

The Puritan Origins of the American Self

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New Haven and London Yale University Press

1975

"the *Vertuous* tempers and Actions of . . . Men" as "*Epistles of Christ* unto the rest of Mankind." As epistles of Christ, too, he advertised his other writings—sermons, treatises, funeral orations, and homilies on the *ars moriendi*—that draw upon scriptural parallels repeatedly to urge our "Assiduous *Endeavor*, to *Imitate* our Saviour," to "Be EXEMPLARY" by being "able to say . . . *Follow me, as you have seen me follow Christ*," and, in short, to realize that "Without the *Imitation of Christ*, all thy *Christianity* is a mere *Nonentity*." His diaries invoke a host of Old Testament heroes (including Nehemiah) so as to proclaim his own "Conformity to the Lord" in "*all the Circumstances of [His] Crucifixion*." Not accidentally, the only "Popish" work he approved and valued, and the only one published by the seventeenth-century colonial press, was Thomas à Kempis's *Imitation of Christ*. "It may be of some good Consequence for me," Mather confided in his diary, "to read a Chapter in that Book, the last Thing I do, every Night."⁴⁹

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The Vision of History

Christology provided Cotton Mather with a superb rhetoric for biography, and he made effective use of it both formally and conceptually. His *Life of Winthrop* blends the disparate biographical methods of his time and conveys an imposing image of the hero as man, governor, and saint. The parallel with Nehemiah expands from civic to moral *exemplum* and thence to *exemplum fidei*; the facts of Winthrop's American career combine in the pattern of the scriptural microchristus. It is a remarkably coherent synthesis, except in one respect: it fails to account for the biography as part of a historical venture. Winthrop's christic identity defines his stature as another Nehemiah; but this has no apparent bearing on what his American-ness implies, that he is one of a *series* of magistrates and divines who contributed to a particular New World enterprise. Christologically, "Nehemias" absorbs "Americanus" as a definition of Winthrop. Yet we can hardly avoid recognizing that it is Winthrop's role in history which really places the biography in context. What unites the *Life of Winthrop* with the corporate action of the *Magnalia Christi Americana* is not, to all appearances, the exemplariness of Nehemiah, but the idea of the exemplary American.

FIGURA

The problem would seem to have a ready solution in exegetical tradition. For the seventeenth-century Puritan, *exemplum fidei* denoted a type of Christ; and what he meant by type pertained equally to biography and to history. In its original form, typology was a hermeneutical mode connecting the Old Testament to the New in terms of the life of Jesus. It interpreted the Israelite saints, individually, and the progress of Israel, collectively, as a foreshadowing of the gospel revelation. Thus Nehemiah was a "per-

sonal type" of Jesus, and the Israelites' exodus from Babylon a "national type" of His triumphant *agon*. With the development of hermeneutics, the Church Fathers extended typology to postscriptural persons and events. Sacred history did not end, after all, with the Bible; it became the task of typology to define the course of the church ("spiritual Israel") and of the exemplary Christian life. In this view Christ, the "antitype," stood at the center of history, casting His shadow forward to the end of time as well as backward across the Old Testament. Every believer was a *typus* or *figura Christi*, and the church's peregrination, like that of old Israel, was at once recapitulative and adumbrative. In temporal terms, the perspective changed from anticipation to hindsight. But in the eye of eternity, the Incarnation enclosed everything that preceded and followed it in an everlasting present. Hence Mather's parallel between Winthrop and Nehemiah: biographically, the New Englander and the Israelites were correlative types of Christ; historically, the struggles of the New England saints at that time, in this place—the deeds Christ was now performing through them in America—were "chronicled before they happened, in the figures and types of the ancient story."¹

So understood, typology contributes much the same elements as does christology to the Life of Winthrop. It emphasizes the *imitatio*, it translates secular history, whether of individuals or of communities, into spiritual biography, and it recalls the tradition of the Saints' Lives. Patristic hagiography, for instance, resonates with the figuralism of church liturgy (e.g., the flight from Egypt in the Holy Saturday sacrament of baptism). Later developments tended to reinforce the method. When after Constantine the call to martyrdom lost its practical value, writers turned increasingly to the passion as *figura*: St. Christopher, they explained, was not literally crucified, but "we call him a martyr" anyway because, on his miracle-working way to the heaven, he "carried the cross of Christ continually in his heart."² This tendency grew rapidly after the Reformation. Typology recommended itself to the Reformers as an ideal method for regulating spiritualization, since it stressed the literal-historical (as opposed to a purely allegorical) level of exegesis, and then proceeded to impose the scriptural pattern upon the self, in accordance with the concept of *exemplum fidei*. For these and similar reasons, typology became a staple of Protestant

writings, including even the Character genre. In particular it seems to have been a family speciality with the Cottons and Mathers, to judge by the procession of great figural studies, from John Cotton's *Exposition of Canticles* (1655) through Samuel Mather's monumental *Figures or Types of the Old Testament* (1683), a work almost as impressive in its range of figural applications as Cotton Mather's unpublished "Biblia Americana" and almost as detailed in its analysis of types as Increase Mather's *Mystery of Christ Opened and Applied* (1686).

Christology equated the saint with the heroes of scripture; typology merged the saint's life with scripture history. It taught the believer that the process by which he fastened to Jesus "was *typified*"—to recall Hooker's discourse—"in the passage of the Children of Israel towards the promised land." "Draw the [whole] Scripture to thine own heart, and to thine actions," went the standard pulpit injunction. "All the promises of the Old Testament [are] made, and all accomplished in the New Testament, for the salvation of *thy* soule hereafter, and for thy consolation in the *present* application of them." The argument behind this emphasis on the present was simple and comprehensive. Since Christ as antitype encompassed all of history, there was no reality outside of the human-divine paradigm. To deny Christ was also to be a type—in the manner of Cain, Judas, or Corah. The man who never read the scriptures had the Bible without the book, as John Donne put it: Genesis, Exodus, Job, Nehemiah—"he hath all in his memory, even to the *Revelation*." Donne's concept of memory derives from Augustine's figural *Confessions*; its meaning for seventeenth-century spiritual biography and autobiography is made vivid in Thomas Browne's *Religio Medici*:

That which is the cause of my election, I hold to be the cause of my salvation, which was the mercy and beneplacit of God, before I was, or the foundation of the world. *Before Abraham was, I am*, is the saying of Christ, yet is it true in some sense if I say it of my selfe, for I was not onely before my selfe, but *Adam*, that is, in the Idea of God, and the decree of that Synod held from all Eternity. And in this sense, I say, the world was before the Creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive; though my grave be *England*, my

dying place was *Paradise*; and *Eve* miscarried of mee before she conceiv'd of *Cain*.³

In this context, Winthrop as *figura* is virtually indistinguishable from Winthrop as microchristus. Nonetheless, it is important to examine Mather's figuralism in its own right. To begin with, the use of types is central to his imagery. When in the deathbed scene he calls Winthrop another David (citing Acts 13), and alludes to the bereaved children as the tribes of Israel, he unmistakably associates the twelve tribes with the twelve apostles, and Winthrop with Jesus, as He was foreshadowed by David (Acts 13 : 22-36). In effect, Mather forges the link between past and present through Christ's omnipresence as antitype. Or again, when he describes the governor's Job-like benevolence, he enhances that christic image within a sort of figural kaleidoscope of good works:

It was oftentimes no small trial unto his faith to think "how a table for the people should be furnished when they first came into the wilderness!" [Ps. 78]. And for very many of the people his own good works were needful, and accordingly employed for the answering of his faith. Indeed, for a while the governor was the Joseph unto whom the whole body of the people repaired when their corn failed them. And he continued relieving of them with his open-handed bounties as long as he had any stock to do it with; and a lively faith to see the return of the "bread after many days," and not starve in the days that were to pass till that return should be seen [Gen. 49, 50], carried him cheerfully through those expenses.

Winthrop appears here in several guises: as an open-handed, devoted, and beleaguered public official, as the Good Magistrate, and as a Reformed Christian. But it is the *figura* that dominates. Mather announces this, as it were, in his opening statement, which summarizes Winthrop's actions as a trial of faith (see Heb. 10, 11). It finds ample expression in the references to David and Joseph which thread his account. In Psalm 78, which Mather quotes, David denounces the Israelites who during the exodus blasphemed God, although He preserved them with water from the rock and manna from heaven. We need not enter into the typological intricacies of the text (rock/Christ/church, water/baptism/redemp-

tion, etc.)—as Mather does in his *Psalterium Americanum*—in order to grasp the basic connections: the exodus with Jesus' wilderness temptations; the manna with His triumph over evil as well as with His feeding of the people; the ungrateful Israelites with the stiff-necked Pharisees and Sadducees. The same pattern extends to Joseph, who foreshadowed Christ, Mather notes, both as provider and, earlier, as God's injured and insulted servant. As the configuration comes to bear upon the New England magistrate—in *his* wilderness, providentially overcoming *his* trials, providing for *his* often ungrateful people—the *figura* that emerges bespeaks the furthest moral, spiritual, and eschatological reach of Winthrop as *exemplum fidei*.

And yet as *figura* Winthrop remains rooted in history. Since typology, to repeat, is quintessentially concerned with *littera-historia*, the same hermeneutic which raises Winthrop beyond time locates him in time and place, as "Americanus"; the same technique which broadens our sense of Nehemiah as archetype deepens our sense of him as precedent, as a distinctive individual engaged in certain historical events that occurred some two millennia before the settlement of Massachusetts Bay. This is the second, larger reason for recognizing Mather's use of typology: it turns our attention to ordinary, temporal, geographical facts. It is precisely to underscore Nehemiah's figural significance that Mather refers to him always from a *historical* angle. In detailing Winthrop's notions of civic discipline, he comments that "he thus did the part of a ruler in managing the public affairs of our American Jerusalem, when there were Tobijahs and Sanballats enough to vex him," alluding to the Persian and Samarian officials who opposed Nehemiah. Later, he writes that in his personal behavior Winthrop "made himself still an exacter parallel unto that governor of Israel by doing the part of a neighbour among the distressed people of the new plantation." Finally, Mather's epitaph versifies Josephus's eulogy to Nehemiah as the glory of his countrymen. Throughout the biography, he insistently reminds us of Nehemiah's specific institutional and organizational accomplishments, impresses us with the Hebrew less in his abstract grandeur than in his political reality, as a national leader, "bonus ac justus," whose relevance to the colony abides in certain social acts. The one line from Josephus that Mather alters, the last line in the epitaph, states that Winthrop's legacy is the wall

of defense he built, the "Novanglorum moenia," substituting "New England" for the original "Jerusalem."

The substitution attests to Mather's overriding emphasis on history. But his context, we must remember, is sacred rather than secular history. Jerusalem, Babylon, and Israel are the landmarks of the scheme of salvation. So, too, are New England and America, insofar as they represent (as Mather says they do) ecclesiastical matters and the mighty works of Christ. In short, the central purpose of his figural technique is to refer the *littera-historia* in Winthrop's career, and in the *Magnalia* at large, to the history of redemption. The point warrants elaboration because scholars have misread Mather as a *providential* historian. Certainly, he believed in providence; but with all Christians of his time he distinguished sharply between kinds of providence. The distinctions are conveniently summarized by one of Winthrop's English contemporaries, John Beadle, in a work acknowledged to be a characteristic expression of seventeenth-century Puritanism:

Some acts of God, are acts of common providence, and so he feeds us, and cloaths us, he doth as much for the creatures; so he feeds the Ravens. . . . Some acts of God are acts of speciall priviledge; and thus he gave *Abraham* a child in his old age, and made *David* of a Shepherd a King. Some acts of God, are acts of pattern; and thus he shewed mercy to *Menasse*. . . .

Some acts of God are acts of wonder: it is a wonder that any soul is saved.⁴

God's acts of wonder stand apart from the rest in that they govern the *soul's* progress. They constitute providential signs of grace which chart the believer's embattled course to an other-worldly perfection, thus equalizing him with every regenerate Israelite against the background of eternity. All the other forms of providence pertain to history. They tell us about the self (rather than the soul) in progress—its mundane needs, its political involvements (*Menasseh*), its social guises, from paterfamilias (*Abraham*) to *pater patriae* (*David*). Conceptually, however, these historical providences divide into mutually opposed outlooks. Feeding and clothing are affairs of the *civitas terrena*, encompassing saint and sinner alike, heathens and "creatures" as well as Christians. They

form the substance of providential history. God's acts of mercy and privilege extend to the elect alone, the subjects of ecclesiastical history from Abraham through David and Nehemiah to Winthrop. Grounded as these providences are in prophecy and promise, they form the substance of the work of redemption. They are figural providences, we might say, as distinct from secular providences.

