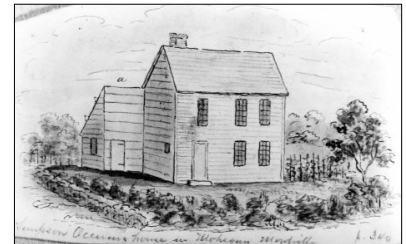
Samson Occom (1723–1792)

Samson Occom was born in 1723 in a Mohegan Indian community in Connecticut. At the age of sixteen he was “awakened and converted” to Christianity under the guidance of white itinerant ministers. Shortly thereafter, Occom began learning English and studying scripture under the tutelage of Eleazar Wheelock, a prominent missionary interested in training young Native American men to act as Christian ministers to their own people. In 1749, Occom left Wheelock to embark on such a mission. While teaching and preaching in Long Island, he met and married Mary Fowler, a Montauk Indian, with whom he had ten children. Occom was officially ordained as a minister in 1759.

Maintaining a close relationship with his mentor, Occom dedicated much of his early life to promoting Wheelock’s missions and projects. In 1765, at Wheelock’s behest, he embarked on an ambitious two-year speaking tour of England to raise money for a charity school for Indians in New England. The mission was a financial and public relations success, in large part because of Occom’s popularity among the English. The novelty of a Christianized American Indian attracted a great deal of attention, and Occom’s dedication to the project brought in large returns. While in England, he preached three hundred sermons and raised nearly twelve thousand pounds in contributions.

Upon his return to America, Occom was outraged to find his family living in poverty despite Wheelock’s promise to provide for them during Occom’s absence. His resentment toward Wheelock grew when he learned that the minister had decided to use the funds Occom had raised in England to turn the Indian school into Dartmouth College, an institution that quickly abandoned its focus on Native American students. Occom also complained that he was underpaid, for he had a large family to support and his wages never approached the salaries commanded by many white ministers. Finding himself in dire financial straits and feeling betrayed, Occom bitterly ended his long relationship with Wheelock. He devoted much of the rest of his life to preaching and raising funds for the resettlement of Christian Indians on lands belonging to the Oneida Indians in western New York. Though he eventually moved his family there and held the position of pastor within the settlement, the scheme was never entirely successful because of legal struggles and controversies over land claims. Occom died in New York in 1792.

During his lifetime Occom wrote extensively and published two works, making him one of the few Native Americans of the period to leave a written record of his life and thought. While his best-known piece is probably the “Sermon at the Execution of Moses Paul,” a transcription of the speech he delivered in 1772 before the execution of a fellow Christian Mohegan for the crime of murder, recent critical attention has also focused on Occom’s brief autobiography. Occom wrote “A Short Narrative of My Life” in 1768 as a defense against the criticisms and personal attacks he withstood after his quarrel with Wheelock. In it, he seeks to prove the authenticity of both his spirituality and his Indian identity, as well as to expose the injustices he suf-



[6747] John Warner Barber, *Sketch of Samson Occom’s house* (1836), courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society.

OCCOM WEB ARCHIVE

[1236] John Eliot, *The Holy Bible Containing the Old Testament and the New Translated into the Indian Language* (1663), courtesy of Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Commonly known as the “Eliot Bible,” this book was the first Bible published in New England and appeared over a hundred years before the first complete English edition of the Bible was published in the American colonies. It is written in Massachusett, the language of the Massachusett and Wampanoag Indians. John Eliot, the “Apostle to the Indians,” composed his text to serve the cause of Native American conversion to Puritan Christianity.

[2850] Brass medal given to Christian Indians as a reward for service, courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, N38319/N38320. Photo by Carmelo Guadagno. Christianized Indians fought on both the Native and the British sides in King Philip’s War, which led to confusion on the part of colonists as to who was a “good” and who was a “bad” Indian. Brass medals were awarded to those who served the British.

[6747] John Warner Barber, *Sketch of Samson Occom’s house* (1836), courtesy of the Connecticut Historical Society. This illustration from Barber’s *Historical Collections of Connecticut* is one of the few depictions of a private dwelling in the book. This house in Mohegan (present-day Montville, Connecticut) belonged to Occom. British-style housing, fenced yards, and individual property ownership were perceived by missionaries to be signs of a successful conversion to Christianity.

[6748] Anonymous, Rev. Samson Occom, *the Indian Preacher* (1802), courtesy of the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania. Between 1750 and 1766, Occom sat for at least three different portraits. This one emphasizes Occom’s identity as a minister, rather than his Native American heritage. Others show him in Native American dress that resembles a Roman toga.

ferred at the hands of whites. The document remained in the Dartmouth archives, unpublished, until 1982. It is one of the first autobiographical pieces in English by a Native American writer and thus offers a unique and important perspective on eighteenth-century American spiritual and social life.

TEACHING TIPS

■ You might provide students with some historical background on the Mohegan tribe so that they can situate Occom’s experience within the broader context of Indian/white relations in the colonial period in New England. A member of the Algonquian language family, the Mohegans constituted the northernmost branch of the Pequot tribe. During the devastating Pequot War (chronicled from the English perspective in Bradford’s *Of Plymouth Plantation*), the Mohegans sided with the English. This decision ensured a brief period of peace with European settlers following the war, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the tribe had been decimated by disease and by the colonists’ continual encroachment on its lands. At the time of Occom’s birth, the Mohegans numbered only about 350 and were confined to villages set aside for them in Connecticut.

■ Students may be unable to comprehend why seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Native Americans would have been interested in giving up their traditional beliefs in order to convert to Christianity. In fact, many Native Americans and African Americans embraced Christianity because it afforded them the same status as whites, as spiritual equals in the eyes of God. Of course, European colonists did not always respect this principle of spiritual equality. You might highlight the pointed contrasts Occom draws in his narrative between the Christian ideals espoused by whites and the actual treatment minority converts experienced at their hands.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: When does Occom feel that he is being treated unfairly? What is his concept of justice? How does he deal with the prejudice and mistreatment he experiences? What rhetorical strategies does he use to present his complaints in his narrative?

Context: Compare Occom’s description of Indian life and Indian identity with the perspectives on Indians offered by other writers in this unit (Bradford, Morton, Rowlandson, or Knight, for example). How does Occom’s narrative of Native American life complicate or challenge the perspectives of the English writers? Does his account of Indian culture have anything in common with their accounts?

Exploration: In his life, Occom managed to inhabit what often seemed to be two very separate cultures: he wrote and preached in English and committed himself to the Christian theology taught by white people, yet never lost his commitment to his identity as an Indian. How does Occom’s narrative provide evidence of the strategies he adopted in order to live in two separate cultures at the same

time? What tensions does this hybrid or dual identity produce in the narrative? This problem of hybridity or duality is a major theme in many works by later American writers. You might compare Occom's piece to William Apess's "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man," John Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks*, or W. E. B. Du Bois's concept of double consciousness in *The Souls of Black Folk*.

Suggested Author Pairings

WILLIAM BRADFORD AND THOMAS MORTON

Both Bradford and Morton chronicle the challenges of life in and around the Plymouth colony, in a few cases treating the same events. To the extent that these accounts are fundamentally at odds with one another, they bring into relief the cultural values that their authors wished their respective communities to embody and foster. In *Of Plymouth Plantation*, Bradford sought not only to describe life and events in the Plymouth colony but also to locate within the colony's history a divine design that accorded with his Puritan beliefs. In contrast, Morton, a non-Puritan, devotes much of his *New English Canaan* to satirizing the Puritans in Plymouth and to promoting New England colonization more for its potential financial profits than for its spiritual possibilities. Even the differences in their rhetorical styles reveal their conflicting values and beliefs. When compared to Bradford's plain style, Morton's elevated language and classical allusions indicate a writer preoccupied with the kinds of worldly concerns and social hierarchies that the Plymouth colonists sought to eschew. The two writers also offer very different perspectives on Anglo relationships with Native Americans.

