

# AMERICAN SERMONS

---

THE PILGRIMS TO  
MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.

---

ed. Michael Warner



THE LIBRARY OF AMERICA

New York

1999

*and rule the Lords people, and seek their good in the integrity of your hearts, and when the chief Shepherd, and chief Ruler shall appear, then shall you receive a Crown of Glory that fadeth not away!* And so all the people of God in your several places, the Lord is *with you*, while you be *with him*; as we excellently heard the last year: and if you be with him, you must and will be with and for his people; yea *chuse to suffer affliction with them*, if that be their condition, as *Moses did*, Heb. II. 25. And you will every one say, as you sometimes had that word on such a day as this, sweetly left with you, by that faithful *Nathaniel now with God*, Psal. 122. 8. *For my Brethren, and companions sake, I will now say to Jerusalem, Peace be within thee: and because of the house of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good; that is thy voice of every Soul that loves our Lord Jesus in sincerity.* In that Spirit and way persist, act and walk in your several places, and *hold on* therein against all Temptations, *in faith and love through Christ Jesus.* And at *that day*, when every Cup of cold water to a Disciple shall be rewarded; when *the house of Onesiphorus shall be remembred*; when every act of love to the faithful shall be honourably acknowledged: Then shall you *stand in the Congregation of the righteous*, (in the same company then, that you cleave unto now) *And the Lord the Righteous Judge shall give you a Crown of Righteousness, and unto all that love his appearing.*

FINIS

## SAMUEL DANFORTH

### *A Brief Recognition of New-Englands Errand into the Wilderness (1670)*

*Made in the Audience of the General Assembly of the  
Massachusetts Colony, at Boston in N. E. on the 11th of  
the third Moneth, 1670. being the Day of Election there.*

- Jer. 2. 2. *Go, and cry in the ears of Jerusalem, saying, Thus saith the Lord, I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in a Land that was not sown.*
3. *Israel was Holiness unto the Lord, and the first-fruits of his increase—*
5. *Thus saith the Lord, What iniquity have your fathers found in me, that they are gone far from me, and have walked after vanity, and are become vain?*

Matth. II. 7, 8, 9.

*—What went ye out into the wilderness to see? A reed shaken with the wind?*

*But what went ye out for to see? A man clothed in soft raiment? behold, they that wear soft clothing, are in Kings houses.*

*But what went ye out for to see? A Prophet? yea, I say unto you, and more then a Prophet.*

THESE WORDS are our Saviour's *Proem* to his illustrious Encomium of *John the Baptist.* *John* began his Ministry, not in *Jerusalem*, nor in any famous City of *Judea*, but in the *Wilderness*, i.e. in a woody, retired and solitary place, thereby withdrawing himself from the envy and preposterous zeal of such as were addicted to their old Traditions, and also taking

the people aside from the noise and tumult of their secular occasions and businesses, which might have obstructed their ready and cheerful attendance unto his Doctrine. The Ministry of *John* at first was entertained by all sorts with singular affection: *There went out to him Jerusalem and all Judea, and all the region round about Jordan, Mat. 3. 5.* but after awhile, the people's fervour abated, and *John* being kept under restraint divers moneths, his authority and esteem began to decay and languish, *John 5. 35.* Wherefore our Saviour, taking occasion from *Johns* Messengers coming to him, after their departure, gives an excellent *Elogie* and Commendation of *John*, to the intent that He might ratifie and confirm his Doctrine and Administration, and revive his Authority and Estimation in the hearts and consciences of the people.

This *Elogie* our Saviour begins with an elegant *Dialogism*, which the Rhetorician calleth *Communication*: gravely deliberating with his Hearers, and seriously enquiring to what purpose they went out into the Wilderness, and what expectation drew them thither. Wherein we have, 1. *The general Question, and main subject of his Inquisition.* 2. *The particular Enquiries.* 3. *The Determination of the Question.*

The general Question is, *What went ye out into the Wilderness to see?* He saith not, Whom went ye out to hear, but what went ye out to see? Θεᾶσασθω. The phrase agrees to Shows and Stage-playes; plainly arguing that many of those, who seemed well-affected to *John*, and flock'd after him, were *Theatrical Hearers, Spectators* rather than *Auditors*; they went not to hear, but to see; they went to gaze upon a new and strange Spectacle.