The distinction implies a twofold approach to history. As Augustine conceived it, providential history concerns the political, cultural, economic, and moral life of individuals, societies, civilizations—everything, in short, that makes up the story of the City of Man. The Greeks and Romans had read that story as a series of recurrent actions, cycles of growth and decline as predictable as they were futile; and Augustine agreed. He rejected only the pagan notions of the underlying cause (fate, chance, fortune). Whatever happens, he contended, is controlled by God, Who leaves "nothing unordained," through particular providences. Despite their divine source, the meaning of these providences is always immediate, specific, and temporal. God speaks to us through them of "the good things of this life and its ills," the blessings and punishments common to all mankind. Historically interpreted, they provide a framework for human activity, a running commentary on our earthly endeavors; and for Augustine, the interpretation invariably confirmed the nature of our fallen world. God granted the Romans a splendid empire in reward for their good works; but their virtue, and therefore their splendor, soon faded. "Prosperity never fails to turn to adversity."⁵

Of course, historiography did not necessarily entail homiletics. The providential approach could serve simply to illuminate man's achievements. Thus the humanists used it to justify their rejection of any theological or supernatural explanations in historical research. Beginning with the separation of earthly from sacred affairs, *Historie* from *Heilsgeschichte*, they gradually introduced what we now term historical realism. But the Reformers retained the Augustinian *significatio*. All secular events, they insisted, "beeing captived to the truth of a foolish world," taught the immemorial lesson of Ecclesiastes. "God has collected a fine, splendid, and strong deck of cards," Luther snarled, in a review of the past, "representing mighty, great men, such as emperors, kings, princes, etc.; and he defeats the one with the other." The acts of heaven, echoed Raleigh

in his *History of the World*, "giue victorie, courage, and discourage, raise, and throw downe Kinges, Estates, Cities, and Nations."⁶ Through all its manifestations—in drama, epic, handbooks on government, histories proper—Renaissance Protestant historiography is shaped by the cyclical *vanitas vanitatum* that characterizes Augustine's view of providence.

Augustine himself, however, had little interest in providential history; primarily, he devoted his thought to the story of the City of God. From this perspective, he recast the pagan notion of recurrence into that of an expanding spiral. Christianizing the Old Testament eschatology in terms of the covenant of grace, he emphasized the developmental scheme which Paul outlines—in the same passage that defines *figura* as *exemplum* (Heb. 10, 11)—as leading "by degrees" from Ararat, Sinai, and Golgotha forever upward toward the Holy Mount of New Jerusalem. The covenant pertained in this context not to the individual but to the entire spiritual house of Israel. The one was seen as analogue to the other, each of them a mirror image of Christ as antitype. "Israel are often called collectively God's son . . . and his first-born, as if the whole multitude of them were one person." And collectively, as the true church, the progress of Israel was as firmly assured as was the saint's stage-by-stage progress towards heaven. Milton describes this as "the Race of time / Till time stand fixt"⁷—a sort of relay race toward eternity, whose participants were essentially identical (all one in Christ), while temporally they represented ascending steps in the work of redemption. Although the substance was the same, the manner of dispensation altered. Thus the exodus out of Babylon was greater than that out of Egypt, a brighter manifestation of things to come. The image in the christological mirror gradually wiped out the varieties of self and circumstance. The image in the mirror of providence revealed the cyclical pattern which linked all selves and circumstances despite their apparent variety. The image in the mirror of redemption was dynamic, progressive, and variegated, reflecting the different stages of the evolution of the church.

Renaissance Protestants contrasted redemptive and providential history under many headings: revealed and natural knowledge, holy and temporal affairs, ecclesiastical and political history. William Ames distinguished between God's primary and subordi-

nate "Gubernation," Bacon between the history of prophecy and the history of providence. For my purpose, the most convenient terms are those now in use: soteriology and secular history, where secular history designates the providential view (not the humanists' a-religious, empirical realism) and soteriology the mode of identifying the individual, the community, or the event in question within the scheme of salvation. The dualism, by any name, confirms—as it were beyond providence—God's overarching, inviolable plan, "the *summum* and *ultimum* of all the divine operations and decrees," as Jonathan Edwards called it, or in the words of an earlier New Englander, Samuel Torrey, "the Sum of all Gospel Prophesie . . . in every Age and Generation . . . until all the whole Mystery of God be finished, and Time shall be no longer." None but the elect were concerned in the happy outcome. Those among them, like Cotton Mather, who felt called to calculate the progress of the church, did so figurally, by correlating the prophecies with contemporary affairs. Their speculations pertained to corporate rather than personal matters, and as such they were neither moral, primarily, nor christological, but (in the framework of scriptural or sacred time) historical. However dismal the repetitive course of human, subordinate affairs, no matter how ominous the signs of secular time, the elect might rejoice as members of the *communio praedestinarum*, in an age closer than any before to the "utmost Prophetical Period."⁸

In that framework Mather places Nehemiah and Winthrop. He invites us to discriminate between the two rulers according to their chronological positions in the apocalyptic timetable. In that framework, too, he would have us understand the providences that guide Winthrop's life. But when we do so, we find ourselves unavoidably conflating God's acts of wonder with the events of secular history. As Mather describes them, the common providences by which Winthrop survives the wilderness, and helps others survive, are indistinguishable from the figural providences by which he becomes governor, defeats his enemies, and brings blessings upon his children. To extol Winthrop as "Americanus," then, would seem to deny the very basis both of spiritual biography and of church history. Figural providences are unique, as Augustine was careful to explain. In personal terms, they separate saints from sinners: "even in the likeness of the sufferings, there remains an

unlikeness in the sufferers," for "the same violence of affliction proves, purges, clarifies the good, but damns, ruins, exterminates the wicked." Historically, they separate the holy from the secular communities:

it was not only for the sake of recompensing the citizens of Rome that her empire and glory had been so signally extended, but also that the citizens of that eternal city, during their pilgrimage here, might diligently and soberly contemplate these examples, and see what a love they owe to the supernal country on account of life eternal, if the terrestrial country was so much beloved by its citizens on account of human glory.⁹

The problem with "Americanus" is that it connects Winthrop with a terrestrial *and* a supernal country. As the representative American, he stands at once for citizen and saint, state and church, New England and ecclesiastical history, *res Americana* and *res Christi*. In sum, his exemplary status yokes together two historiographical modes—one providential, the other figural—apparently as different from each other as (in another framework) *historia* is different from *allegoria*.

PROVIDENTIA

One way of approaching Mather's effort at synthesis is by contrast with the colonial classic in providential history, William Bradford's narrative of Plymouth Plantation. A Separatist on the saint's course to heaven, Bradford assumes the traditional dichotomy between secular and sacred, and he sees the plantation itself, accordingly, in terms of common providence. To be sure, with all Protestants of his time he rejoices in the progress of the church: the expanding Reformation, the approaching Parousia, and briefly, during the early 1640s, the Puritan victories in England. But as a Separatist he expects no more from his own congregation than that it should hold fast to the principles of the spiritual Israel; and as historian (not church historian) of Plymouth, he chronicles the fate of a wholly temporal venture. The Pilgrims have come to America as they had earlier gone to Holland, in order to worship God in peace. Inevitably, they find themselves, in America as elsewhere,

enmeshed in what Bradford calls "the mutable things of this unstable world." Indeed, he deliberately uses the New World background to accent their plight. As he describes it, the country's "weatherbeaten face" and "savage hue," reminiscent of the "barbarous shores that the Apostles reached," become an emblem of our fallen state—

sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel [even] to known places, . . . full of wild beasts and wild men. . . . Neither could they [the immigrants], as it were, go to the top of Pisgah to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could find little solace or content in respect of any outward objects.¹⁰

This is the landscape of providential history. Somewhere beyond lies the balm of Gilead; the story itself concerns the beasts and storms of secular time, and appropriately it is a story of gradual decline. Bradford's style reflects his subject. As David Levin and others have shown, his organization is cyclical, his tone melancholy, his vision tentative, alert for irony and ambiguity. We read of reversals that lead to un hoped-for success, of successes that pervert the very purpose of colonization. Throughout, the settlers struggle to make sense of a perplexing variety of circumstance and character; and all too often the acts of their enemies are just as bewildering as those of apparent saints, even so exemplary a saint as the zealous (but sometimes strangely infirm) Robert Cushman. The patriarch William Brewster is an exception that proves the rule. Bradford portrays him as another Jacob: not the Jacob of "Nehemias Americanus," father of a new Israel, but the Jacob microchristus of spiritual biography, wandering "from one nation to another . . . through famine, fears, and many afflictions," until at last, at the age of eighty and weary of this world, he "died sweetly and rested in the Lord, as infinite others . . . have done, and still shall do." The Life shines with a sort of lonely, transcendent glow amid the shadows of contradictory motives, of intertwined good and evil, which have darkened Plymouth's past and which bode still bleaker days to come. For if Bradford knew all along that the emigrants' course was probable at best, he learns a grimmer truth

from his experience: "men set their hearts . . . though they daily see the vanity thereof." His last image of Plymouth is that of "an ancient mother . . . forsaken of her children." His last comment concerns a colonial agent who decided to remain in England, unexpectedly and "much to the weakening of this government"; then, "Anno 1647. And Anno 1648," and silence.¹¹ The abrupt silence resonates with the essential lesson of providential history, that this world is a house built on sand.

The difference between Bradford and Mather as historians lies in their different concepts of "Americanus." For Bradford, the Plymouth settlement was part of a secular experience from which he tried to infer the meaning of providence. For Mather, the New World errand was part of church history; he deduced its providential meanings from the preordained scheme of redemption. Thus Winthrop's experiences signified not the common providences of a governor but the figural providences of an "*Ecclesiarum Clypeus*," a "shield" of a theocracy. Every good Christian combined his evangelical with his social calling, and every Good Magistrate represented his society at its best. Winthrop, like Nehemiah, stood for an extraordinary society, a church-state fashioned after the pattern of Moses, David, and Solomon, and like the early Christian congregations a place of refuge for God's persecuted people. Our rulers, explained Jonathan Mitchel in a sermon on Nehemiah, differ from those of other nations in that they seek the welfare of the saints, and they claim that extraordinary honor because of the community they serve: "we in these places are eminently . . . advantaged to be an holy people." According to Increase Mather, "God of his free Grace, hath seen meet to dignifie an handful of his People . . . [and has] promised as an high favour . . . [that] *their Governours shall proceed from the midst of them.*"¹² Brewster's heroism lay in his ability to transcend his circumstances, Winthrop's in his capacity to lead the communal enterprise.

Mather accents Winthrop's representativeness in these terms at many points in the biography, from his introductory remarks about New England's "father" to his closing description of the dying patriarch. The description is figural, we have seen, as well as christic, and as *figura* emphatically historical. The children surrounding Winthrop are the tribes of God's *American* Israel; the passage in Acts which Mather cites (13 : 17-36)—describing as it

does the *magnalia*, or *miracula*, wrought by Christ ("Israel's Savior") in Egypt, the wilderness, and Canaan—designates the New World of the new chosen people. Mather's allusions do not always depend on scripture. Often he suggests what may be called the governor's soteriological exemplariness through personal detail. He does so when he discusses Winthrop's legal views and practice, simply by presenting these as a revival of the Hebrew and early Christian principles of government. He does so more subtly in discussing Winthrop's private life. When, for example, he recounts the "stock of heroes" from whom *his* hero descended, he barely mentions the parents. Instead, he concentrates on the family's renown in the days of Henry VIII and Bloody Queen Mary—the grandfather who served England's first Protestant king, the grand-uncle who aided the Marian martyrs—intending us to understand that the Massachusetts leader, like the enterprise he sired, is child and heir of the English Reformation, and hence of the Reformation generally, the highest dispensation to date in the progress of the church.

As soteriological *exemplum*, then, Winthrop's heroism derives wholly from his involvement in history. To appreciate the extent and depth of that involvement, we might consider a comparable idea of the magistrate, comparable at least in its reliance on typology. I refer to the idea of the divinely appointed ruler, which reaches down from the Middle Ages to the Restoration. As Ernst Kantorowicz has shown, the basic premise of this tradition is that the ruler has two selves, corresponding to the "two bodies" of Christ, personal and "super-individual." Personally, the ruler is a natural man, and like the man Jesus susceptible to the natural order of things. Super-individually, as Vicar of Christ, he is divine, a "christomimētēs—literally the 'actor' or 'impersonator' of Christ"¹³—descended from the anointed Hebrews who foreshadowed the true King of Israel. In this function the ruler stands above the body politic, absolute and immutable, a God-man impervious to the vicissitudes of secular time. Thus his very right to govern distinguishes the ruler individually from himself (in the Puritan sense of "self"), and historically from the community he governs. His magisterial office makes him part of the history of salvation; their role as subjects keeps the members of the community within providential history.