JOHN WINTHROP AND WILLIAM PENN

Both Winthrop and Penn were leaders when their respective colonies were founded, helping to shape systems of government and setting the tone for future American political formations and values. Of course, their views were very different from one another and thus form an illuminating contrast. Winthrop's "Model of Christian Charity" presents his vision of the ideal Christian community, encouraging Puritans to maintain an exemplary piety and interpreting the Puritan mission as that of a "chosen people" fulfilling biblical prophecy. Penn's "Letter to the Lenni Lenape Indians" (written, like Winthrop's "Model," prior to its author's actually arriving in America) reveals a different worldview, endorsing tolerance and religious and cultural pluralism in its respect for Native American culture and civil rights. The two documents, then, make plain the very different assumptions and values that underwrote Puritan and Quaker culture: a sense of exclusivity, shared orthodoxy, and "chosen-ness" on one hand, and tolerance and pluralism on the other. Both had an enduring effect on the development of American culture and American mythology.

ANNE BRADSTREET AND EDWARD TAYLOR

Bradstreet and Taylor, both poets and Puritans, are a natural pairing. Both deal eloquently with difficult Puritan theological issues, such as anxiety about election and the struggle to “wean” affections from worldly interests. In this vein, they are frequently celebrated for their poignant evocations of family life and domestic culture, manifested by their use of simple, homely metaphors. Although Bradstreet’s work was published in her lifetime and Taylor’s was not, they share concerns about the problem of literary authority and the writer’s relationship to her or his audience: Taylor’s “Prologue” and Bradstreet’s “Prologue” and “The Author to Her Book” struggle with questions about the writer’s agency and the compatibility of poetry and Puritan piety. While both were apparently uninterested in or unwilling to see their own work published (Bradstreet’s poetry was published without her knowledge or consent), they both left carefully copied and preserved manuscripts at their deaths, suggesting that they took their vocations as poets very seriously. Bradstreet’s work is obviously complicated by her position as a woman in a patriarchal society, creating tensions not present in Taylor’s poems. Although both poets worked in the “plain style” on occasion, they both experimented with other poetic traditions. Bradstreet’s poems tend more toward the classical, while Taylor’s depend on biblical imagery and elaborate, extended poetic conceits.

MARY ROWLANDSON AND SARAH KEMBLE KNIGHT

Rowlandson’s and Knight’s narrative accounts of their respective journeys provide important insight into the role of women in early New England. Both texts chronicle journeys that were unusual undertakings for women—though obviously to totally different ends. Rowlandson’s journey was an unwilling one, and she struggles to maintain the Puritan ideal of passive femininity even while actively working for her own survival. Knight, on the other hand, embarked on her travels voluntarily and clearly embraces her role as a businessperson, active in a traditionally masculine realm. While Rowlandson filters her every experience through scripture and searches constantly for signs of God’s will, Knight barely mentions spiritual issues and concerns herself instead with witty social commentary. Perhaps their only point of overlap is their racism and intolerance of cultural practices different from their own. Written only twenty years apart, these two narratives reveal the diversity of the New England experience and the increasing secularization of Puritan culture.

JOHN WOOLMAN AND SAMSON OCCOM

Both Woolman’s *Journal* and Occom’s *Short Narrative* function as spiritual autobiographies, narrating their authors’ conversion to and acceptance of Christianity. While Woolman’s Quakerism was quite different from Occom’s evangelical Christianity, both men experienced a profound conversion in early youth, and both found their calling as

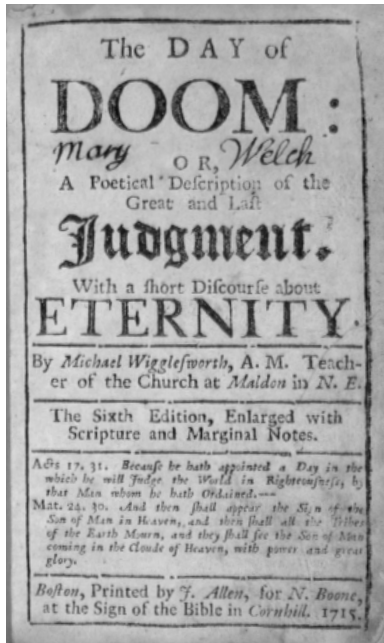
missionaries. Both wrote their pieces to persuade—Woolman’s to serve as a guide for those seeking “inner light,” and Occom’s to plead for Indian rights and to salvage his reputation after his sincerity and commitment were attacked. Most importantly, Occom and Woolman share a concern with social justice and a desire to abolish racism, intolerance, and poverty. Though Occom’s commitment to exposing and eradicating these social problems was the result of personal, first-hand experience while Woolman’s was more a sympathetic response, both wrote movingly on these subjects. Many of the problems Woolman and Occom identified and worked to end continue to haunt American culture, giving their work enduring relevance.

CORE CONTEXTS

Apocalypse: The End of the World as They Knew It

John Winthrop reports in his *Journal* that in 1637 a Puritan woman was driven to despair by her inability to ascertain whether she was one of God’s “elect,” destined for heaven, or one of the damned: “having been in much trouble of mind about her spiritual estate, [she] at length grew into utter desperation, and could not endure to hear of any comfort, so as one day she took her little infant and threw it into a well, and then came into the house and said, now she was sure she should be damned for she had drowned her child.” Although such a response to spiritual crisis was certainly extreme and anomalous, it was not uncommon for Puritans to experience intense anxiety about their spiritual condition. Puritan theology hinged on the concept of **election**, the idea that some individuals were predestined by God to be saved and taken to heaven while other individuals were doomed to hell. One’s status as a member of the elect did not necessarily correlate with good works or moral behavior on earth, for God had extended a “covenant of grace” to his chosen people that did not have to be earned, only accepted with faith. Despite the apparent ease with which a believer could attain everlasting salvation, Puritans in practice agonized over the state of their souls, living in constant fear of damnation and scrutinizing their own feelings and behavior for indications of whether or not God had judged them worthy.

For the Puritans, anticipation of God’s final judgment had relevance not just to the individual but to the community as a whole—and as a collective, they were far more confident about their spiritual status. Extending the notion of the covenant to the group, they operated under the conviction that they were the “chosen people of God,” or the “New Israel,” sent to New England to bring about the Kingdom of Christ on earth. Within the context of biblical history, they understood themselves to be living in the “end time” as it is prophesied in the Book of Revelation, with Christ’s Second Coming near at hand. All around them, comets, eclipses, and other “wonders” pointed to the imminence of the Final Judgment. Puritan ministers performed complex analyses



[4433] Michael Wigglesworth, *The Day of Doom. Or, A Short Description of the Great and Last Judgment. With a Short Discourse about Eternity.* By Michael Wigglesworth. The Seventh Edition, Enlarged. With a Recommendatory Epistle (in Verse) By the Rev. Mr. John Mitchel (1715), courtesy of the Tracy W. McGregor Library of American History, University of Virginia.

of scriptural predictions in order to pinpoint the exact day that New England would herald the **Apocalypse**, the time at which Christ would return and reign for a thousand years. According to the Puritans, this millennium would usher in the end of history: the earth would be destroyed, the elect would be ushered into heaven, and all others would be cast into hell.

The centrality of millennial apocalyptic beliefs to Puritan culture can be indexed by the extraordinary popularity of Michael Wigglesworth's poem "The Day of Doom." With its terrifying images of hellfire and damnation and its stern accounts of God's wrathfulness, the poem might seem grim and unappealing to modern readers. But Wigglesworth's lengthy verse description of the Apocalypse was a best-seller among seventeenth-century Puritans; scholars estimate that after its publication in 1662, one copy existed for every twenty-five New Englanders. Many Puritans were apparently moved to learn its 224 eight-line stanzas by heart. As the title indicates, the action takes place on Judgment Day, when a vengeful Christ divides humanity into two groups: the righteous sheep at his right hand and the sinful goats at his left. The goats' wickedness and religious heresy are exposed, and they are condemned to a burning lake in hell. The poem graphically describes the horrific punishments awaiting the non-elect:

With iron bands they bind their hands,
and cursed feet together,
And cast them all, both great and small,
into that lake forever.
Where day and night, without respite,
they wail, and cry, and howl,
For tort'ring pain, which they sustain
in body and in soul.