This general Question being propounded, the first particular Enquiry is, whether they went to see *A reed shaken with the wind?* The expression is Metaphorical and Proverbial. A reed when the season is calm, lifts up itself and stands upright, but no sooner doth the wind blow upon it, but it shakes and trembles, bends and bows down, and then gets up again: and again it yields and bows, and then lifts up it self again. A notable *Emblem* of light, empty and inconstant persons, who in times of peace and tranquillity, give a fair and plausible Testimony to the Truth; but no sooner do the winds of Temptation blow upon them, and the waves of Troubles roll

over them, but they incline and yield to the prevailing Party: but when the Tempest is over, they recover themselves and assert the Truth again. The meaning then of this first Enquiry is, *Went ye out into the Wilderness to see a light, vain and inconstant man, one that could confess and deny, and deny and confess the same Truth?* This Interrogation is to be understood negatively and ironically; *q.d.* Surely ye went not into the desert to behold such a ludicrous and ridiculous sight, *A man like unto a reed shaken with the wind.* Under the negation of the contrary levity, our Saviour sets forth one of *John's* excellencies, *viz.* his eminent *Constancy* in asserting the Truth. The winds of various temptations both on the right hand and on the left, blew upon him, yet he wavered not in his testimony concerning Christ, *He confessed and denied not, but confessed the truth.*

Then the general Question is repeated, *But what went ye out for to see?* and a second particular Enquiry made, *Was it to see a man clothed in soft raiment?* This Interrogation hath also the force of a negation, *q.d.* Surely ye went not into the Wilderness to see a man clothed in silken and costly Apparel. The reason of this is added, *Behold, they that wear soft clothing, are in Kings houses.* Delicate and costly Apparel is to be expected in Princes Courts, and not in wilde Woods and Forrests. Under the negation of *John's* affection of Courtly delicacy, our Saviour sets forth another of *John's* excellencies, *viz.* his singular *gravity* and *sobriety*, who wore rough garments, and lived on course and mean fare, *Mat. 3. 4.* which austere kinde of life was accommodated to the place and work of his Ministry. *John* Preached in the Wilderness, which was no fit place for silken and soft raiment. His work was to prepare a people for the Lord, by calling them off from worldly pomp and vanities, unto repentance and mourning for sin. His peculiar habit and diet was such as became a penitentiary Preacher.

Thirdly, the generall Question is reiterated, *But what went ye out for to see?* and a third particular Enquiry made, *Was it to see a Prophet?* This Interrogation is to be understood affirmatively, *q.d.* no doubt but it was to see a *Prophet.* Had not *John* been a rare and excellent Minister of God, you would never have gone out of your Cities into the desert to have

seen him. Thus our Saviour sets forth another of *John's* admirable excellencies, *viz.* his *Prophetical* Office and Function. *John* was not an ordinary Interpreter of the Law, much less a Teacher of Jewish Traditions, but *a Prophet*, one who by the extraordinary Inspiration of the holy Ghost, made known the Mysteries of Salvation, *Luke* 1. 76, 77.

Lastly, our Saviour determines and concludes the Question, He, whom ye went out to see was *more then a Prophet*, *περισσότερον προφήτου*, *much more*, or *abundantly more then a Prophet*. This he confirms by his wonted Asseveration, *Yea, I say unto you*, and much more then a Prophet. How was *John* much more then a Prophet? *John* was *Christ's Herauld* sent immediately before his face, to proclaim his Coming and Kingdome, and prepare the people for the reception of him by the Baptism of Repentance, *ver.* 10. Hence it follows *ver.* 11. *Among all that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater Prophet then John.* *John* was greater then any of the Prophets that were before him, not in respect of his personal graces and virtues, (for who shall perswade us that he excelled *Abraham* in the grace of *Faith*, who was the father of the faithful, or *Moses* in *Meekness*, who was the meekest man on earth, or *David* in *Faithfulness*, who was a man after Gods own heart, or *Solomon* in *Wisdom*, who was the wisest man that ever was or shall be?) but in respect of the manner of his dispensation. All the *Prophets* foretold *Christ's* Coming, his Sufferings and Glory, but the *Baptist* was his *Harbinger* and *Forerunner*, that bare the Sword before him, Proclaimed his Presence, and made room for him in the hearts of the people. All the *Prophets* saw *Christ* afar off, but the *Baptist* saw him present, baptized him, and applied the Types to him personally. *Behold the Lamb of God. He saw and bare record that this is the Son of God, Joh.* 1. 29, 34. *But he that is least in the Kingdome of Heaven, is greater then John.* The least Prophet in the Kingdome of Heaven, *i.e.* the least Minister of the Gospel since *Christ's* Ascension, is greater then *John*; not in respect of the measure of his personal gifts, nor in respect of the manner of his Calling, but in respect of the *Object* of his Ministry, *Christ on the Throne*, having finished the work of our Redemption, and in respect of the *degree* of the revelation of *Christ*, which is far more clear and full. *John* shewed *Christ*

in the flesh, and pointed to him with his finger, but the Ministers of the Gospel declare that he hath done and suffered all things necessary to our Salvation, and is risen again and set down at the right hand of God.