This distinction between ruler and people recalls medieval hagiography, with its implicit separation of the miracle-working saint from the mass of mankind. More pointedly, it indicates the scope of Winthrop's exemplariness as governor. Mather's soteriology is directed towards the *integration* of the ruler as a type of Christ with his community. As, christologically, the personal and the divine harmonize in the *exemplum fidei*, so, historically, governor and colony are one in the work of redemption. Moreover, the source of integration lies not with the christomimētēs but with those he serves. For Mather, the community vindicates the ruler. The figural providences that demonstrate Winthrop's election are one aspect of New England's development. The parallels that *exalt* the man—Jacob, Moses, Macarius, David, Solomon, even Job, and above all Nehemiah—*define* the church-state. His similarity to the Old Testament heroes makes Winthrop unique as an individual, but representative as "Americanus."

This representative quality simultaneously identifies Winthrop in history and sets him beyond the scope of common providence. For other Christians, nationality was a secular designation. Brewster was a saint, but his English traits, or his Dutch habits of dress, or his New English diet, identify him within secular history. In Winthrop's case, as in Nehemiah's, communal identity situates the individual in sacred history. *Because* he is "Americanus," his day-by-day experiences constitute "the gleamings forth of Truth / Laid in Prophetic Lines."¹⁴ They form a wheel within a wheel, to use a favorite Puritan image (borrowed from Ezekiel's apocalyptic vision); or better perhaps, remembering the different movements of providential and prophetic time, a circle within a spiral. What would elsewhere be a common providence becomes an act of wonder. What for other saints might be a sign of grace—the birth of a son, the rise to greatness—become for Winthrop (as for Nehemiah) historical facts which join the hero's spiritual growth with the temporal movement of a holy commonwealth.

Virtually every step in Winthrop's journey enforces the congruence of private and public salvation. At the start, his genealogy establishes New England's ties to the Reformation; at the end, his death predicates the glories in store for New Israel; the experiences which bring him from one point to the other, from sacred past to promised future, illuminate the progress of the colony. Providence

calls Winthrop to America because a "Moses . . . must be the leader of so great an undertaking." Providence directs him to the bar so that he may better serve "a famous plantation founded and formed for the seat of the most reformed Christianity." The evildoers who vex him reveal themselves as providential obstacles to the purposes of the divine plan. If the settlers themselves sometimes rise up against him, "the victories of this great man over himself . . . also at last proved victories over other men"; providentially, his afflictions ensure "an even exacter parallel" between Nehemiah's church-state and New England's. Summarily, it is his fate and fortune, as the pagans would have phrased it, to have been a zealous patriot. His "eternal memorial" is an action in time that issues in a communal legacy. The walls of the New World Jerusalem bespeak the merging of history and spiritual biography in the flow of the work of redemption.

In this figural context, Mather integrates the exemplary Life and the Church History. Like the biography, the *Magnalia* is "an history," Mather tells us, "to anticipate the state of New-Jerusalem." Like the biography, the *Magnalia* begins by exploring New England's ties to the Reformation and ends by projecting the theocracy into the future. And as in the biography, the *littera-historia* Mather records in his narrative sections, from the discovery of America (book 1) to the colonists' final conflict with the Tempter (the Indian wars, in book 7) express the movement of sacred time. John Higginson's preface to the *Magnalia* describes at once Mather's historiography and the controlling theme of "Nehemias Americanus":

It hath been deservedly esteemed one of the great and wonderful works of God in this *last age*, that the Lord stirred up the spirits of so many thousands of his servants . . . to transport themselves . . . into a *desert land* in America . . . in the way of *seeking first the kingdom of God*. . . Surely of this *work*, and of this *time*, it shall be said, *what hath God wrought?* And, *this is the Lord's doings, it is marvellous in our eyes!* . . . And therefore he has taken care, that his own *dealings* with his people in the course of his *providence* . . . should be recorded . . . as (Exodus xvii. 14,) "The Lord said unto Moses, *write this for a memorial in a book*" [Higginson then cites similar directions from Exod.

17 : 14, Deut. 31 : 19, and Ps. 102 : 18, 44 : 1, 78 : 3-5, and 45 : 17]; . . . and this is one reason why the Lord commanded so great a part of the *Holy Scriptures* to be written in an *historical way*, that the wonderful works of God towards his church and people . . . might be known *unto all generations*: and after the *scripture-time* . . . he hath stirred up some or other to write the *acts and monuments* of the church of God in all ages; especially since the *reformation of religion* from anti-christian darkness. . . .

And therefore surely it hath been a duty incumbent upon the people of God, in this our New-England, that there should be extant, a true *history* of the wonderful works of God in . . . America: which . . . may stand as a *monument*, in relation to future times, of a fuller and better *reformation* of the Church of God, than it hath yet appeared in the world. For by this *Essay* it may be seen, that a *farther practical reformation* than that which began at the first coming out of the darkness of *Popery*, was aimed at [We] came out into a *wilderness* for that very end How far we have attained this design, may be judged by this *Book*.¹⁵

This is an unusually astute account of Mather's aims both as chronicler and as biographer—because Higginson understands, as most later readers have not, that those aims are at bottom soteriological. When Higginson speaks of providence, it is to make plain the figural nature of providence in this instance. The people in question are unique—God's chosen; the time they live in is portentous—"this *last age*"; the events that characterize it are "*marvellous in our eyes!*"; they signal nothing less than the establishment of God's kingdom on earth; and the "*historical way*" towards that consummation leads forward through "all ages" with an ever-enlarging sense of fulfillment: Israel, the church of Christ, the Reformation, and now ("*what hath the Lord wrought!*") this "*desert land of America*." Providence is a function of promise here, and the hero primarily an agent of history, himself a providential *figura* in the spiral of preordained correspondences—in Higginson's thrice-repeated phrase, one of "the wonderful works of God" that have culminated in the ecclesiastical history of New England.

MIRACULA APOCALYPSIS

The phrase is not Higginson's, of course. It comes from Isaiah's millennial vision (25 : 1 ff.), which exegetical tradition joined to the

description of Christ's *miracula* or *magnalia* upon His entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21). So considered, the phrase vividly evokes the Second Coming, and as such it recurs throughout colonial literature. The old Salem minister may have recalled some of Richard Mather's "Seventy Lectures" to the emigrants, virtually all of them glowing with the expectation of eschatological wonders, and Edward Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence of Sion's Savior in New-England*, which hails the colony as "the wonder of the world," created to demonstrate "to all Nations, the neere approach of the most wonderful workes that ever the Sonnes of men saw." Probably he had read New England's official response, in 1648, to European critics, where Thomas Shepard and others sought to "recount the singular workings of divine providence" in America in order to "stop the mouths of all that . . . blaspheme the goodness of God in His glorious works." Almost certainly he had heard of John Cotton's sermons on Canticles and Revelation, which proved that the settling of Massachusetts Bay was the climactic wonder of the Reformation, and which conveyed the proof with such authority that one settler, at least, felt inspired to inscribe his response in poetry:

From the beginning to this Day
Were ever seen such works I say,
.....
Now shall Jehova Reign for Aye.¹⁶

In any case, Higginson knew the numerous second- and third-generation accounts of these wonder-working providences: how they had revealed New England as "a type and Embleme of New Jerusalem," a manifestation of "glorious issues" at hand, "a *First Fruits* of that which shall in due time be accomplished in the whole world throughout." "Consider," cried Increase Mather in 1675, "That there are no persons in all the world unto whom God speaketh by [His] Providence as he doth to us"; "Mention, if you can," he challenged Christendom in 1686, "a People in the world so privileged as we are!" He kept repeating the challenge through the first decades of the eighteenth century in such works as *A Sermon Shewing That the Present Dispensations of Providence Declare That Wonderful Revolutions Are Near* (1710). Higginson himself had joined in this view long before, in an impassioned election-day address on

The Cause of God and His People in New-England (1663). From the same platform ten years later, his colleague and Increase's predecessor as Harvard's president, Urian Oakes, summed up what "in sober sense of many of our Divines" was the meaning of two generations of the New England Way:

if we . . . lay all things together, this our Commonwealth seems to exhibit to us a *specimen*, or a *little model of the Kingdome of Christ upon Earth*, . . . wherein it is generally acknowledged and expected. This work of God set on foot and advanced to a good Degree here, being spread over the face of the Earth, and perfected as to a greater Degrees of Light and Grace and Gospel-glory will be (as I conceive) *the Kingdome of Jesus Christ so much spoken of*.¹⁷

From Cotton through Oakes, the emphasis on figural providence has a single purpose: to impose a sacred *telos* upon secular events. The miracles of grace that John Beadle attributed to the justified saint, the orthodoxy extended to the destiny of their church-state. *Here*, with respect to us, insofar as they are *our* mercies, God's temporal judgments are previews of last things. It is a wonder that Winthrop should be saved, and that in his last moments he should receive assurances of glorification. It is no less a wonder that the colony he represents should persevere through its wilderness trials to become a specimen of the imminent kingdom. For the saint, such *miracula* crown the privileges that mark the journey of his soul. For the church, they crown the figural providences that ensure its warfaring progress towards Armageddon. In Winthrop's case, both kinds of *miracula* blend in the "acts of pattern" that prove the colony's role in the salvation of mankind. Urian Oakes argues this conjunction in *The Sovereign Efficacy of Divine Providence*. His most famous Harvard student set out its implications at large, a decade later, in *The Wonderful Works of God* (1690). "An Age of Miracles," announced Cotton Mather, "is now Dawning upon us," one in which we of "this *New-English Israel* . . . are more involved than any men Living." It were well, therefore, if some "good historian" among us in these ends of the earth would memorialize the men and events that shaped our past: "O Lord God, Thou hast begun to shew thy Servants thy Greatness . . . ; we shall . . . very quickly

see those, glorious Things which are spoken of *thee, O thou City of God!*" With that wonderful prospect before his eyes, as Higginson understood, he wrote his church-history of New England. Predictably, he began with a vision of "the WONDERS of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION"—the *magnalia Christi* of the drama of redemption—reaching their climax in the "wonderful displays . . . [of] His Divine Providence" on the American strand.¹⁸

This eschatological application of providence to a colonial venture required explanation to the world at large, and the clergy readily responded. In a secular view, they began, the ways of God are mysterious. Providences "interfere with one another sometimes; one providence seems to look this way, another providence seems to look that way, quite contrary to one another." Sometimes, indeed, they "seem to run counter with His word." Small wonder that even the best of men—even saints like Bradford, who holds a place of honor in the *Magnalia*—have "been put to a non-plus here." But we, the colonists continued, we New England saints, "*the Apple of God's eye*," need not resign ourselves to those "dark and amazing intricacies." For us, "The Works of Divine Providence are great and wonderful." By and large, we have been "dandled in the lap of his providence." God has "prospered his people here beyond ordinary ways of providence," showered a "singular" and "almost unexampled, unparall[el]ed mercy" upon our efforts; in fact, "the matchless favors of God unto New England" show that He has from the start been "so dealing with New England as not with any nation." And even when His judgments have gone hard against us, and deservedly so, they confirm our place in the grand design. Elsewhere, His retribution may be ambiguous or incomprehensible or a sign of utter disaster. Here we may feel secure that though "the Lord may afflict us . . . he will not destroy us." More accurately, He will afflict us because He would save us. As Increase Mather argued in his *Doctrine of Divine Providence* (1684), echoing John Winthrop's words of over half a century before, the "way of gods kingdom is accompanied with most difficulties."¹⁹

The notion of gracious affliction is commonplace enough in the saint's Life, but startling as a framework for interpreting the secular, terrestrial course of a community. We might well see it, indeed, as the epitome of the colonial clergy's attempt to elevate the mundane into the realm of sotoriology—of redemptive history and

last things. They prepared the saint for heaven by making visible the prospect of hell; they prodded the colony forward by stressing God's untoward providences. In both cases, they were telling their listeners that His wrath twined with His love in "the Golden Checker work of the Draw net of [figural] Providence." "There is a great difference," they observed, "in those temporal judgments, which the wicked and the righteous are subject to in this world. For when such judgments fall on the wicked, they are Paenal, they are part of the Curse Whereas it is otherwise with the Righteous; the afflictions that befall them are . . . fatherly ones . . . ; the Lord chasteneth [them] . . . as a father doth his son in whom he delights." The image is christological, but its purpose in these sermons is unmistakably historical and communal. "Have you not observed that there have been more . . . awfull tremendous dispensations of divine Providence in New-England then in any place [else] . . . ?" Rejoice, therefore, in the venture you have espoused. "God is terrible out of his holy Places,"²⁰ and blessed are the New Englanders whom He chastens: their hardships are an earnest of the dawning Age of Miracles—like Winthrop's afflictions, the cornerstone of the holy city to come.