With its plain language and catchy rhyme scheme, "The Day of Doom" functioned for Puritans as a kind of "verse catechism," useful for teaching basic theological tenets. It frequently was employed to instruct children, who would thus grow up with a thorough understanding—however terrifying such knowledge might have been to them—of the coming Apocalypse.

In this cultural climate, death was approached with both fear and ecstatic expectancy, for it could bring either eternal torment or admittance to everlasting paradise. Only upon death could Puritans finally resolve the spiritual uncertainty that dominated their lives: death offered final and incontrovertible proof of their spiritual identity as either sheep or goats. The importance of death within Puritan culture is signaled by the attention they gave to funerary customs, including the carving of tombstones. Prior to the mid-1650s, Puritans usually left graves unmarked or indicated them only by simple wooden markers. Such non-decorative practices accorded with Puritans' rejection of all religious imagery as idolatrous "graven images" such as the Bible forbade. But by the 1660s, Puritans' preoccupation with death led them to erect elaborately carved gravestones decorated with symbolic images and engraved with language that both commemorated the

deceased individual and expressed orthodox ways of understanding human mortality. Typical gravestone iconography ranged from traditional symbols of the transitory nature of earthly existence (skulls, skeletons, hourglasses, scythes) to emblems suggesting the possibility of resurrection and regeneration (wings, birds, flowers, trees, the sun). Eventually, gravestones also came to include representations of cherubs and human forms.

One of the most common images found on early Puritan gravestones is the winged death's-head, prominent on the pediment of the Joseph Tapping stone (Boston, 1678). At first glance, the image seems grim and despairing, a visual corollary to the Latin inscriptions on the lower right panel of the stone (*Vive Memor Loethi* and *Fugit Hora*, or "Live mindful of death" and "Time is fleeting"). Yet the wings attached to the death's-head suggest the possibility of resurrection and ascension to heaven, thus pictorially signifying the conceptual duality of Puritan attitudes toward death as both a fearful event and a potential means to eternal salvation. The architectural symbolism of columns and tablets on the Reverend Abraham Nott stone (Essex, Connecticut, 1756) similarly functions as a visual emblem of apocalyptic thinking, suggesting the rebuilding of the temple and the Second Coming of Christ as it is prophesied in Revelation. With their iconographic fusion of religious and aesthetic values, gravestones offer important evidence about the interrelationship of spiritual concerns and attitudes toward death in Puritan culture.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: What kinds of images decorate the gravestones featured in the archive? Which images are most prominent? What do you think the images would have signified to Puritan viewers? How might the images have offered spiritual comfort to those mourning the dead?

Comprehension: Basing your opinion on the gravestones featured in the archive, how do you think Puritan gravestones changed over time? How might these differences reflect shifts in cultural values?

Comprehension: What is the concept of "election" in Puritan theology? Read Anne Bradstreet's spiritual reflections in her letter "To My Dear Children." How does she struggle with her faith and the question of her own election? What conclusions does she come to?

Context: In sermons delivered in the 1630s and 1640s, the Puritan minister John Cotton predicted that the Apocalypse would occur within the next fifteen years. Years later, at the end of the seventeenth century, his grandson Cotton Mather asserted that Puritans should expect the Apocalypse very soon. Using the timeline provided in this unit, examine the events that were occurring in New England in the 1630s, 1640s, and 1690s when these predictions were made. Why do you think Puritans living in this period would have felt that the end of the world was near at hand? What events and anxieties might have made these apocalyptic predictions seem realistic?



[4563] Anonymous, The Joseph Tapping Stone, King's Chapel, Boston, Massachusetts (1678), courtesy of Wesleyan University.

"APOCALYPSE" WEB ARCHIVE

[2121] Anonymous, *Goffe Rallying the men of Hadley* (1883), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-75122]. Indian attacks on villages in western Massachusetts during King Philip's War challenged the viability of English settlement in New England and led many to question why they had fallen so far from God's favor and to wonder whether the Apocalypse was near.

[3370] Anonymous, The Rebekah Gerrish Stone (1743), courtesy of Wesleyan University Press. This stone depicts the conflict between time and death: a candle is flanked by a skeleton on the left, about to snuff out the fire, and a winged angel on the right, with an hourglass in hand, making a prohibitive gesture toward the skeleton. This dispute reflects the dual nature of time and Judgment found in Wigglesworth's "Day of Doom" and the more concrete dualism of the Apocalypse: some will be sent to hell and some to heaven.

[4427] John Stevens, *The Mary Carr Stone* (1721), courtesy of Wesleyan University Press. The Mary Carr Stone, in Old Common Burying-ground in Newport, Rhode Island, reads “Here lyeth the Body of Mary the Wife of John Carr, Dyed Sepr; ye 28th: 1721: in ye 21st: year of her age.” The carving was made by the elder Stevens, a carver known for both the quality and the innovativeness of his work. The stone’s imagery emphasizes rebirth. The sides and bottom feature intricate leaf patterns, pilasters, rosettes: flower and leaves were associated with the life of man (Job 14) and fecundity. At the top is a cherub with wings, and at the base is a pair of peacocks, symbols of immortality.

[4433] Michael Wigglesworth, *The Day of Doom. Or, A Short Description of the Great and Last Judgment. With a Short Discourse about Eternity. By Michael Wigglesworth. The Seventh Edition, Enlarged. With a recommendatory epistle (in verse) by the Rev. Mr. John Mitchel* (1715), courtesy of the Tracy W. McGregor Library of American History, University of Virginia. Originally published in 1662, this New England best-seller was often memorized by the pious: by 1715 it was already in its seventh edition. The poem tells of the coming of Christ on judgment day and the separating of the sheep (saved) from the goats (unsaved). A jeremiad, the text uses fire and brimstone to encourage sinful readers to repent.

Context: Compare Wigglesworth’s “Day of Doom” with Taylor’s “Meditation 42” and Bradstreet’s “The Flesh and the Spirit.” Compare the poets’ visions of the afterlife. Do they have different views about God’s wrathfulness? About his mercy? What do their descriptions of heaven have in common? How are they different?

Context: Examine the engraved images on the gravestones featured in the archive; then skim the poetry of Anne Bradstreet and Edward Taylor. Do you find any overlap in the imagery deployed? When you find similar imagery used (birds or flowers, for example), examine the context carefully. Do you think the stone carvers invested these symbols with the same meaning that Bradstreet or Taylor did? Why or why not?

Exploration: As you have read, apocalyptic thinking gained great cultural currency in New England in the seventeenth century. In our own time, anxiety about the Cold War and the dawning of the year 2000 created a great deal of interest in the Apocalypse. How does late-twentieth-century thinking about the Apocalypse compare to Puritan apocalyptic ideas? How do contemporary films and literature having to do with the Apocalypse compare to Puritan writings?

Exploration: Puritans often used Wigglesworth’s “Day of Doom” to teach children basic religious and social principles. What effect do you think the poem would have on young children? How does the poem compare to Victorian and twentieth-century poetry created for children? How do you think American attitudes toward childhood have changed since the seventeenth century?

Exploration: Examine the Puritan gravestones in the archive; then think about other, later American graves you may have seen (Grant’s tomb, Kennedy’s eternal flame, battlefield grave markers, etc.). What kinds of cultural values and attitudes toward death do these later graves reflect? How are they different from Puritan values?

Souls in Need of Salvation, Satan’s Agents, or Brothers in Peace?: English Settlers’ Views of Native Americans

When English immigrants set sail for the “New World” in the early seventeenth century, many of them believed that they would be settling what William Bradford called “a vast and unpeopled country.” When they arrived in America, however, they found not an empty wilderness but a developed region with a large population of Native Americans. Despite tendencies to view “the Indians” as a monolithic group, it is important to realize that Native American culture was extremely diverse; different tribes spoke different languages, created different political structures, and developed distinct cultural practices. Often, they fought among themselves over rights to land and game. Native American communities developed different strategies for dealing with the European settlers who began descending on their land in the seventeenth century: some opted to resist, some fled their traditional homelands, some sought accommodation, and some struck

compromises. Cultural misunderstandings and intolerance plagued Indian-European relations, hampering negotiations and sometimes leading to violent confrontations.