DOCT. *Such as have sometime left their pleasant Cities and Habitations to enjoy the pure Worship of God in a Wilderness, are apt in time to abate and cool in their affection thereunto: but then the Lord calls upon them seriously and throughly to examine themselves, what it was that drew them into the Wilderness, and to consider that it was not the expectation of ludicrous levity, nor of Courtly pomp and delicacy, but of the free and clear dispensation of the Gospel and Kingdome of God.*

This Doctrine consists of two distinct Branches; let me open them severally.

Branch I. *Such as have sometime left their pleasant Cities and Habitations, to enjoy the pure Worship of God in a Wilderness, are apt in time to abate and cool in their affection thereunto.* To what purpose did the Children of *Israel* leave their Cities and Houses in *Egypt*, and go forth into the Wilderness? was it not to *hold a Feast to the Lord*, and to *sacrifice to the God of their fathers*? That was the onely reason, which they gave of their motion to *Pharaoh*, *Exod.* 5. 1, 3. but how soon did they forget their Errand into the Wilderness, and corrupt themselves in their own Inventions? within a few moneths after their coming out of *Egypt*, *they make a Calf in Horeb, and worship the molten Image, and change their glory into the similitude of an Ox that eateth grass, Psal.* 106. 19, 20. *Exod.* 32. 7, 8. *yea for the space of forty years in the Wilderness, while they pretended to Sacrifice to the Lord, they indeed worshipped the Stars and the Host of Heaven, and together with the Lords Tabernacle, carried about with them the Tabernacle of Moloch, Amos* 5. 25, 26. *Acts* 7. 42, 43. And how did they spend their time in the Wilderness, but in tempting God, and in murmuring against their godly and faithful Teachers and Rulers, *Moses* and *Aaron*? *Psal.* 95. 8. To what purpose did the Children of the Captivity upon *Cyrus* his Proclamation, leave their Houses which they had built, and their Vineyards and Oliveyards which they had planted in the Province of *Babylon*, and return to *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, which were now become a Wilderness? was it not that they

might build the House of God at *Jerusalem*, and set up the Temple-worship? But how shamefully did they neglect that great and honourable Work for the space of above forty years? They pretended that Gods time was not come to build his House, because of the rubs and obstructions which they met with; whereas all their difficulties and discouragements hindred not their building of stately houses for themselves, *Hag.* 1. 2, 3, 4. To what purpose did *Jerusalem* & all *Judea*, & all the region round about *Jordan*, leave their several Cities and Habitations, and flock into the *Wilderness of Judea*? was it not to see that *burning and shining light*, which God had raised up? To hear his heavenly Doctrine, and partake of that new Sacrament, which he administred? O how they were affected with his rare and excellent gifts! with his clear, lively and powerful Ministry! *The Kingdome of Heaven pressed in* upon them *with a holy violence, and the violent*, the zealous and affectionate hearers of the Gospel, *took it by force*, *Mat.* 11. 12. *Luk.* 16. 16. They leapt over all discouragements and impediments, whether outward, as Legal Rites and Ceremonies, or inward, the sense of their own sin and unworthiness, and pressed into the Kingdome of God, as men rush into a Theatre to see a pleasant Sight, or as Souldiers run into a besieged City, to take the Spoil thereof: but their hot fit is soon over, their affection lasted but for an *hour*, i.e. a short season, *Joh.* 5. 35.