A striking third-generation example of this dialectic is Cotton Mather's *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), which restructures the Salem witchcraft episode into a preview of Armageddon, and New England in general into an emblem of the church triumphant. The second-generation view is represented by Increase Mather's *The Day of Trouble Is Near* (1674), one of the fiercest of colonial jeremiads, delivered at the onset of King Philip's War, the most ominous event the settlers had yet encountered. Why, Increase thundered, has God so scourged His people? Why has He set the Indians upon us to pillage and destroy? Why, because we *are* His people: the pattern, the privilege, is prescribed in scripture. Our "most dismall Providence . . . was decreed before the world began"—and decreed to this end, that whereas other communities His providence destroys, ours it corrects, sanctifies, and so girds for further accomplishments. When God exposed Christ to sufferings, He laid bare the figural ways of providence with respect to the church in all ages. David was sorely troubled, as was Jacob, Job, Moses, Solomon, and Nehemiah; and the reason is not far to seek:

God hath Covenanted with his people that sanctified afflictions shall be their portion. . . . *When glorious Promises are near unto*

their birth we may conclude also that a day of trouble is near. . . . This is the usual method of divine Providence, . . . by the greatest Miseries to prepare for the greatest Mercies. . . . *Without doubt, the Lord Jesus hath a peculiar respect unto this place, and for this people. This is Immanuel's Land. Christ by a wonderful Providence hath . . . caused as it were New Jerusalem to come down from Heaven; He dwells in this place: therefore we may conclude that he will scourge us. . . .* [In the words of] a Jewish Writer . . . who lived in the dayes of the Second Temple [i.e., after Nehemiah's return from Babylon]; "the dealings of God with our Nation . . . and with the Nations of the World is very different: for other Nations . . . God doth not punish . . . until they have filled up the Measure of their sins, and then he utterly destroyeth them; but if our Nation forsake the God of their Fathers never so little, God presently cometh up on us with one Judgement or other, that so he may prevent our destruction." So . . . he'll reckon with them [other communities] for all at last; but if *New-England* shall forsake the Lord, Judgement shall quickly overtake us, because God . . . will be gracious to the remnant of Joseph.²¹

The difference, Increase Mather is saying, between the providences visited upon New England and those visited upon "the Nations of the World" is like the difference in meaning between scriptural precedents applied to the damned and to the elect. Nehemiah can serve at most as a model of morality for the unregenerate; but he illuminates the saint's way to heaven. Similarly, God's judgments elevate or destroy "other Nations"; whereas in "our Nation" they signify His concern with the community's salvation.

The transformation of local providences into *miracula apocalypsis* speaks directly to the meaning of "Americanus" in the Life of Winthrop. Significantly, Cotton Mather applies the same figures to the governor that his father does to the colony at large—Jacob, Job, Solomon, Moses, Joseph, Nehemiah—and with much the same intention. Like Immanuel's Land in Increase's sermon, "Nehemias Americanus" proclaims the forward movement of redemptive history. As the representative of theocracy, the Hebrew stands not with but behind the Puritan. The restored Jerusalem under Nehemiah forms the background, as it were, for the greater New

World Jerusalem. That background includes all the other Old Testament and early Christian parallels which Mather summons to convey Winthrop's figural meaning. And that figural meaning, we have seen, renders Winthrop *unus inter pares*, one among many other heroes of redemptive history, reincarnate as Americans. Urian Oakes, writes Mather, our "Drusius Nov-Anglicanus," was "a Moses among his people, . . . the Jerom of our Bethlehem! . . . Had Austin [i.e., Augustine] been here, he might now have seen 'Paul in the pulpit'." As we read from one *Life in the Magnalia* to the next it comes to seem as though all the great men of history—including Augustine, *redivivus* in Richard Mather—had converged on the American Bethlehem, as witness to the birth of the kingdom. Hooker and Cotton were our Luther and Melancthon, Thomas Parker our Homer, Edward Hopkins our Solomon, John Fiske our Calvin, Francis Higginson (father of Salem's pastor) our Noah, Thomas Cobbet our Eusebius, Thomas Prince our Mecaenas, John Davenport our Jethro, Thomas Shepard our Seneca and Aristotle in one, Charles Chauncy our "Cadmus Americanus." The colony has its equivalent of the heroines of the past in Anne Bradstreet; Sir William Phips conjures up a constellation of civic and military notables; the Mathers provide abundantly in most other fields of endeavor.²²

To delineate the colony's ancestry thus is to predicate its future. Mather's biographical parallels function as a substitute for local secular history, a sort of *Heilsgeschichte* antiquarianism informing us of New England's true descent. By definition they also open out into a *Heilsgeschichte* teleology. Attesting as they do to sequence and gradation, Mather's parallels demonstrate New England's superiority to the communities that foreshadow it. If they link the American with some Greek or Roman epigone, the American usually has "greater things to be affirmed of him than could ever be reported concerning any of the famous men which have been celebrated by . . . Plutarch." Mather searches the archives of Europe for an equal to Phips only to abandon "that hemisphere of the world" for "the regions of America." *His* famous men are "better qualified," better educated and "better skilled" than their forebears (and more modest). Winthrop is not simply like Aeneas but, by virtue of his beliefs (i.e., those of the theocracy) a more heroic Aeneas. He resembles but supersedes Caesar in the communal laws he espouses,

Alexander and Hannibal in the Puritan precepts he follows. "Let Greece boast of her patient Lycurgus"—so Mather begins the biography—"let Rome tell of her devout Numa . . . Our New England shall tell and boast of her Winthrop, a lawgiver as patient as Lycurgus, but not admitting any of his criminal disorders; as devout as Numa but not liable to any of his heathenish madnesses." Most of the biographies open with a similar comparativist survey. All the glories of Greece cannot equal Thomas Hooker, in whom the reader may "behold at once the *wonders* of *New-England*." Tales of the early church usher in the "*golden men*" of the "primitive times of New-England." If a perpetual flame lit the tabernacle of old, "the tabernacle . . . in this wilderness had *many* such 'burning and shining lights.'" Curious pagan customs adumbrate our "more worthy" practices. The American saints rather than the "pretended successors to Saint Peter," body forth the apostolic succession. "*Fires* of martyrdom"²³ from Nero to Queen Mary illuminate the voyage of the *Arbella*.

In sum, like the figural providences he records, Mather's biographical parallels demonstrate that all roads to New Jerusalem lead through the Great Migration. On this premise, each *Life in the Magnalia* establishes the colony's place in the grand design, while the preface to each group of Lives affirms the individual's place in the colonial mission. Mather introduces the divines by proclaiming New England the holiest country in the world, the magistrates by announcing that the church-state surpasses all other regions this side of heaven in civic virtue. "I know very well," he adds, that historians like "to throw an air of grandeur around the origin of States," and to inflate their records with "mythic traditions." But not he. His are "the real facts," agreeable to an enlightened age. If, as he tells us, he embeds them in "multiplied references to other and former concerns, closely couched, for the observation of the attentive, in almost every paragraph," he does so in order to make the facts bloom like "choice flowers" in the garden of God. To this end, in his narrative sections, he marshals a host of providential *magnalia*, every one an emblem of the entire community. And to this end he parades before us the heroes who made "the *beginnings* of this country . . . illustrious," and its subsequent growth "a *specimen* of many good things" to come.²⁴

Hence the commingling of teleology and spiritual biography in

the Life of Winthrop: Lycurgus, Numa, and Moses look forward to the New World governor; the cultures of Greece, Rome, and Israel point towards the Puritan church-state—"this little *nation*," Mather calls it, "yet a nation of heroes!"²⁵ As the two kinds of exemplariness, individual and cultural, coalesce—as New England makes good her boast by telling of her Winthrop—the multiplied references surrounding New England's father become a corporate genealogy, a stock of heroes culled from the entire family of man to illustrate the colonial cause. They create a historical context which, like Winthrop himself, does honor to a national cause without becoming part of secular history, and to the cause of Christ without becoming a generalized allegory. It incorporates *exempla* from every corner of Christian and pagan antiquity, and it extends from the ancient to the modern world. Mather is careful to make these "embellishments" conform to the theme of government; and if at times they seem to run to an indiscriminate catalogue of *memorabilia*, that is precisely his intent: the random, sweeping effect conveys the density required by his soteriological concept of Winthrop, the model both of sainthood and of theocracy, Nehemiah's counterpart as microchristus and, simultaneously, the greater Nehemiah because he is the governor of the American Israel.

PROPHETICA

Mather's teleology has its basis in Reformed thought. One of the central motifs in early Protestant sermons is the flight from Babylon under Nehemiah. Spiritually, it signifies Christ's deliverance of His beloved from the bondage of sin. Historically, it signifies His Second Coming, when He will complete His combat with Satan, and reveal in full glory what He accomplished in the flesh. The emphasis, that is, on the actual past accents the timeless, selfless *imitatio*. The perspective on the supernatural future reveals the actual movement of history. Of course, the Reformers did not invent this prophetic sense of the Christ-event—this sense of time as a predetermined exfoliation of the meaning of certain men and events, so that we may know everything at any given moment provided we recognize our relative position in a developmental scheme. Long before Luther, the medieval scholastics had codified Augustine's seven-stage scheme of *Heilsgeschichte*, giving due stress to the Babylonian

captivity (the fifth stage), the present Christian millennium (the sixth stage, dated from the Incarnation), and the heavenly paradise (the seventh and last period), generally referred to, in order to intimate the organic development from Creation to Judgment Day, as the Great Sabbatism. But the scholastics discouraged prophetic speculation. Wisely fearing the disruptive enthusiasm such speculation could provoke, they insisted instead on the private and institutional aspects of typology, in effect opposing the christological use of the *figura* to the soteriological. Augustine, they pointed out, had centered his doctrine of last things on the individual experience. For that purpose, the sacramental life of the church sufficed; there, the believer could find both form and means of deliverance. In all other respects, he should attend to common providence.

It was precisely by recourse to prophecy that the first Reformers sought to justify their break with Rome. In 1522, the same year he denounced the Saints' Lives, Luther concluded from a study of Daniel that the sixth stage represented not the Christian era but just the reverse—the reign of Antichrist. He did not flinch from following through the stupendous import of his discovery. The sixth stage of history, he declared, was not postmillennial, as Augustine had believed, not a constant efflorescence of Christ's influence until the Second Coming. The millennial period was yet to come; the church still languished in premillennial darkness, awaiting its deliverance, as during the fifth period the Hebrews had languished in Babylon. Upon this premise, he announced the summary challenge of his new-found Protestantism. As the Hebrews had been called by Nehemiah from captivity, so now the Reformers were being called to liberate the new chosen people, the remnant of Joseph heralded by Revelation, from its thousand-year bondage to the Romish Whore. Luther's identification of Catholicism with Antichrist led him to encourage a fresh, literalist study of the past, mainly to prove papal corruption. His prophetic summons was sounded from Protestant pulpits for the next two centuries. It unleashed an avalanche of histories—of the Reformation, the world, particular nations, towns, and counties—all of them guided by the belief in the approaching Judgment Day:

Although that which is foretold . . . was in part fulfilled when the people of God returned from Captivitie in Babylon at the

end of seventie yeares: yet we must not limit the place to that time onely. . . . For as some passages in this Scripture were never fully accomplished . . . so many things that literally concerned the Jewes were types and figures, signifying the like things concerning the people of God in these latter dayes.²⁶

That time, these latter dayes, never fully accomplished: in such figural formulations soteriology displaced christology, or more precisely, christology became a function of the work of redemption. The *imitatio* was the absolute means to a temporal end, giving the individual the right to declare himself part of an ongoing corporate journey towards a glory that was present but still inchoate, evolving, its full prophetic sense yet to be made manifest. And as the eschatological focus thus shifted from memory to anticipation, the correspondence between the believer and the Bible narrative took on a radically historical significance. The *process* now, not the fact of fulfillment demanded elucidation. The source of personal identity was not the Jesus of the gospels but the ongoing works of Christ leading towards the Messiah of the apocalypse. For historically considered, Jesus too was a *typus Christi*, a scriptural figure signifying greater things to come. He had completed the *spiritual* drama of redemption, but the literal conquest of Satan, the actual transformation of the wilderness, remained still to be accomplished. The kingdom He regained in the Arabian desert adumbrated New Jerusalem. The deeds that together formed the perfect *exemplum fidei* were partial signs of the miracles He would perform at Gog and Magog; and not He alone, but all the "people of God in these latter dayes."