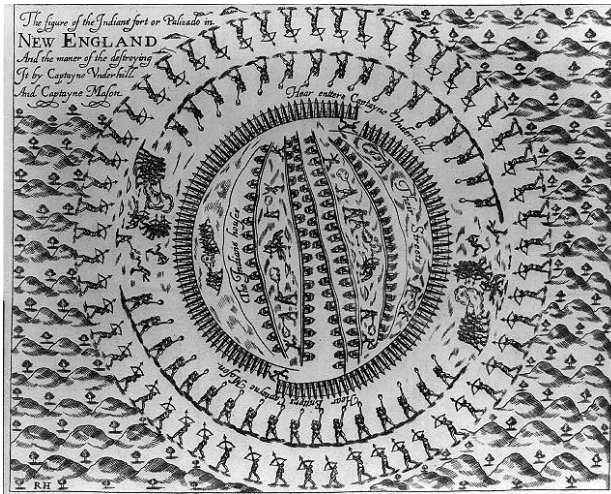
Many Puritans who arrived in New England were convinced that the Indians they encountered represented remnants of the “Lost Tribes of Israel,” a part of God’s nation of chosen people that had gone astray and needed to be converted and saved. This belief was in fact one of the central premises of the Massachusetts Bay Colony charter: its colonial seal featured a picture of a Native American uttering the words “Come over and help us.” Such imagery enabled the Puritan fantasy that Native Americans were voluntarily inviting them to North America, where they were anxiously awaiting the colonists’ charity and spiritual instruction. In practice, Native Americans found that Puritan conversion practices could be extremely coercive and culturally insensitive. For Indians, accepting Christianity generally involved giving up their language, severing kinship ties with other Indians who had not been “saved,” and abandoning their traditional homes to live in European-style “Praying Towns.” Many Native Americans were understandably hostile toward Puritan missionaries, perceiving their work as a threat to Indian social bonds and cultural practices. Except for the persistence of a few zealous missionaries like John Eliot, Puritans’ enthusiasm for proselytizing among the natives had waned by the late seventeenth century.

Puritan-Indian relations were further troubled by recurring disagreements over land use and land rights. Part of the problem stemmed from the groups’ fundamentally different attitudes toward land ownership. To the New England Indians, “selling” land did not mean granting exclusive, perpetual ownership to the buyer; instead, it involved accepting a new neighbor and sharing resources. The Puritans, on the other hand, were committed to the notion of private property and expected Native Americans immediately and permanently to vacate their land upon its sale. Some Puritan settlers felt that they were entitled to Native American land because, in their view, the Indians were squandering the land’s potential by failing to enclose it or to farm it in the English manner. The problems inevitably caused by these radically different concepts of land use and land ownership were compounded by the Puritans’ increasing conviction that the Indians’ claims were invalid anyway, because God intended to bestow New England upon the English. By 1676, the minister Increase Mather wrote confidently about the Puritans’ property rights over “the Heathen People amongst whom we live, and whose Land the Lord God of our Fathers has given to us for a rightful possession.”

As Mather’s rhetoric makes clear, many Puritans saw Indians less as “the Lost Tribes” than as irredeemable “heathens.” Shifting the biblical context through which they understood the Native Americans, Puritans likened them to the Canaanites or Amalekites, heathen peoples whom God sent as a scourge to test the nation of Israel and whose extermination was necessary for the fulfillment of his divine plan. This antagonistic perspective on the part of the Puritans enabled what critic Richard Slotkin calls “a new mythology of Puritan-Indian rela-



[2583] The First Seal of Massachusetts Bay Colony (1629), courtesy of the Massachusetts Secretary of the Commonwealth, Public Records Division.



[1210] John Underhill, *The Figure of the Indians' Fort or Palizado in New England and the Manner of the Destroying It by Captayne Underhill and Captayne Mason* (1638) courtesy of, the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-32055].

"VIEWS OF NATIVE AMERICANS" WEB ARCHIVE

[1210] John Underhill, *The Figure of the Indians' Fort or Palizado in New England and the Manner of the Destroying It by Captayne Underhill and Captayne Mason* (1638), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-32055]. In 1636, the English settlers engaged in a campaign to wipe out the Pequot tribe. Captain John Underhill chronicled the Pequot War in his *News from America* (1638), providing this sketch of the Puritans, along with their Narragansett allies, encircling and destroying a Pequot village.

[2583] The First Seal of Massachusetts Bay Colony (1629), courtesy of the Massachusetts Bay Secretary of the Commonwealth, Public Records Division. The Massachusetts Bay Colony's official seal features a Native American uttering the words "Come

tionships in which war and exorcism replaced tutelage and conversion." As early as 1636, the English settlers engaged in a genocidal campaign to wipe out the Pequot tribe. In *Of Plymouth Plantation*, William Bradford described the carnage wrought by the Puritans as a "sweet sacrifice" and "gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully." Captain John Underhill also chronicled the Pequot War in his *News from America* (1638), providing a sketch of the Puritans, along with their Narragansett allies, encircling and destroying a Pequot village. Puritan-Indian hostilities erupted again in 1676 with King Philip's War, one of the most devastating wars (in proportion to population) in American history. Former Puritan allies like the Narragansetts banded together with other Algonquian tribes to oppose the English. In her nar-

rative of captivity among the Indians during King Philip's War, Mary Rowlandson frequently employs standard Puritan demonizing rhetoric, calling her captors "infidels," "hell-hounds," and "savages," and insisting that they are a "scourge" sent by God to chasten and test his chosen people. She reserves a special hatred for Native Americans who had experienced Christian conversion (the "Praying Indians"); in her view, they were nothing but hypocrites. Still, tensions and contradictions mark Rowlandson's narrative; she comes to see some Indians as individuals capable of humanity and charity, thus complicating her black-and-white worldview. English victories in both the Pequot War and King Philip's war, combined with the ravaging effects of European diseases like smallpox, resulted in the depletion of Native American populations in New England and enabled Puritans to seize most remaining Indian lands in the region by the early eighteenth century.

Unfortunately, we do not have extensive records of Indian/Puritan encounters during the seventeenth century composed from a Native American perspective. But some written accounts, pictographs, archaeological evidence, and transcriptions of oral traditions survive to give an indication of what Indians thought about the English settlers in New England. Some of the most interesting records remain from Natick, an Indian "Praying Town" east of Boston. Established in 1651 by missionary John Eliot, Natick consisted of English-style homesteads, three streets, a bridge across the Charles River, as well as a meetinghouse, which housed a school, and the governing body. The Indian residents of Natick were taught to read and write in their native language of Massachuset, using letters from the Roman alphabet. In 1988, anthropologists Kathleen Bragdon and Goddard Ives translated the town records from Natick into English and published an accompanying grammar for the Massachuset language under the title *Native Writings in Massachuset*. Our understanding of native lives and the Algonquian view of conquest has been further enhanced by Williams Simmons's ground-breaking collection of Algonquian oral tradition from southeastern New England, *The Spirit of New England Tribes, and*

Indian Converts (1727), and Experience Mayhew's biographies of four generations of Wampanoag men, women, and children from the island of Martha's Vineyard. These documents suggest that Indian converts often adapted Christianity to suit their needs and to face the trials of conquest, rather than merely being transformed into "Red Puritans."

In the colony of Pennsylvania, William Penn and the Quakers demonstrated that Indian-European relations did not have to be based on intolerance or violence toward native cultures. Initiating contact with the Delaware in his "Letter to the Lenni Lenape," Penn showed respect for Native American culture, pledged to treat Native Americans as equals, and acknowledged their land rights. The Pennsylvania seal provides a telling contrast to the seal of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, revealing important differences in the two colonies' attitudes toward and treatment of Native Americans. Rather than depicting the Indians as inferior beings in need of help, the Pennsylvania seal offers an image of harmony and equality: a Native American and a European share a pipe, while the motto proclaims "Let us look to the Most High who blessed our fathers with peace." Under Penn's leadership, the Quakers were scrupulously fair in their negotiations of land deals with Native Americans. The wampum belt featured in the archive, which functioned within Delaware culture as a kind of land deed, testifies to the Quakers' willingness to participate in and respect Indian cultural practices. As a result of their commitment to tolerance and mutual respect, the Quakers and Indians lived in peace in Pennsylvania for over half a century.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: How did the Puritans' understanding of the Bible shape their attitudes toward Native Americans? How did Quaker theology shape their relationship with Native Americans? How did the theology of Native American Christians affect their attitudes towards whites?

Comprehension: How did Puritans justify seizing Native American land? Can you find examples of these justifications in any of the texts covered in this unit (Bradford, Rowlandson, Knight, Winthrop, or Occom, for example)?

Context: What does John Underhill's sketch of the Puritan attack on the Pequot community tell you about the Puritans' method of war or their feelings about that particular battle? How does the presence of Narragansett allies (the outer ring of figures in the sketch) complicate our understanding of the battle? How does the sketch compare with the written account of the Pequot War William Bradford gives in *Of Plymouth Plantation*?

Context: Samson Occom composed his "Short Narrative" almost a century after the conclusion of King Philip's War. How do white attitudes toward Native Americans seem to have changed by his time? How do they seem similar? How does his narrative challenge whites' ideas about Indians?

Exploration: How do later eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-

over and help us." The "help" requested is the gift of the Gospel, as explained by John Winthrop in his "Reasons to be considered for iustifieing the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England."

[2825] William Hubbard, *The Present State of New England. Being a Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England* (1677), courtesy of Special Collections, the University of Pennsylvania Library. Like Mary Rowlandson's captivity narrative, this history of King Philip's War views Native Americans as agents of Satan who have been sent to test the Puritans. It includes one of the early maps of New England.

[2850] Brass medal given Christian Indians as a reward for service, courtesy of the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, N38319/N38320. Photo by Carmelo Guadagno. Christianized Indians fought on both the Native and the British sides in King Philip's War, which led to confusion on the part of colonists as to who was a "good" and who was a "bad" Indian. Brass medals were awarded to those who served the British.

[5054] Gleasons Pictorial, *In Honor of the Birthday of Governor John Winthrop, Born June 12th, 1587* (1854), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-120506]. Woodprint engraving of head-and-shoulders portrait of Governor John Winthrop, flanked by statues of a Native American (left) and a pilgrim (right) and with a homestead below.

[5214] Iroquois Wampum belt, courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Wampum, usually found in bead form and made from Quahog shells found along the southern New England coast, was an important item for exchange and political dealings among Indians; after European settlement, it came to resemble a type of currency.

[6326] Jean Leon Gerome Ferris, *The First Thanksgiving 1621* (1932), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-15915]. The Thanksgiving holiday has gained mythic status through representations of the event as a critical occasion of the Plymouth colony.

century romanticized visions of Native Americans as “noble savages” relate to Puritan and Quaker ideas about Native Americans? Why do you think the “noble savage” concept became so popular later in American history?

Exploration: How do white Americans’ attitudes toward Native Americans through the centuries compare to their attitudes toward other non-white groups?

Puritan Typology: Living the Bible

The Puritans developed **typology** as a mode both for reading scripture and for understanding the significance of historical and current events. In its strictest sense, typology refers to the practice of explicating signs in the Old Testament as foreshadowing events, personages, ceremonies, and objects in the New Testament. According to typological logic, Old Testament signs, or “types,” prefigure their fulfillment or “antitype” in Christ. Applied more broadly, typology enabled Puritans to read biblical types as forecasting not just the events of the New Testament but also their own historical situation and experiences. In this way, individual Puritans could make sense of their own spiritual struggles and achievements by identifying themselves with biblical personages like Adam, Noah, or Job. But this broad understanding of typology was not restricted to individual typing; the Puritans also interpreted their group identity as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, identifying their community as the “New Israel.”

Tied to their typological understanding of their communal identity was the Puritans’ belief that they had entered into a covenant with God. Like the Old Testament Hebrews, the Puritans felt themselves to be a “chosen nation,” a people through whom God would fulfill his divine plan on earth. Their covenant, however, was not the same as the Old Testament covenant God had formed with the Israelites. The coming of Christ had changed the terms of the contract, enabling them to live under a “covenant of grace.” According to this doctrine, God had freely extended salvation to the Puritans—salvation that did not have to be earned through good works, only accepted with faith. Right behavior would follow from acceptance of and faith in the covenant. On an individual level, Puritans agonized over the status of their covenant with God (that is, their election), but as a group they were more confident. Having entered into voluntary church covenants, and thus into a kind of national covenant with God, they were assured of the centrality of their role in the cosmic drama of God’s plan. Like the Israelites of old, they had received a “special commission” from God and had come to the New World to fulfill their mission.

The typological implications of the Puritans’ covenant theology are apparent in “A Model of Christian Charity,” the sermon John Winthrop delivered on board the *Arbella* while traveling to New England. Proclaiming that “the God of Israel is among us” and has formed a “near bond of marriage between him and us, wherein he hath taken us to be his,” Winthrop interprets the Puritans as the antitype of the Old

Testament Jews. His famous declaration that New England shall be “as a City upon a Hill” elevates the Puritan community to the status of an exemplary society with the potential to fulfill scriptural prophecies. The same typological worldview that characterizes Winthrop’s speech also moved the Puritans to name some of the settlements they created in the New World after scriptural references—New Canaan and New Haven, for example.

As the Puritan community grew and changed, it became clear that typological interpretations were neither stable nor uniform. Different people could interpret events as having different kinds of typological significance, sometimes to ends that Puritan leaders considered unorthodox or subversive. During the divisive Antinomian Controversy (1637), for example, John Winthrop and Anne Hutchinson engaged in a kind of war of rival typological interpretations. During her trial, Hutchinson interpreted herself as the Old Testament figure of Daniel and the Puritan court as the lion’s den: she claimed that God had told her that just as he “delivered Daniel out of the lion’s den, I will also deliver thee.” Seeing her own trial as the anti-type of Daniel’s encounter with the lions, she declared to the court that they would see “this scripture fulfilled this day.” John Winthrop was outraged by this reading of events, sarcastically noting that if Hutchinson’s typologizing were to be believed, “she must be delivered by miracle, and all we must be ruined.” He went on to impose his own typological interpretation of Hutchinson’s role in the fulfillment of biblical prophecy: “One would hardly have guessed her to have been an Antitype of Daniel, but rather of the Lions after they were let loose.”

Despite these internal skirmishes over proper typologizing, Puritan leaders found that their typological interpretations of external threats, by uniting their congregants in a shared spiritual mission, could serve as an effective method for consolidating the community. For instance, Puritans justified their seizure of Native American lands and their wars against Native Americans by typologizing Indians as “Amalekites” or “Canaanites,” heathen peoples whom God sent as a scourge to test the nation of Israel and whose extermination was necessary for the fulfillment of his divine plan. In this way, Puritans marshaled biblical typology to legitimate their destruction of Indian culture. Typologizing opposition and challenges as “tests,” “scourges,” or “punishments” sent by God allowed Puritans to read even their misfortunes as paradoxical proofs of God’s love and of their status as his “chosen people.” After all, they reasoned, God would not bother chastising or testing them if he did not view them as special. In her narrative of her captivity, Mary Rowlandson struggles to understand an experience that would otherwise have been inexplicably frightening and horrific as evidence of God’s chastising hand, at first disciplining and ultimately delivering her. Rowlandson’s story of holy affliction and deliverance touched a chord with the entire Puritan community. Ministers such as Increase Mather determined to read her individual experience as a communal lesson: God had not tested and punished Rowlandson alone; he had tested and punished the Puritan nation through her. In this way, Rowlandson herself functions as a type of the



[4439] *Judea Capta* coin (71 C.E.), courtesy of the American Numismatic Society.