This process of fulfillment was no less rooted in sacred history than was the typology that linked the Old and New Testaments, and no less centered on the concept of Christ as antitype. But in one case, history culminated in the New Testament narrative: all types met in the Incarnation; the believer's christic identity was absolute and comprehensive. In the other case, history continued *through* the prophecies of the Old and New Testaments: the meaning of the antitype was developmental; christic identification devolved upon postscriptural events in the progress of the church. Soteriologically, then, an intricate hierarchy of types and antitypes unfolded, denoting *relative* perfections in different moments of time—"centu-

ries," as for the first time they came to be termed, and "periods." This sense of progression was sometimes applied to scriptural events (e.g., Nehemiah's release from Babylon as a partial fulfillment of Moses' exodus from Egypt). In the main, however, it concerned promises which had "never been fully accomplished." Thus Israel's salvation, though spiritually fulfilled in Christ, also foreshadowed the Conversion of the Jews, an event "more eminent and wonderful, for the TYPE must needs come short of the ANTITYPE." So, too, Eden foreshadowed both Canaan and, more wonderfully, the reign of the saints. As a prophetic type, the conquering armies of Joshua adumbrated the children of light at Armageddon, and Joshua himself (with Nehemiah and other Israelite leaders) heralded not only Jesus but the conquering Son of Man. In these terms, Luther pronounced himself the New Moses of the Reformation, Bale and Foxe pronounced England the elect nation, and the New England settlers, as we have seen, discovered in their migration God's call to His redeemed, and world-redeeming, remnant. Our undertaking, wrote Winthrop in 1629, "appears to be a worke of God. . . . He hath some great worke in hand w^{ch} he hath revealed to his prophets among us." As antitype of the Hebrews under Nehemiah, they were to found a specimen of New Jerusalem, "a preface to the New Heavens,"²⁷ in the New World.

It would probably overestimate Mather's artistry to read a deliberate framing device in the word reversals that begin and end the biography: Nehemiah for Winthrop, New England for Jerusalem. Unquestionably, though, Mather meant the title to suggest (and the biography to dramatize) what these substitutions intimate. Ten years earlier, Samuel Wakeman declared in an election-day sermon that "*Jerusalem was, New England is, they were, you are God's own, God's covenant People; . . . put but in New-England's name instead of that of Jerusalem,*" and you shall see the meaning of our errand. To amplify that comparison Mather reports in the *Magnalia's* General Introduction his study of the "Figures variously Embossed" in the Bible's "*Prophetical as well as Historical Calender.*" He has succeeded, he tells us, in having "all the *typical* men and things . . . accommodated with their Antitypes" and "the *histories* of all *ages*, coming in with punctual . . . *fulfilments* of the divine Prophecies." Such calculations were especially pertinent to biography: in a proto-Hegelian dialectic, they defined the individual against the

entire spectrum of history, sacred and secular. When New England ministers insisted, as they repeatedly did, that "*Prophecie is Historie antedated, and Historie is Postdated Prophecie,*" they were typologically accommodating the spiritual state of each of their listeners to the providential *magnalia* of the community, and hence to the direction of redemptive history:

Prophecies in the Old Testament . . . help in the belief of New-Testament prophecies, many of them being already accomplit, others also of them agreeing with Those in Revelation [i.e., they remain yet to be accomplished]. . . . *Prophecie is Historie antedated and Historie is Postdated Prophecie:* the same thing is told in both. . . . Therefore the Historie of the Old Testament is Example to us. . . . Such accommodations will be easy to New England; seeing there is such considerable similitude and agreement in the circumstances.²⁸

This local emphasis, they continued, was by no means parochial. The destiny of Christ's people in America was the destiny of mankind. What they had "advanced to a good Degree here" had its fuller meaning in Christ's end-time kingdom. Conversely, the holy men and institutions of times past, though inscribed in Scripture *sub specie aeternitatis*, served now to illuminate the settler's place in what Mather called the "long line of *Inter-Sabbatical Time*." In this prophetic light, three generations of New England orthodoxy hailed the colonists as the heirs of the ages, warning the world that they were shortly to raise an earthquake which would shake all Christendom. John Eliot exulted in those prospects with every Indian conversion he obtained, and Anne Bradstreet, predicting the imminency of Christ's Fifth Monarchy through the *persona* of "New England," called for a holy war against Rome and Turkey. The second-generation echoes and amplifications include sermons, treatises, and poems by virtually every ministerial luminary. The major third generation voice was Cotton Mather's, but he found ample support from such diverse figures as Samuel Willard, whose *Fountain Opened*, a variation on Increase Mather's millennial *Mystery of Israel's Salvation* (1669), went through three editions by 1697, and Samuel Sewall, who organized a debating club on the fine points of Revelation and carried on an enthusiastic correspondence with Edward Taylor on the precise time and place of the Parousia.²⁹

With all the authority of that tradition, John Higginson, by 1697 the colonial Nestor, wrote his "Attestation" to Mather's Church History. By that authority he acclaimed the *Magnalia's* exemplars as prefigurations of a "better *reformation* of the Church of God, than it hath yet appeared in the world." Men like Winthrop, he explained, were worthy of imitation as saints, and as saints worthy bearers of the title "Americanus." But he had to admit that as Americans—that is, as men in history, bearing a specific relation to the future—they fell short of the ideal. "They did as much as could be expected from learned and godly men in their circumstances," but the circumstances themselves were limiting. They pointed to, but did not constitute, the "*perfect reformation*." And that heuristic quality, he concluded triumphantly, gave those men the right to serve as our guides—to "*refresh our souls*" in our proleptic participation in the "times of greater light and holiness that are to come . . . when the Lord shall make Jerusalem . . . a praise in the earth."³⁰

It was not by chance, then, that Nehemiah became the favorite ministerial as well as magisterial *exemplum* of the colonial clergy. He stood for the succession of exoduses, at once repetitive and developmental, that would culminate in the exodus from history itself: Noah abandoning a doomed world, Abraham setting forth from idolatrous Ur, the Hebrews fleeing their Egyptian persecutors, the primitive Christians leaving heathen Rome, and, in modern times, the emergence of the true church from the dungeons of Rome. Within this framework, the flight from Babylon applied with special force to their own departure, in due time, from the deprivations of Europe. Mather begins the *Magnalia* by imaging that departure as the last and greatest of premillennial migrations. His image is a commonplace in the literature. During the preceding half-century the orthodoxy turned to the Jerusalem of Nehemiah more persistently than to any other single Old Testament episode. They invoked it through the *figura* of the second temple, comparing their leaders almost as a matter of habit to the temple foundations, stones, and pillars. They evoked it within other, larger metaphors, as in their recurrent references to "the wall and the garden." They explicated it by a variety of hermeneutic approaches, including those of the cabalists. They enacted the correspondences in their covenant-renewal ceremonies—one of their main devices for rallying their congregations to the Good Old Way—which they

modeled proudly on Nehemiah's practice upon his return to Jerusalem. And they repeatedly defined the Good Old Way as the inspiriting-reprimanding voice of Nehemiah upon their walls, a ghostly ancestral presence trying to "encourage the hearts and strengthen the hands of the [present] Builders of our Jerusalem's wall."³¹

In all cases, the message was the same. Nehemiah's undertaking foreshadowed the final deliverance of the church, whose bright pattern now shone from these ends of the earth more radiantly than ever before. The Life of Winthrop sustains the pattern with other parallels, including those drawn from classical antiquity. I indicated that Aeneas functions as precedent and moral *exemplum*, but here again figural exegesis is the key to Mather's full meaning. Almost from the start typology extended perforce to pagan literature. Since, doctrinally, all truth emanates from one center, which is Christ, it follows that heathen myths, insofar as they contain *some* truth, refer to Him. To be sure, particular mythical forms (names, places, incidents) obscure and at times distort the essence. But once the essence stands revealed in the light of the New Testament, it necessarily partakes of the basic pattern, thus paving the way, in the words of Clement of Alexandria (one of Mather's favorite expositors among the early Fathers), for the march of the elect. Samuel Mather notes that the gods Iao, Jove, Euos, and Adonis adumbrate Jehovah and Jesus. Correctly interpreted, the legends that describe their deeds exemplify God's plan of redemption. Mather's use of Apollo in his Life of Sir William Phips is representative:

The story of Og, the king of the woody Bashan, encountered and conquered by Joshua, the Lord General of Israel, with his armies passing into Canaan, was the very thing which the Gentiles, in after ages, did celebrate under the notion of the serpent Python (which is the same with Typhon) destroyed by Apollo. . . . 'Tis as clear that Apollo, who was anciently called Paeon, or *healer*, is the same with Joshua. . . . They by whom Typhon was combated, came out of Egypt, and so did the armies of Joshua. . . .

Reader, 'twas not unto a Delphos, but unto a Shiloh, that the planters of New-England have been making their progress, and [the Indian] King Philip is not the only Python that has

been giving them obstruction in their passage and progress thereunto. But . . . all the *serpents*, yea, or giants, that formerly molested that religious plantation, found themselves engaged in a fatal enterprize. We have by a plain and true history secured the story of our successes from falling under the disguises of mythology. . . . And we will not conceal the *name* of the God our Saviour. . . . No, 'tis our Lord Jesus Christ, worshipped according to the rules of his blessed gospel, who is the great Phoebus, that "SUN of righteousness," who hath so saved his churches from the designs of the "generations of the dragon."³²

The passage demonstrates how easily figuralism lends itself either to a biographical or a historiographical approach, and how naturally, for an American Puritan, it comes to embrace scriptural model and local providence. For the Plymouth Separatists, Joshua was a *typus Christi* leading us through "the remaining part of our pilgrimage," and the story of Og simply one more lesson in grace: the Israelites' "bloody victory" shadows forth the spiritual blessings awaiting all who have been washed in the blood of the lamb.³³ Mather subsumes that view within a soteriological application which brings all of time to bear upon the meaning of King Philip's War. The Bible story is "the very thing" celebrated by the pagan poets Homer, Ovid, and Virgil; the legendary Python, that old serpent, "is the same with" Og and Satan; and Apollo "is the same with" Joshua who "is" Jesus who in turn "is the great Phoebus." As he strips away the "disguises of mythology," Mather transforms the timeless present into a sweeping temporal revelation. In his "plain history," Christ antitypes Joshua-Apollo, and the victorious New England army antitypes the Israelites entering Canaan. That is to say, both Jesus the Nazarene and the New Englanders foreshadow the Son/Sun of Righteousness. (The christic reference comes from the vision that closes the Old Testament: Malachi's paean [4 : 1-5] to the great and dreadful Day when God's redeemed people, protected by His healing Apollonian wings, will destroy the wicked). The entire configuration is geared toward the colonial errand; but Mather invokes it, we must remember, for the purposes of biography. From Delphos to Bashan to New Canaan, the progress of history serves to define Sir William Phips as the American Joshua.

At several points, Mather hints at a similar configuration in the parallel between Aeneas and America's Winthrop. But in general he does not explicate the parallel as precisely as he does that of Apollo or Python. There was no need. He had every reason to assume the reader's familiarity with the long exegetical tradition that christianized Aeneas in his role as leader, saint, and father of the people. Besides, Mather makes it plain that he conceived the *Magnalia* as a greater *Aeneid*. He alludes to the Roman epic more frequently, more consistently, than to any other work (except for the Bible), from his opening invocation, a direct paraphrase of Virgil's, to the last section, concerning the wars against Og-Philip, which he entitles "Arma Virosque Cano." His purpose here pertains equally to the colony and to its first governor. New England's plantation excels the founding of Rome as its heroes resemble and outshine the Trojan remnant, and as the Shiloh they approach supersedes the Augustan *Pax Romana*.³⁴ In this context, it would be excessive to apply the heaped-up commentaries on Virgil as prophet of Christ, on the *Aeneid* as allegory, on Aeneas as *typus Christi*, to the Life of Winthrop. We can see readily enough what Mather intended: to reinforce the structure of the biography by making Winthrop's *magnalia* intrinsic to the pattern of Christ's mighty deeds in America. More clearly than any other pagan hero, pious Aeneas, the Good Magistrate destined by Jove/Jehova to harrow hell, to rebuild the walls of Latium and change the course of civilization, enacts the design of exodus and restoration that unveils the prophetic sense of New England's Nehemiah.