[4781] Anonymous, Detail of the Eliakim Hayden Stone (1797), courtesy of Wesleyan University.

Old Testament *judea capta*, or Israel in bondage. Her purifying ordeal in the wilderness reflects God's punishment of the "New Israel" for its sins. Her redemption from captivity reflects New England's reinstatement in God's favor.

Of course, her narrative also offers evidence that typology provided Rowlandson with a more personal, individualized kind of comfort. She articulates her suffering through the words of Old Testament figures, drawing strength from understanding her own experience through theirs. Likening herself to Job, the good servant of God who is afflicted by a bewildering set of misfortunes in order to test the depth of his faith, Rowlandson seeks comfort in the notion that God's ways are beyond human understanding, but that his servants must remain patient and faithful. Like Rowlandson's narrative, the Eliakim Hayden gravestone (Essex, Connecticut, 1797) offers an example of typology applied to the individual life. The carved design of the stone shows Noah's ark, floating on the floodwaters, while a dove flies overhead with a cross in the background. Puritans understood the Old Testament story of Noah as a prefiguring, or type, of Christ, and the flood as a type of baptism. The cross and the dove carved on the stone, then, serve as antitypes representing Christ offering salvation for Adam's original sin. The epitaph clarifies the typological imagery: "As in Adame, all mankinde / Did guilt and death derive / So by the Righteousness of Christ / Shall all be made alive." Implicitly including Hayden's life within its typological reading—his soul is clearly one that has been "made alive" through Christ—the gravestone iconographically invokes biblical prophecy and folds the Puritan individual into its scriptural schema.

"PURITAN TYPOLOGY" WEB ARCHIVE

[1243] Peter Pelham, *Portrait of Cotton Mather* (1728), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZ62-92308]. This portrait of Cotton Mather was composed in the year of his death, 1728. The grandson of John Cotton and the eldest son of Increase Mather, Cotton Mather became the foremost Puritan theologian of his generation and is often blamed for the religious hysteria that spawned the Salem witch trials.

[6324] Sarony and Major, *The Landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock*, Dec. 11th, 1620 (1846), courtesy of the Library of Congress [LC-USZC4-4311]. Although no evidence directly links the Mayflower's 1620 landing to Plymouth Rock, this location has come to represent the birthplace of English settlement in New England.

[7181] Michael J. Colacurcio, Interview: "The Puritans and Biblical

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: How does Rowlandson's *Narrative* understand her captivity as typologically significant both for herself as an individual and for her community as a whole? Does Rowlandson's need to understand her experience on two levels create tensions within the text? If so, how?

Comprehension: How would you interpret the Eliakim Hayden gravestone typologically? What do the images carved on the stone mean? What do you think the images that look like eyes at the top of the stone represent? How do the images relate to the rhymed aphorism in the epitaph?

Comprehension: How does John Winthrop use typological interpretations of current events to political ends? How do the typological interpretations in the "Model of Christian Charity" compare to his typological understanding of Anne Hutchinson seven years later? Do the motivations behind his typologizing change over time?

Context: Read Edward Taylor's "Meditation 8." How does Taylor join the Old Testament type of "manna" with the New Testament antitype of Christ as the bread of life? How does a typological reading change the significance of the homely metaphor of bread and bread baking in this poem?

Context: What kind of status did the Puritans' commitment to typology grant to the Bible? How might it work to blur the line between text and life? Why do you think the concept of typology never gained currency within Quaker theology?

Context: How does Mary Rowlandson typologize herself in her narrative? To which biblical personages does she choose to compare herself? Why?

Context: On September 2, 1772, Mohegan minister Samson Occom preached to a mixed audience of native peoples and whites about the execution of convicted murderer and drunkard Moses Paul, a Mohegan. For white ministers and their parishioners, American Indian drunkenness was only one of a long series of signs that confirmed their typological understanding of Native Americans as either helpless, "heathen," or satanic. Even Occom's supporters occasionally expressed fear that American Indians could never be incorporated into Christ's body politic. Occom uses as his inspiration a quotation from St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, a letter that insists that Gentiles, not Israelites, are the true inheritors of Christ. How does Occom use typology to redefine the community to which he preaches?

Exploration: Why do you think the Puritans wished to interpret their relationship with God as a contract? What responsibilities, benefits, or anxieties do you think this contractual understanding of spirituality caused for the Puritans?

Exploration: What kinds of assumptions do people make when they embrace the idea that they are part of a "chosen nation"? Who is excluded from "chosen-ness"?

Exploration: Do you see the influence of typology in any later American writings? When do Americans seem most likely to turn to strategies like typology to make sense of the world and their place within it?

Typology" (2001), courtesy of Annenberg Media. Colacurcio, professor of American literary and intellectual history to 1900 (UCLA), discusses the Puritans' investment in biblical typology.

EXTENDED CONTEXTS

The Doctrine of Weaned Affections: In Search of Spiritual Milk

One of the most important theological doctrines for many Puritans is what has been called the "doctrine of **weaned affections**." This doctrine holds that individuals must learn to wean themselves from earthly attachments and instead make spiritual matters their priority. Obviously, inappropriate earthly attachments included material possessions such as one's home, furniture, clothing, and valuables. But the doctrine of weaned affections could also proscribe things that we do not usually think of as incompatible with spirituality, such as a love of natural beauty, a dedication to secular learning, or even an intense devotion to one's spouse, children, or grandchildren. According to orthodox Puritan theology, anything tied to this world—even relation-



[4643] Anonymous, Detail of the left panel of the Peter and Mary Tufts Stone, Malden, Massachusetts (1702), courtesy of Wesleyan University.

"WEANED AFFECTIONS" WEB ARCHIVE

[1219] Anonymous, *The Mason Children: David, Joanna, Abigail* (1670), courtesy of Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, gift of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd, 1979.7.3. This rare early New England portrait of children offers insight into the merchant class. Children were considered small, sinful adults—hence the adult head-to-body ratio, clothing, and posture. The lack of sensuality reflects the religious mores and plain style of the time.

[1355] Joseph Badger, *Faith Savage Waldo* (ca. 1750), courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts. Originally a house, ship, and sign painter, Joseph Badger took up portraiture in Boston around 1745. Here Faith Savage Waldo (Mrs. Cornelius Waldo, 1683–1760) holds a book, perhaps signaling her piety as well as her social position, which is reinforced by the quality of her dress and drapes.

ships with family members—should be secondary to God. While the idea of weaned affections may have been emotionally practical given the seventeenth century's high mortality rates, it was still a difficult doctrine to live by. Mary Rowlandson's bitterness about being separated from her home, family, and domestic comforts attests to the power these attachments held for her, even though she insists that she welcomes and has been purified by God's testing of her spiritual commitment. Anne Bradstreet's vivid poetic evocations of her love for her family and her home also offer evidence of the tensions created by the doctrine of weaned affections. Her reflections on her relationships with nature, her husband, her children, her grandchildren, and even her house are poignantly balanced by her reminders to herself that her affections belong elsewhere.

Implicit in the language of "weaned affections" is the imagery of breast feeding, nursing, and weaning. In fact, Puritan ministers frequently employed breast and breast feeding imagery in their sermons and poetry, appropriating this female bodily function as a metaphor for proper spiritual nourishment and dependence upon God. In the Puritans' symbolic understanding, the Bible was spiritual milk, and the minister was the breast at which his congregation suckled. Male ministers were comfortable figuring themselves as feminine "breasts" because the metaphor granted them a kind of spiritual, parental authority as vessels for God's word and providers of sustenance for their congregants. The Peter and Mary Tufts gravestone (Malden, Massachusetts, 1702) exemplifies the willingness of Puritan men to appropriate breast imagery to spiritual ends, featuring an obviously male, mustached figure with breasts.

Puritan children were taught from an early age about the importance of renouncing earthly nourishment and affection in favor of "spiritual milk." One of the first texts written and printed for an audience of children, John Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Babes, Drawn Out of the Breasts of Both Testaments for their Souls Nourishment* (England, 1646; Boston, 1656), emphasized the doctrine of weaned affections. *Spiritual Milk* offered a formal catechism for children to memorize, imparting a sense of the corruption and depravity of the earthly human condition through a series of ritualized questions and answers:

Q: Are you then born a Sinner?