Mather supports the design by way of many other classical and Christian figures: Lycurgus and Numa Pompilius, the fabled restorers of Greek and Roman law (as Winthrop, adumbrating Christ in His kingly office, helped restore the forms of theocracy); the emperors Valentinian and Theodosius, who transformed Rome from a heathen to a Christian state (as Winthrop helped transform the American wilderness); Calvin and Luther, the Nehemiahs of the Reformation, who prepared the way for the exodus to New England. But as we might expect, he draws most heavily on scriptural parallels, particularly those which carried traditional associations with Nehemiah in American Puritan rhetoric. Several of these I have already mentioned. Winthrop resembles David insofar as David was "a cleare Prophet . . . of every particular

Christian," insofar as the Davidic kingdom foreshadowed the church-state, and insofar as that church-state (Mather notes elsewhere) was a "praesage" of New Jerusalem. The parallel with Job culminates, we recall, in Winthrop's deathbed "conflicts from the tempter, whose wrath grew as the time to exert it grew short." As such, it evokes a historical stereotype which had become almost as familiar as the christic saint to colonial audiences: "Sorrowful Job, the type of this *Immanuel's Land*." A few years before, Mather himself had enlarged this into a central theme of an election-day address on Nehemiah (1690). His father had made it a leitmotif of his sermons throughout King Philip's War, similarly connecting magistrate with suffering servant in the context of colonial eschatology. In the first place, the clergy explained, God's concern for Job, as for Nehemiah, pointed to His wonderful latter-day figural providences: had He not "set an hedge about [us] as about Job, . . . walled us about as his peculiar garden of pleasure"? More importantly, Job's reward, like Nehemiah's, forecast "the End of the Lord with New-England": "His called and Faithful, and Chosen shall *more than overcome at last*"; in the colony's anguish lay "a certain Prognostick that happy times are near, even at the Doors."³⁵

Undoubtedly, Cotton Mather meant to reinforce this prognosis by identifying Job-Winthrop's tempter as the Antichrist, whose wrath would grow "great as the time to exert it grew short" (Rev. 12 : 12). Undoubtedly, too, he hoped his readers would recognize his reference to John the Baptist when he wrote that Winthrop eschewed the "'soft raiment' which would have been disagreeable to a wilderness." The passage from Matthew (11 : 7-15) was one of the most popular subjects of discourse in seventeenth-century New England—partly as an apostrophe to the "wilderness-condition" (in clothes, thought, morals, style, and so on), more broadly as a figural text. Observing that John is referred to here as the Elijah heralded by all the prophets—and that Christ first explains His miracles here as messianic signs (cf. Matt. 11 : 5 and Isa. 35, 61)—the ministers applied the Baptist's errand to that of the theocracy at large. Thus Danforth defines *New-England's Errand into the Wilderness* (1670): "John was greater than any of the prophets that were before him, not in respect of his personal graces" (for so understood he was one in Christ with every saint) "but in respect of the manner of his dispensation"—of his relative place, that is, in the work of

redemption. Before him, foreshadowing the Baptist, were "the children of the captivity" who left Babylon to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem. After him, antityping the Baptist, were those who crossed the Atlantic to enjoy "the signal and unparallel[ed] experiences of the blessing of God" in "this wilderness."³⁶ Through them, the forerunner of the Incarnation stood revealed as witness to the Second Coming.

Other ministers before and after Danforth announced the good news with the same visionary enthusiasm. "The Ministry of *John Baptist* . . . may be looked upon as a Type of the last and great day." When the Baptist "arose like a bright and shining light," Jesus appeared to him "at the end of the Jewish world *in the end of the world*" (i.e., the wilderness) as a "partial fulfilment" of His promise to the church, that "all the ends of the World shall . . . turn unto the Lord." To bring that light to its full brilliancy was the colony's cause and end; and now, considering their accomplishments—considering also their afflictions, comparable to those in the Baptist's days—they could "conclude that the Sun [of Righteousness] will quickly arise upon the world": "John come thou forth, behold what Christ hath wrought / In these thy dayes." According to Edward Johnson, this particular image of corporate destiny begins with the first migration. "I am now prest for the service of our Lord Christ," he reports a departing Puritan telling a friend, "to re-build the most glorious Edifice of Mount Sion in a Wildernesse, and as John the Baptist I must cry, Prepare yee the way of the Lord, make his paths straight, for behold, hee is comming againe, hee is comming to destroy Antichrist, and give the whore double to drink the very dregs of his wrath."³⁷

Johnson may have been thinking of Richard Mather, who had made that image familiar in the previous decade. But of course his emigrant is more largely a dramatic device, a *persona* for the entire enterprise. That representative emigrant comes to life towards the end of the century in the person of Richard's grandson. From the pulpit, in his diaries, through his published work, Cotton Mather reaffirms time and again that God has summoned him, the rightful heir to the theocratic dynasty, "as a John, to bee an Herald of the Lord's Kingdome now approaching." "I went to the Lord," he tells us, shortly before he began his *Life of Winthrop*, "and cried unto Him that the Ministry of His holy ANGELS might be allowed unto

me, that the holy ANGELS may make their Descent, and the Kingdome of the Heavens come on." Soon after completing the biography he had another epiphany: "I feel the Lord Jesus Christ most sensibly carrying on, the Interests of His Kingdom, in my soul, continually," and so directing me to "become a *Remembrancer* unto the Lord, for no less than whole *Peoples, Nations and Kingdomes*." The grand type of all the Lord's remembrancers, he continues, was Moses, and like the Israelite he has commemorated the providential wonders of the past, and memorialized his people's exemplary heroes. That obligation fuses in his mind with his role as prophet and witness. To celebrate the founding fathers was *ipso facto* to predict the millennium, as Ezekiel had, and, like John the Baptist, to be "eminently *serviceable* in the *mighty Changes*."³⁸

Mather's self-vaunting seems almost hysterical—until we recognize that, here as in his would-be *imitatio*, the self he vaunts is suprapersonal, the embodiment of what Ezekiel promised, Nehemiah undertook, and John witnessed. Speaking for himself, he speaks also for the remnant that Winthrop, as a second Moses, led into this wilderness. That parallel had first been advanced by the governor himself, in his vision of the city on a hill whose inhabitants have miraculously sprung into new life, "bone come to bone" (Ezek. 37 : 7). Winthrop modeled the famous exhortation that closes the *Arbella* sermon on Moses' farewell discourse at Pisgah, and that discourse, as every passenger knew, was "the Prophetical Song" of the church. What Moses had seen then, "in a true Glass" and "by the Spirit of Prophecy," was the return of God's people once and for all from captivity. Moses had not really spoken, that is, to the Israelites before him, who were to conquer Canaan only to fall from greatness. Rather, as a *figura* of Nehemiah and John the Baptist, he had addressed himself to the spiritual remnant that would be the wonder of the world in the ends of the world. Ezekiel, who was granted the same vision, "said of the Church in Babylon, *Shall these dry bones live?*"; for him, as for Moses and Nehemiah, "This Prophecy . . . [was] yet to be fulfilled." For Winthrop, the migration marked the beginning of "the accomplishment of that Prophesie concerning *the . . . coming together of those dry bones*," when the Holy City would descend upon the hill of Zion.³⁹

"The eyes of the world are upon us," Winthrop had said. His biographer announces that "what is prophesied and promised" has

been "fulfilled in us." The light of the city on a hill has become the light of the world. "Behold, ye European Churches, there are golden Candlesticks (more than twice times seven!) in the midst of this 'outer darkness': unto the upright children of Abraham, here hath arisen *light in darkness*." The image, from the *Magnalia's* General Introduction, brings together many aspects of Mather's heraldic role: the seven books of his own Mosaic history, the movement from Ezekiel's valley of dry bones to the American wilderness, and the final stage of that movement, emblemized by the more than doubled golden candelabra (cf. Rev. 11), whose light arose in the darkness of John the Baptist's day. Then the darkness comprehended it not. Now its meaning was unmistakable. The greatest of the prophetic visions, Mather commented, "go successively by Sevens." As the *summum* and *ultimum* of those visions, his sevenfold proclamation to the upright children of Abraham looks forward to the time when the seven trumpets of the apocalypse would begin to sound—"Which, that it is near, even at the door, I may say, through grace I doubt not. . . . For the New Jerusalem there will be a *seat* be found in wide America."⁴⁰

The proclamation also refers us back to those "Abrahams," led by Winthrop, who were "more than Abrahams," for "there never was a Generation that did so perfectly shake off the dust of Babylon, . . . [nor] a place so like unto New Jerusalem as New England." Increase Mather made this comparison on May 23, 1677, as the watchman of an errand undertaken on behalf of all nations and peoples. His father, Richard, and his father-in-law, John Cotton, had similarly spoken for the Great Migration as heralds of the Lord's kingdom. His son could hardly escape feeling that Christ was carrying on the same interests through him. How should he not "be touched with an Ambition, to be a Servant of . . . this now famous Countrey, which my two Grand-fathers Cotton and Mather had so considerable a stroke in the first planting of; and for the preservation whereof my Father, hath been so far Exposed"?⁴¹ Surely Cotton Mather felt the race of sacred time most sensibly in his soul as he identified John Winthrop with the succession of prophets leading towards himself: Jacob (Abraham's grandson and patriarch of the tribes of Israel), Moses, David, Nehemiah, and John the Baptist, the namesake of New England's first governor. Surely also

he heard the flutter of angels' wings as his biography drew to a close, and he recalled how the prophet for whom *he* had been named had conducted the deathbed fast for Winthrop—directly after those momentous "conflicts from the tempter"—and how "the venerable Cotton" had then proceeded to remind "the whole church" of the governor's Davidic greatness, parental beneficence, and Christ-like sorrows, in what was in effect a type of Mather's *Life of Winthrop*. Cotton Mather, we might say, brings both his own family line and his grandfather's funeral sermon to fulfillment by showing us the comprehensive historical design implicit in "Nehemias Americanus." As the public and private meanings of his biographical parallels converge, they form a soteriological *exemplum* of astonishing breadth and coherence. Mather's Winthrop is a man representative of his profession, of his society, of sainthood, of his biographer, and, as "Americanus," of the conjunction of all of these with the providential wonders, the *miracula apocalypsis*, that demarcate the forward sweep of redemptive history.

- 46 John Bunyan, "The Author's Apology for his Book," in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, ed. James B. Wharey, 2nd ed. revised by Roger Sharrock (Oxford, 1960), pp. 5-7. Baxter's *Saints Everlasting Rest* characterizes the Puritan view of the relationship between scripture and conscience: "Soliloquy is Preaching to one's self. . . . Therefore, the very same *Method* which a Minister should use in Preaching to others, should a *Christian* use in speaking to himself" (pp. 209, 213). In William Ames's view, the answer to the question "How can I be faithful?" lay in the fact that the chasm between "I" and 'faithful' could be bridged by the arguments or middle terms of Scripture" (John D. Eusden, Introduction to Ames, *The Marrow of Theology*, trans. Eusden [Philadelphia, 1968], p. 50).
- 47 Hooker, *Application of Redemption*, IX, 5-7.
- 48 Fuller, *Holy and Profane State*, II, 91; Theodore Beza, "Discours . . . sur la vie et la mort de Maitre Jean Calvin" (1549), in Jean Calvin, *Avertissement Contre l'Astrologie . . .*, ed. A. Angliviel (Paris, 1962), p. 101. In his biography of his grandfather, Richard, Mather tells us he is following the example of Beza's Life of Calvin (*Magnalia*, I, 456), and in effect he recapitulates the deathbed scene of "Nehemias Americanus" in his Life of his father, Increase (*Parentator . . .* [Boston, 1724], pp. 207-08).
- 49 Cotton Mather, *Christianity to the Life: Our Imitation of Our Saviour . . .* (Boston, 1702), p. 17; Cotton Mather, *Diary*, ed. Worthington C. Ford, *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, 7th ser. 7 (Boston, 1911), 515, 562, 582-83; Cotton Mather, Introduction to *Parentator*, p. ii. Mather may have had the edition of Kempis's *De Imitatio Christi* published in Antwerp, 1647. Its central postulate is a main theme of both Catholic and Reformed devotional literature: "*Qui antem vult plenè & sapidè Christi verbi intelligere; oportet, ut totam vitam suam ulii studeat conformare*" (p. 2). Kempis's work was published at Cambridge, Mass., in 1667. It was suppressed by the authorities, but its publication, and Mather's advocacy, remain significant facts. There were many translations and paraphrases of *De Imitatione Christi* in English by 1700: e.g., *The Following of Christ . . .* (1685 and 1686); *The Christian Pattern . . .* (1684 and 1697); *The Christian's Pattern . . .* (1699); and *Christ the Perfect Pattern . . .* (1658).

CHAPTER 2

- 1 Rosemond Tuve, *A Reading of George Herbert* (Chicago, 1952), p. 113. The scriptural warrant for the connection between *figura* or *typos* and *exemplum* may be found in many passages in the gospels (both in the Geneva and the King James Bible); e.g.: 1 Cor. 10 : 6, 11; 1 Pet. 5 : 3; Phil. 3 : 17; 1 Thess. 1 : 7; 2 Thess. 3 : 9; 1 Tim. 4 : 12; Titus 2 : 7. Thomas Wilson's *Christian Directory . . .* (London, 1611), a representative Reformed work of the time, defines "type" as a primary meaning of "example" (p. 4). From this perspective, one aspect of Mather's use of typology is his frequent comparison of biography to the fine arts—painting, sculpture, sketching, etc.—as a way of suggesting his heroes' likeness to Christ. Such comparisons are traditionally figural, from the

- Church Fathers to the Renaissance. Thus Athenagoras, Scalingor, and Melito liken the *figura* to the *modellum*, the architect's or sculptor's scale-models; Origen to a statue approximating the divine image; and Benjamin Keach to a charcoal sketch that "rudely adumbrates" the perfect portrait of Jesus (*Tropologia. A Key to Open Scripture Metaphors*, 2 vols. [London, 1682], I, 227). Mather cites all of these patristic and Renaissance sources. They lend special significance to what otherwise seems a Renaissance commonplace, his own favorite analogy to the sculptor's "lasting monument" to Christ's glory.
- 2 John Colgan, *Triadis Thaumaturgae Seu Diuorum Patricii, Columbae, et Brigidae . . . Acta* (Louvain, 1647), p. 168.
- 3 Donne, *Sermons*, II, 308, 74 (my italics); Thomas Browne, *Religio Medici* (1642), ed. Jean-Jacques Denonain (Cambridge, 1953), p. 86.
- 4 John Beadle, *Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian* (London, 1656), pp. 59-60.
- 5 Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Marcus Dods (New York, 1950), p. 151; Baldwin, *Mirror for Magistrates*, quoted in Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Divine Providence in the England of Shakespeare's Histories* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 163-64.
- 6 Sidney, quoted in O. B. Hardison, Jr., *The Enduring Monument: A Study of the Idea of Praise in Renaissance Literary Theory and Practice* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962), p. 58; Luther and Raleigh, quoted in Patrides, *Grand Design*, pp. 48, 90.
- 7 John Calvin, *Commentaries on the Prophet Jeremiah . . .* ed. John Owen, 5 vols. (Grand Rapids, Mich., 1950), III, 141; Samuel Danforth, *An Exhortation to All . . .* (1714) in *The Wall and the Garden: Selected Massachusetts Election Sermons 1670-1775*, ed. A. William Plumstead (Minneapolis, 1968), p. 154 (reference is to Hos. 11 : 1); Milton, *Paradise Lost*, XII, 554-55, in *Complete Poems*, pp. 466-67.
- 8 William Ames, quoted in David D. Hall, *The Faithful Shepherd: A History of the New England Ministry in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1972), p. 58; Bacon, quoted in Michael Fixler, *Milton and the Kingdoms of God* (Evanston, Ill., 1964), p. 65; Edwards, quoted in Patrides, *Grand Design*, p. 119; Samuel Torrey, *An Exhortation Unto Reformation . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1674), p. 1.
- 9 Augustine, *City of God*, pp. 10-11, 166.
- 10 William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, ed. Samuel Eliot Morison (New York, 1952), pp. 52, 61-62.
- 11 David Levin, "William Bradford: The Value of Puritan Historiography," in *Major Writers of Early American Literature*, ed. Everett Emerson (Madison, Wisc., 1972), pp. 11-30; Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, pp. 329, 334, 347, 351-52.
- 12 Jonathan Mitchel, *Nehemiah on the Wall . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1671), pp. 7-8, 31; Increase Mather, Preface to Samuel Torrey, *A Plea for the Life of Dying Religion . . .* (Boston, 1683), sig. A4 verso. Regarding the shield as figural emblem, see Richard Reinitz, "Symbolism and Freedom: The Use of Biblical Typology as an Argument for Religious Toleration in Seventeenth Century England and America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1967), p. 128 (citing Ainsworth).
- 13 Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 46-47. "Not all the water in the rough rude sea," says Shakespeare's Richard II, "Can wash the balm off from an anointed

- king; / The breath of worldly men cannot depose / The deputy elected by the Lord" (III.ii.54-57). The eulogies to Elizabeth depict the Queen as a *figura Christi*—another Moses, Deborah, Judith, Samson, David—and post-Elizabethan England as desecrated Jerusalem, an Eden-Canaan turned wilderness (Barbara K. Lewalski, *Donne's "Anniversaries" and the Poetry of Praise: The Creation of a Symbolic Mode* [Princeton, 1973], p. 21).
- 14 Edward Taylor, in Donald E. Stanford, "Edward Taylor's Metrical History," *American Literature* 33 (1961-62), 290.
 - 15 Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 46; John Higginson, "Attestation," in Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 13-16.
 - 16 Edward Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence . . .*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1910), pp. 145, 148, 238; Thomas Shepard and James Allin, Preface to *A Defence of the Answer . . .* (London, 1648); John Cotton, *A Brief Exposition of . . . Canticles . . .* (London, 1648), p. 9; George Moxon, in Leo M. Kaiser, "Three Hymns Attributed to George Moxon," *Early American Literature* 8 (1973), pp. 104-09.
 - 17 Increase Mather, *The Day of Trouble is Near . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1674), p. 18; I. Mather, Preface to Torrey, *Exhortation*, sig. A2 recto; Increase Mather, *The Times of Men . . .* (Boston, 1675), p. 16; Increase Mather, *The Greatest Sinners Exhorted . . .* (Boston, 1686), p. 115; Urian Oakes, *New-England Pleaded With . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1673), pp. 21, 40.
 - 18 Cotton Mather, *Things to be Look'd for . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1691), pp. 35, 38; Cotton Mather, *The Wonderful Works of God . . .* (Boston, 1690), pp. 40-41; Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 25.
 - 19 Increase Mather, *The Doctrine of Divine Providence . . .* (Boston, 1684), pp. 43, 37; Samuel Willard, *Useful Instructions . . .* (Cambridge, Mass., 1673), p. 15; Oakes, *New-England Pleaded With*, pp. 20, 23; I. Mather, *Doctrine*, pp. 43, 58; Winthrop, *Winthrop Papers*, II, 10; Oakes, *New-England Pleaded With*, p. 23; Cotton Mather, *A Pillar of Gratitude . . .* (Boston, 1700), p. 6; I. Mather, *Doctrine*, p. 58; John Winthrop, "Conclusions For the Plantation in New England" in *Old South Leaflets*, II (Boston, n.d.), no. 50, p. 9.
 - 20 Edward Taylor, in Thomas M. and Virginia L. Davis, "Edward Taylor on the Day of Judgment," *American Literature* 43 (1972), 540; Increase Mather, *The Righteous Man . . .* (Boston, 1702), p. 49; I. Mather, *Times of Men*, p. 20.
 - 21 I. Mather, *Times of Men*, p. 7, and *Day of Trouble*, pp. 4, 12-13, 26-28. Cotton Mather explains in *Wonders of the Invisible World . . .* (Boston, 1693)—part of which he incorporated into the *Magnalia* (II, 446-79)—that because "the Errand of our Fathers into these Ends of the Earth" fulfilled "the Promise of old," therefore "the Devil is making one attempt more upon us," "a thing, prodigious, beyond the Wonders of former Ages," a war "so *Critical*, that if we get well through, we shall soon Enjoy *Halcyon Days* with all the Vultures of Hell Trodden under our Feet." The conditional tense is no more an obstacle here than it is in the Life of Winthrop. In both cases, the prophetic sense of the Old Testament parallel renders the halcyon days a foregone conclusion. As in the biography, an American Job invites our sympathy—"Have pity upon me, for the Wrath of the Devil has been turned upon me"—in such a way as to make the remedy

- manifest in the hero's plight. For New England as for Winthrop, Job's "Afflictive Disturbances" shadow forth the "Wonderful Methods and Mercies" that ensure the future of the American Jerusalem (Bercovitch, "Cotton Mather," in *Major Writers*, pp. 107-11). Mather stressed this outcome in an election-day sermon he preached during the same time period, with a characteristic application of scriptural text: "A Contrary and a Terrible Appearance of Things . . . is no . . . Sign that our Blessed *State of Peace*, is far Distant from us . . . It is foretold . . . in Dan. 12.1. *There shall be a Time of Trouble . . . and at that Time thy People shall be Delivered*. So, then, the Blacker you see the *Troubles* of the Age to grow, the sooner and the surer may be the *Peace* which we are hoping for. . . . Pray then, let it not fright you to be in such a *Mount!* The Almighty God . . . [will] descend from Heaven to put a New, Joyful, Pleasant Face upon it all . . . Consider, Isai. 66. 7, 8 and Rev. 18.8, 10 . . . ! ["Who hath heard such a thing? who hath seen such things? Shall the earth be made to bring forth in one day? or shall a nation be born at once? for as soon as Zion travailed, she brought forth her children. . . . Alas, alas, that great city Babylon, that mighty city! for in one hour is thy judgment come.]" (*Things to be Look'd for*, p. 25).
- 22 Mather, *Magnalia*, II, 114, 116 (Oakes); I, 454-56 (Richard Mather); I, 341-42 (Hooker and Cotton); I, 482 (Parker); I, 144 (Hopkins); I, 479 (Fiske); I, 325 (Davenport); II, 149 (Shepard); I, 115 (Prince); I, 134-35 (Anne Bradstreet); I, 168, 183-84, 187, 202-03, 216 (Phips); I, 273, 276-80, and II, 39-41, 166 (the Mathers); I, 355 (Higginson); I, 463-65 (Chauncy); I, 498-501 (Cobbet). A very slight sampling of some of the other heroes embodied (in higher form) in the fathers of New England: (a) from pagan mythology: Hercules, Odin, and Apollo; (b) from the Bible: Abel, Aaron, Gideon, Luke, and Barnabas; (c) from early Christianity: Ambrose, Chrysostom, Theodosius, Boniface, Origen, Benedict, St. George, and Irenaeus; (d) from the ancient Greeks and Romans: Solon, Miltiades, Brutus and Caesar, Fabius and Hannibal, Tully, Aristides, Cato, and Cicero; (e) from modern times: Farel, Vivet, Boyle, Bucholtzer, and Copernicus; (f) "all" the rabbis that "had ever yet been in Europe" (I, 428).
 - 23 Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 166, 375 (Phips); I, 273 (Cotton); I, 434 (Hooker); I, 528 (Eliot); I, 166 (Phips); I, 273 (Cotton); II, 114 (Oakes); I, 399 (Bulkeley); I, 108 (Bradford); I, 332 (Hooker); I, 479 (Fiske); I, 286 (Norton). In other characteristic openings, Mather speaks of the birth of Christ, contrasts the fall of Adam with Christ's calling of his disciples, notes the major developments from the days of Joshua through ancient Greece and Lacedonia to the present, and reviews the history of ecclesiastical biography, from Palladius to Fabius. Mather introduces the magistrates as men superior to "the greatest kings in the world" (I, 141), and his Life of each of them as a more "real and . . . faithful History" than Xenophon's, Curtius's, Virgil's, or Pliny's (I, 107). His preface to his Lives of the divines details the "many great men [who] . . . have successfully . . . shaken the kingdom of Anti-Christ" (I, 584).
 - 24 Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 235, 107, 31, 27, 317.
 - 25 Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 194.