A: I was conceived in sin, and born in iniquity.

Q: What is your Birth-sin?

A: Adam's sin imputed to me, and a corrupt nature dwelling in me.

Q: What is your corrupt nature?

A: My corrupt nature is empty of Grace, bent unto sin, and only unto sin, and that continually.

Cotton's *Spiritual Milk* was often included in the *New England Primer*, a popular Puritan textbook designed to promote children's literacy and religious training. The *Primer* itself worked to instill in children a sense of the transitory nature of earthly existence and the necessity of focusing on spiritual concerns. Teaching the alphabet

through moral aphorisms, the *Primer* preached “G: As runs the Glass / Man’s life doth pass” and “Y: Youth forward slips / Death soonest nips.” Puritans thus learned early that, since life on earth was fleeting, they should not become attached to things of this world and should instead reserve their most intense affections for the spiritual realm.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: Why does the Tufts gravestone feature a man with breasts? What would this imagery have signified to Puritan viewers? How might it have served to comfort mourners?

Context: How does Anne Bradstreet deal with the doctrine of weaned affections in her poems “In Memory of My Dear Grandchild Elizabeth Bradstreet,” “A Letter to Her Husband, Absent upon Public Employment,” and “Here Follows Some Verses upon the Burning of Our House”? What tensions arise as a result of her love for her family and for her material possessions? To what spiritual use does she turn the experience of losing grandchildren and her home? Is she entirely resigned to the notion that “my hope and treasure lies above”?

Exploration: Although Cotton’s catechism in *Spiritual Milk for Babies* may seem bleak and rather demoralizing for children, it was used as a teaching device through the nineteenth century. How do you think the worldview espoused in the catechism influenced American culture? Do you see evidence of Cotton’s Puritan beliefs, or responses to them, at work in later American literature?

[4643] Anonymous, Detail of the left panel of the Peter and Mary Tufts Stone, Malden, Massachusetts (1702), courtesy of Wesleyan University. This detail from the Peter and Mary Tufts gravestone, erected in Malden, Massachusetts, around 1702, features a male figure with breasts. Puritan ministers frequently employed breast and breastfeeding imagery in their sermons and poetry, appropriating this female bodily function as a metaphor for proper spiritual nourishment and dependence upon God.

[6749] Anonymous, *New England Primer* (1807), courtesy of the Gettysburg College Special Collections. The *New England Primer* (first published in Boston in 1690) was a popular Puritan textbook designed to promote children’s literacy and religious training.

[7179] Emory Elliot, Interview: “Winthrop and the Puritan Motivations for Settlement” (2001), courtesy of Annenberg Media. Elliott, professor of English (University of California, Riverside), discusses John Winthrop and the rallying of the Puritans to work together.

Plain Style: Keeping It Simple

The term **plain style** refers to a mode of expression characterized by its clarity, accessibility, straightforward simplicity, and lack of ornamentation. In early America, the plain-style aesthetic had broad cultural relevance, shaping the language of prose and poetry, the design of furniture and buildings, and the style of painting and other visual arts. Rejecting ornamental flourishes and superfluous decoration as evidence of sinful vanity, plain stylists worked to glorify God in their productions rather than show off their own artistry or claim any renown for themselves. As the Puritan minister John Cotton put it, “God’s altar needs not our polishings.” By shunning extraneous embellishment, practitioners of the plain style hoped both to make their messages easily understandable and to avoid any distractions that might divert their audience’s attention from God. The simplicity, humility, and directness of the plain-style aesthetic appealed to both Quakers and Puritans, for despite profound theological differences, both groups sought religious purity through the rejection of worldly interests.

Early Quaker and Puritan church architecture provide perhaps the clearest examples of the ideals of plain style, since these buildings are conspicuously free of the stained glass and carved and painted reli-



[4475] Old Ship Church, 88 Main Street, Hingham, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, interior (1681), courtesy of the Library of Congress [HABS, MASS,12-HING,5-].



[1351] Anonymous, *Elizabeth Clarke Freake (Mrs. John Freake) and Baby Mary* (about 1671 and 1674), courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.

"PLAIN STYLE" WEB ARCHIVE

[1223] Anonymous, *John Freake* (1671–74), courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts. The unknown artist called the "Freake Painter" painted this likeness of John Freake, a Boston merchant. Like the other works attributed to the Freake Painter (scholars have identified a group of eight portraits painted in or near Boston in 1670–74), this painting is defined by its intricate detail, in combination with a rigidity in the subject's posture. John Freake's upright stiffness suggests his high moral stature as a public figure in the spiritual community of Boston.

[1351] Anonymous, *Elizabeth Clarke Freake (Mrs. John Freake) and Baby Mary* (about 1671 and 1674), courtesy of Worcester Art Museum, Worcester,

gious decorations we tend to expect in houses of worship. Instead, Puritan and Quaker meetinghouses are consciously spare, defined by their linear design, exposure of structural supports, and open lighting. The unpretentious interiors have no carvings or altars (Quaker meetinghouses would not even have pulpits), creating unadorned spaces that allow congregants to concentrate on their individual relationships with God. These structures express the ideals of plain style and serve as examples of a distinctly American architecture.

Some seventeenth-century American paintings also reveal the influence of the plain-style aesthetic. The portraits of the Freake family painted by an unidentified Boston artist in the 1670s are characterized by a flatness of form and a precise linearity that render the human figures somewhat two-dimensional and deprive the subjects of sensuous, tactile qualities. While the portraits' depiction of the rich fabrics and expensive finery that mark the Freakes as a wealthy mercantile family is somewhat at odds with Puritan plain-style ideals, the flat, simple artistic style of the paintings shares in the plain-style aesthetic.

Plain-style ideals also shaped the development of literature among Puritan and Quaker writers. Though many Puritans used elaborate, highly ornate metaphorical language to convey their religious ideals, some developed a more simplified literary style (most famously William Bradford). Characterized by the absence of rhetorical flourishes and limited use of figurative language, texts composed in the plain-style tradition focus on making their meanings straightforward and accessible. When metaphors appear within plain-style texts, they usually derive from the Bible or refer to homely, everyday objects rather than classical allusions. But the restraint of plain-style writing does not signify a lack of artistry; rather, it can be elegant, powerful, and persuasive in its very simplicity.

QUESTIONS

Comprehension: Why would early congregants of the churches featured in the archive have found them architecturally suitable for Puritan or Quaker spiritual practices? What "plain-style" characteristics are visible in the construction of these churches? How does the plain style aesthetic embodied in this architecture complement Quaker and Puritan religious values and beliefs?

Context: Puritan poets Anne Bradstreet and Edward Taylor are sometimes identified as plain stylists and sometimes seen as part of other poetic traditions (such as classical, ornate, or metaphysical). When does their work seem to participate in the plain-style aesthetic? When does it seem to be doing something different? Do some topics or concepts lend themselves better to plain-style representation?

Exploration: Do you see the plain-style aesthetic as an influence on any later American art or literary movements? Do these later turns toward plainness and simplicity reflect the same values as the Puritan and Quaker use of plain style?