- 26 Richard Mather, *An Apologie of the Churches in New England* . . . (London, 1643), pp. 1-3, 27, 31.
- 27 Increase Mather, *The Mystery of Israel's Salvation* . . . (London, 1669), p. ix; Winthrop, "Conclusions," p. 6; John Eliot, quoted in Samuel Sewall, *Phaenomena Quaedam Apocalyptica . . . Or, Some Few Lines Towards a Description of the New Heaven As It Makes to Those Who Stand Upon the New Earth* (Boston, 1697), p. 2. It has often been argued that Anglicans differed in their use of the *imitatio*, that they appealed to Christ's *agon*, allegorizing the Christian "I" as the embodiment of all souls, types, and ceremonies, whereas Puritans—committed as they were to history—preferred to identify with the drama of redemption. If so, the distinction confirms the Puritans' more militant espousal of Reformed soteriology.
- 28 Samuel Wakeman, *Sound Repentance* . . . (Boston, 1685), p. 18; Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 33; Nicholas Noyes, *New Englands Duty* . . . (Boston, 1698), pp. 43-45.
- 29 Mather, *Things to be Look'd for*, pp. 3, 34; John Eliot, "Letter . . . , 1664," in *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 9 (1855), 131, and *The Christian Commonwealth* . . . (London, [1659]), sig. C1 recto; Anne Bradstreet, "Dialogue Between Old England and New," in *Works*, ed. Jeannine Hensley (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), pp. 185-88; Mukhtar Ali Isani, "Edward Taylor and the 'Turks,'" *Early American Literature* 7 (1972), 121.
- 30 Higginson, "Attestation," in Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 16-17.
- 31 J. S., Preface to Mitchel's *Nehemiah on the Wall*, sigs. A2 recto-A2 verso.
- 32 Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, in *The Ante-Nicene Fathers* . . . , eds. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson (New York, 1913), II, 305; Samuel Mather, *The Figures or Types of the Old Testament* . . . (Dublin, 1685), pp. 33, 86-87, 90; Mather, *Magnalia*, II, 578-79. Mather's use of this technique is explicit or implicit throughout the *Magnalia*. One more example must suffice: "There was a famous person in the days of Joshua, known by the name of Cadmus; who carried not only a *people*, but *letters* also, from Phoenitia into Boeotia. The Grecian fable of a *serpent*, in the story of Cadmus, was only derived from the name of an Hivite, which . . . signifies a *serpent*. . . . This renounced Cadmus was indeed a Gibeonite, who [was] . . . by Joshua . . . employed in the service of the true God. . . . Yea, when after ages, in their songs, praised Apollo for his victory over the dragon Pytho, they uttered but the disguised songs of Canaan, wherein this Cadmus had celebrated the praises of Joshua for his victory over the King of Bashan. . . . [Let this serve] as an *introduction* unto . . . New-English history; . . . when some ecclesiastical oppressions drove a colony of the truest Israelites into the remoter parts of the world . . . and our [Charles] Chauncy was the Cadmus . . . by whose vast labour and learning the knowledge of Jesus Christ . . . hath been conveyed unto posterity" (I, 463-64). Since Apollo is a type of the Son of Man, and Pytho of Satan, the "songs of Canaan," undisguised here by Mather, signify the cosmic nuptials for the Second Coming.
- 33 John Robinson, quoted in Rosenmeier, "William Bradford's *Of Plymouth*

- Plantation*," in *Typology and Early American Literature*, p. 92; Nathaniel Morton, *New Englands Memoriall* . . . , ed. Howard J. Hall (New York, 1937), p. 151, and "To the Christian Reader" (preface); Richard Montague, *The Acts and Monuments of the Church* . . . (London, 1642), p. 21.
- 34 In addition to Virgil, Mather compares himself as epic writer to Du Bartas, Blackmore, Milton, and Homer. One example among many of Mather's use of Virgil is his reference in the Life of Winthrop to the *Aeneid* 1. 142-43, which had standard associations (through medieval and Renaissance treatises on government) with Christ in his kingly or magisterial office. There are many studies of the exegetical adaptations of Virgil. The most exhaustive commentaries available to Mather were Bernard Silvestris, *Commentum . . . Eneidos Virgili*, ed. Guilielmus Riedel (Gryphiswaldae, 1624), and Alexander Ross, *Virgilius Evangelisans* . . . (London, 1634), and *Mystagogus Poeticus . . . Explaining the Historical Mysteries . . . of the Ancient Greek and Latin Poets*, 6th ed. (London, 1675).
- 35 Donne, *Sermons*, VII, 51; Mather, *Things to be Look'd for*, p. 9; Increase Mather, *An Earnest Exhortation* . . . (Boston, 1676), p. 26; Cotton Mather, *The Serviceable Man* . . . (Boston, 1690), pp. 45-46; Thomas Shepard, *Eye-Salve, Or A Watch Word* . . . (Cambridge, Mass., 1673), p. 14; Eliphalet Adams, *The Necessity of Judgment* . . . (New London, Conn., 1710), p. 37.
- 36 Samuel Danforth, *A Brief Recognition of New Englands Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1671), pp. 4-7; Thomas Shepard, Preface to Danforth, *Errand into the Wilderness*, sig. A2 verso; Martin Luther, *Confession Concerning Christ's Supper*, ed. Helmut T. Lehmann, in *Works*, ed. Jaroslav Pelikan et al., 55 vols. (Saint Louis, 1955-73), XXXVII, 262.
- 37 I. Mather, *Mystery of Israel's Salvation*, p. 102; Increase Mather, *A Discourse Concerning . . . the Glorious Kingdom* . . . (Boston, 1710), p. 29; Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence*, p. 191, and quoted in Cecelia Tichi, "The Puritan Historians and Their New Jerusalem," *Early American Literature* 6 (1971), 147. Johnson's conflation of John the Baptist and John the Divine is characteristic of the Puritan outlook. Sometimes this is explicit, as in Mitchel's *Nehemiah on the Wall*, p. 9; more often the conflation is implicit, as in John Cotton's Preface to John Norton, *The Answer To . . . Apollonius* (1648), trans. Douglas Horton (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), p. 14: "John . . . was carried into the wilderness that he might see more clearly not only the judgment of the great whore but also the coming down from heaven of . . . New Jerusalem." Cotton is replying here to the charge that the New Englanders are a people cast into the "outer darkness."
- 38 Bercovitch, "Cotton Mather," in *Major Writers*, ed. Emerson, pp. 90-103.
- 39 John Winthrop, *Christian Charity*, in *Puritan Political Ideas, 1558-1794*, ed. Edmund S. Morgan (Indianapolis, 1965), p. 86; Oakes, *New-England Pleaded With*, pp. 1-3; Samuel Danforth, *The Building Up of Zion*, in *Bridgewater's Monitor* . . . (Boston, 1717), p. 2; Peter Bulkeley, *The Gospel-Covenant . . .*, 2nd ed. (London, 1651), p. 17; Johnson, *Wonder-Working Providence*, p. 52.
- 40 Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 27; Mather, quoted in Robert Middlekauff, *The Mathers: Three Generations of Puritan Intellectuals, 1596-1728* (New York, 1971), p. 337; Mather, *Magnalia*, II, 115.

- 41 Increase Mather, *A Discourse Concerning the Danger of Apostasy* . . . (Boston, 1685), pp. 55-56; Cotton Mather, *A Companion for Communicants* . . . (Boston, 1690), dedication.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 John Foxe, *The Acts and Monuments of These Latter and Perillous Dayes, Touching Matters of the Church* . . . *Specialllye in this Realme of England* (1570 ed.), ed. S. R. Cattley, 8 vols. (London, 1837-41), I, xxv.
- 2 Foxe, quoted in William Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation* (London, 1963), p. 250.
- 3 Martin Luther, "To the Burgomasters and Counsellors" (1525), quoted in John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven, 1963), p. 242; Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, p. 107.
- 4 Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, II, 806, 791.
- 5 Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, II, 795-96 (my italics), 790, 792; VII, 252-55.
- 6 Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, II, 797; IV, 132; II, 806, 26, 21.
- 7 Fuller, *Holy Profane State*, II, 66, 149, 258, 264; Izaak Walton, "The Life of Mr. George Herbert" (1670), in *English Biography in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Vivian de Sola Pinto (London, 1951), p. 96; Thomas Fuller, *The Church History of Britain* . . . , ed. J. S. Brewer, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1845), I, 2; II, 6, 281; V, 244; VI, 346. In accordance with this tradition, Fuller constantly juxtaposes complex figuralism with a skeptical, sometimes ribald antiquarianism (e.g., I, 51-52, 83, 106, 111; II, 18, 66, 133; III, 61, 68, 83, 168).
- 8 Bale, quoted in Haller, *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*, pp. 70, 68; Bale, *Select Works*, pp. 5-8, 55, 100, 144, 243. Bale's attack centered on Polydore Vergil, the Italian secular priest who at the request of Henry VII undertook what became the first large-scale formulation of the "Tudor myth" of English history.
- 9 John Knox, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland* (1586-87), ed. William Croft Dickinson, 2 vols. (New York, 1950), I, 6; II, 6.
- 10 John Aylmer's famous remark that "God is English" is a marginal gloss to a text which urges the British to "fight not only in the quarel of [their] country: but also and chieflie in defence of . . . true religion"; John Lyly's belief that "The lyuing God is onely the English God" pertains to the defeat of the papal powers in England, and the country's just reward of "blessed peace" and a "happy prince" (William Haller, "John Foxe and the Puritan Revolution," in *The Seventeenth Century: Studies in the History of English Thought and Literature from Bacon to Pope* [Stanford, 1951; festschrift for Richard Foster Jones], p. 209).
- 11 Edmund Calamy, *The Great Danger of Covenant-refusing* . . . (London, 1646), pp. 1, 8, 11, 18; Greenham, quoted in Jens G. Møller, "The Beginnings of Puritan Covenant Theology," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 13-14 (1962-63), 65; Perry Miller, "Solomon Stoddard, 1643-1729," *Harvard Theological Review* 34 (1941), 286-88; Middlekauff, *The Mathers*, pp. 107-08, 116; Owen, quoted in Richard L. Greaves, "John Bunyan and Covenant Thought in the Seventeenth Century," *Church History* 36 (1967), 158-59, 162.
- 12 Charles S. McCoy, "Johannes Cocceius: Federal Theologian," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 16 (1963), 362-63.

- 13 Edmund Calamy, *England's Looking-Glasse* . . . (London, [1642?]), Prefatory Epistle and p. 22.
- 14 George Petter, *A Learned . . . Commentary upon . . . St. Mark . . .*, 2 vols. (London, 1661), II, 1077.
- 15 John Frederick Wilson, *Pulpit in Parliament: Puritanism during the English Civil Wars, 1640-1648* (Princeton, 1969).
- 16 John Milton, *History of Britain*, in *Complete Prose Works*, vol. 5, ed. French R. Fogle (New Haven, 1971), p. 129; Milton, quoted in Fixler, *Milton and the Kingdoms of God*, p. 217.
- 17 Richard Overton, *An Arrow Against All Tyrants* . . . (London, 1646), pp. 3-4.
- 18 Edward Stillingfleet, *Origines Britannicae* . . . (1685), ed. Thomas P. Pantin, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1842), I, xxxiii-xxxiv.
- 19 Samuel Crossman, *The Young Man's Calling* . . . (London, 1685), pp. 63-64; Thomas Gouge, *The Young Man's Guide Through the Wilderness of this World, to the Heavenly Canaan* . . . (London, 1670); John Owen, *Works*, ed. William H. Goold, 16 vols. (London, 1850-53), IX, 510; Edmund Calamy, Preface to *An Account of the Ministers . . . Silenced after the Restoration* . . . , 2nd ed. (London, 1713) sig. A3 recto.
- 20 This is the argument of Stephen Zwicker's *Dryden's Political Poetry: The Typology of King and Nation* (Providence, R.I., 1972). If Professor Zwicker is correct, there would seem to be certain parallels between Milton's final position and Dryden's, at least with respect to their late autobiographical *personae*: blind Samson among the Philistines, self-mocking counterpart of the revolutionary who had envisioned his country as an aroused Samson; the disenchanted artist whose *Britannia Rediviva* satirizes his former chauvinism. But the parallels more strongly declare the constant dilution of the metaphor of national election, its entropic running down from the tremendous explosive force that transformed seventeenth-century England. Foxe spoke for the entire nation, Milton for a broad political-economic movement. Dryden's faith, even in his most confident period, rested less on the people than on the institutions of monarchy, in a self-consciously "new age" which was turning against all forms of figuralism, as Dryden himself makes plain. In its strict soteriological meaning, the concept of England's national calling was a short-lived anomaly.
- 21 Samuel Clarke, *A Generall Martyrologie* . . . (London, 1677), fol. A1 recto.
- 22 Thomas Prince, *A Chronological History of New-England* . . . (Boston, 1736); Thomas Robbins, Preface to Mather, *Magnalia*, I, 6.
- 23 Stowe, quoted in Edmund Wilson, *Patriotic Gore: Studies in the Literature of the American Civil War* (New York, 1962), pp. 8-9, 84-85.
- 24 Timothy Dwight, *A Discourse . . . on the National Fast* (New York, 1812), pp. 42, 54; Thomas Frink, *A King Reigning in Righteousness* . . . (Boston, 1758), pp. 4-7; Abraham Cummings, *A Dissertation on the . . . Millennium* (Boston, 1797), p. 33; John Adams, quoted in Ernest L. Tuveson, *Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role* (Chicago, 1968), p. 102.
- 25 Mather, *Things to be Look'd for*, pp. 53, 60; Torrey, *Exhortation*, pp. 12-13, 41; I. Mather, *The Glorious Kingdom*, pp. 78-79; William Hubbard, *The Happiness of a People* . . . (Boston, 1676), p. 91; Richard Mather and William Thompson, *An Heart-Melting Exhortation* . . . (London, 1650), p. 68.