ASSIGNMENTS

Personal and Creative Responses

1. *Journal*: Try to imagine how one of Mary Rowlandson's Narragansett or Wampanoag captors would have experienced the events that she describes during her captivity. Remember that the Indians were provoked by the Plymouth colony's decision to execute members of the Wampanoag tribe, as well as by longstanding tensions with European settlers over land rights. By the late seventeenth century, many Native Americans in the New England region were suffering from disease and starvation as European settlers encroached upon their traditional homes and hunting grounds. Given this background information, write a short narrative of the conflict at Lancaster, the capture of Mrs. Rowlandson, and the subsequent journey into the wilderness from the point of view of a Native American.
2. *Poet's Corner*: Read Anne Bradstreet's "In Memory of My Dear Grandchild Elizabeth Bradstreet" and Edward Taylor's "Upon Wedlock, and Death of Children." Make a list of the images and metaphors the poets employ to characterize their familial relationships. How do Bradstreet and Taylor employ similar images to different ends? Draw upon Bradstreet's and Taylor's metaphors and images to write your own poem. Write about what these images signify to you personally; your poem need not be about family, religion, or God.
3. *Multimedia*: Imagine that you have embarked on a journey through colonial America. Explain the nature of your journey (you might be a traveling missionary, like John Woolman or Samson Occom; you could be a captive, like Mary Rowlandson; or you might be on a business trip, like Sarah Kemble Knight). Using the *American Passages* archive and slide-show software, create a multimedia photo album of the highlights of your journey. Include captions that explain and interpret your experience for a modern audience.

Problem-Based Learning Projects

1. You are a Puritan missionary. You believe that God has called you on a sacred mission to convert Native Americans and to "propagate the gospel and kingdom of Christ" among them. Write up notes for yourself and your assistants delineating the aspects of Puritan theology that you think are most important to convey to the Indians. Outline how you will present and teach these concepts to them. Finally, compose a memo justifying your conversion practices to the group that funds and oversees your work, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
2. You are a Quaker missionary from Pennsylvania. You believe that God has called you on a sacred mission to convert the Puritans who live north of you in Massachusetts. Compose a journal entry to send

Massachusetts. Between 1671 and 1674, an unidentified artist known as the "Freake Painter" painted this portrait of Elizabeth and Mary Freake, the wife and daughter of Boston merchant and lawyer John Freake. The original 1671 painting depicted Elizabeth alone with her hands in her lap, holding a fan. Baby Mary was added in 1674, an addition that accentuates Elizabeth's virtue as a wife and mother.

[2793] The Quaker Meeting, courtesy of George Fox University. Quaker churches like this one are plain-style buildings defined by their linear design, exposure of structural supports, and open lighting. These unpretentious interiors have no altars or pulpits, creating unadorned spaces that allow congregants to concentrate on their individual relationship with God. Illustration from Sydney George Fisher, *The True William Penn.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1899).

[4475] Old Ship Church, 88 Main Street, Hingham, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, Interior (1681), courtesy of the Library of Congress [HABS, MASS,12-HING,5-J]. The Old Ship Church is named for the interior curve of the roof, which resembles a ship's hull. It is the oldest meetinghouse in continuous ecclesiastical use in the United States.

to your Quaker congregation at home, explaining your reasons for undertaking this mission and noting the concepts you wish to teach the Puritans. Explain what you think is wrong with Puritan theology and Puritan social practices, and outline what kinds of alternatives Quakerism offers.

3. You have been hired as the lawyer for Thomas Morton and the Marre-Mount community in the wake of the maypole incident. How will you defend them against the Puritan prosecution? Try to anticipate Puritan arguments as you compose your defense.

GLOSSARY

Apocalypse The end of the world as it is prophesied in the Bible, especially in the Book of Revelation. Viewing their experiences through the lens of biblical history, the Puritans understood themselves to be living in the “end time,” with Christ’s Second Coming at hand. They believed that their purity as a nation would actually bring about the Apocalypse, at which time Christ would return and reign for a millennium. Then, the earth would be destroyed, the elect would be ushered into heaven, and all others would be cast into hell. Puritan ministers performed complex analyses of scriptural predictions in order to pinpoint the exact day the Apocalypse would occur.

captivity narrative A uniquely American literary genre, the captivity narrative recounts the experience of a white European or, later, an American, during his or (more usually) her captivity and eventual release from hostile enemy captors (generally Native Americans). Enormously popular since their inception in the seventeenth century, captivity narratives influenced the development of both autobiographical writings and the novel in America.

covenant theology The Puritans believed that they had formed a “covenant,” or contract with God. Like the Old Testament Hebrews, they felt themselves to be a “chosen nation,” the people through whom God would fulfill his divine plan on earth. Their covenant, however, was not the same as the Old Testament covenant God had formed with the Israelites. The coming of Christ had changed the terms of the contract, enabling them to live under a “covenant of grace.” Right behavior would follow from their acceptance of and faith in the covenant. On an individual level, Puritans agonized over the status of their covenant with God, but as a group they were more confident. Having entered into voluntary church covenants, and thus into a kind of national covenant with God, they were assured of the centrality of their role in God’s cosmic plan.

election The Puritan belief that some individuals were predestined by God to be saved and taken to heaven while other individuals were doomed to hell. One’s status as a member of the elect did not nec-

essarily correlate with good works or moral behavior on earth, for God had extended a “covenant of grace” to his chosen people that did not have to be earned, only accepted with faith. Despite the apparent ease with which a believer could attain everlasting salvation, Puritans in practice agonized over the state of their souls, living in constant fear of damnation and scrutinizing their own feelings and behavior for indications of whether or not God had judged them worthy.

inner light The Quaker concept of a manifestation of divine love that dwells within and thus unites all humans. Also called the “spirit,” or the “Christ within,” the inner light could be experienced without the mediation of a minister or the Bible and was thus powerfully egalitarian and radical in its implications. Quakers viewed the inner light as more important to spiritual development than the study of scripture.

jeremiad A form usually associated with second generation Puritan sermons but which is also relevant to many other kinds of Puritan writing (Mary Rowlandson’s *Narrative* is often cited as an example of a jeremiad). Drawing from the Old Testament books of Jeremiah and Isaiah, jeremiads lament the spiritual and moral decline of a community and interpret recent misfortunes as God’s just punishment for that decline. But at the same time that jeremiads bemoan their communities’ fall from grace, they also read the misfortunes and punishments that result from that fall as paradoxical proofs of God’s love and of the group’s status as his “chosen people.” According to jeremiadic logic, God would not bother chastising or testing people he did not view as special or important to his divine plan.

plain style A mode of expression characterized by its clarity, accessibility, straightforwardness, simplicity, and lack of ornamentation. In early America, the plain-style aesthetic had broad cultural relevance, shaping the language of prose and poetry, the design of furniture and buildings, and the style of painting and other visual arts. Rejecting ornamental flourishes and superfluous decoration as sinful vanity, plain stylists worked to glorify God in their productions rather than to show off their own artistry or claim any renown for themselves. This aesthetic appealed to both Quakers and Puritans.

Puritans, Separatist and non-separating All Puritans dreamed of creating a purified religious community, free from the hierarchies and worldly rituals they felt contaminated the established Church of England. While non-separating Puritans hoped that they could reform the church from within, the Separatists believed that they needed to break from the Church of England entirely. The Separatists represented a minority among Puritans, and they experienced even greater persecution in England than non-separating Puritans did. In America, the Plymouth colony led by William Bradford was Separatist while the Massachusetts Bay colony led by John Winthrop was non-separating.

typology A Puritan method of both reading scripture and using it to understand the significance of historical and current events. In its strictest sense, typology refers to the practice of explicating signs in the Old Testament as foreshadowing events, personages, ceremonies, and objects in the New Testament. According to typological logic, Old

Testament signs, or “types,” prefigure their fulfillment or “antitype” in Christ. Applied more broadly, typology enabled Puritans to read biblical types as forecasting not just the events of the New Testament but also their own historical situation and experiences. In this way, individual Puritans could make sense of their own spiritual struggles and achievements by identifying with biblical personages like Adam, Noah, or Job. But this broad understanding of typology was not restricted to individual typing; the Puritans also interpreted their group identity as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy, identifying their community as the “New Israel.”

weaned affections This Puritan theological doctrine held that individuals must learn to wean themselves from earthly attachments and make spiritual matters their priority. Inappropriate earthly attachments included material possessions such as one’s home, furniture, clothing, or valuables. The doctrine of weaned affections could also proscribe things that we do not usually think of as incompatible with spirituality, such as a love of natural beauty, or a dedication to secular learning, or even an intense devotion to one’s spouse, children, or grandchildren. According to orthodox Puritan theology, anything tied to this world—even relationships with family members—should be secondary to God.

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FURTHER RESOURCES

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