*Reas.* 1. Because the *affection* of many to the Ministry of the Gospel and the pure Worship of God, is built upon *temporary* and *transitory* grounds, as the *novelty* and *strangeness of the matter*, the *rareness* and *excellency of Ministerial Gifts*, the *voice of the people*, the *countenance of great men*, and the *hope of worldly advantage*. The Jews had lien in ignorance and darkness a long time, being trained up under the superstitious observances of their old Traditions, which were vain, empty and unprofitable Customes, and the Church wanted the gift of Prophecy about four hundred years, and therefore when *John the Baptist* arose like a bright and burning light, shining amongst them with admirable gifts of the Spirit, and extraordinary severity and gravity of manners, proclaiming the Coming and Kingdome of the Messias, (which had been oft

promised and long expected) and pressing the people to Repentance and good works; O how they admire and reverence him? especially, when grown popular, and countenanced by *Herod the Tetrarch*. What sweet affections are kindled! what great expectations are raised! what ravishing joy is conceived! Hoping (as its probable) to make use of his Authority to cast off the *Roman* yoke, and recover their Civil Liberties, Riches and Honours. But after a little acquaintance with *John*, (for he was a publick Preacher but a year and half) his Doctrine, Administrations and Prophetical Gifts, grew common and stale things, and of little esteem with them; especially, when they saw their carnal hopes frustrated, the Rulers disaffected, and *Herods* countenance and carriage toward him changed.

*Reas.* 2. Because *Prejudices* and *Offences* are apt to arise in the hearts of many against the *faithful Dispensers* of the Gospel. The *Pharisees* and *Lawyers* came among others to the Baptism of *John*, but when they hear his sharp reprehensions of their *Viperous* Opinions and Practices, they nauseate his Doctrine, repudiate his Baptism, calumniate his Conversation, *Luke* 7. 30. *Herodias* hath an inward grudge and a quarrel against him, because he found fault with her incestuous Marriage, *Mar.* 6. 19. Yea, that very Age and Generation of the Jews, were like to a company of surly, sullen and froward children, whom no Musick can please, they neither dance after the Pipe, nor make lamentation after the mourner. They inveigh against *John's* austerity, saying that he was transported with diabolical fury, and was an enemy to humane society: and they do as much distaste and abhor *Christ's* gentleness and familiarity, traducing him, as being a sensual and voluptuous person, given to intemperance and luxury, and a Patron and Abettor of looseness and profaneness, *Mat.* 11. 16-19. Thus doth the frowardness and stubbornness of man, resist and oppose the wisdom and goodness of God, who useth various wayes and instruments to compass poor sinners, but they through their folly and perverseness, frustrate, disanul and abrogate the counsel of God against themselves. The evil spirit that troubled *Saul*, was quieted and allayed by the sweet Melody of *David's* Harp: but the mad and outrageous fury

that transports men against the Truth and the Ministry thereof, cannot be quieted and allayed by the voice of the Charmers, charm they never so wisely.

Branch II. *When men abate and cool in their affection to the pure Worship of God, which they went into the Wilderness to enjoy, the Lord calls upon them seriously and throughly to examine themselves, what it was that drew them into the Wilderness, and to consider that it was not the expectation of ludicrous levity, nor of Courtly pomp and delicacy, but of the free and clear dispensation of the Gospel and Kingdome of God.* Our Saviour knowing that the people had lost their first love and singular affection to the revelation of his grace by the Ministry of his Herauld *John*, He is very intense in examining them, what expectation drew them into the Wilderness: He doth not once nor twice, but thrice propound that Question, *What went ye out into the Wilderness to see?* Yea, in particular he enquires whether it were to see a man that was like to a *Reed shaken with the wind?* or whether it were to see a *man clothed like a Courtier*, or whether it were to see a *Prophet*, and then determines the Question, concluding that it was to see a great and excellent Prophet, and that had not they seen rare and admirable things in him, they would never have gone out into the Wilderness unto him.

The Reason is, Because the serious consideration of the inestimable grace and mercy of God in the free and clear dispensation of the Gospel and Kingdome of God, is a special means to convince men of their folly and perverseness in undervaluing the same, and a sanctified remedy to recover their affections thereunto. The Lord foreseeing the defection of *Israel* after *Moses* his death, commands him to write that Prophetical Song, recorded in *Deut.* 32. as a Testimony against them: wherein the chief remedy, which he prescribes for the prevention and healing of their Apostacy, is their calling to remembrance Gods great and signal love in manifesting himself to them in the Wilderness, in conducting them safely and mercifully, and giving them possession of their promised Inheritance, *ver.* 7-14. And when *Israel* was apostatized and fallen, the Lord to convince them of their ingratitude and folly, brings to their remembrance his deliverance of them out of *Egypt*, his leading them through the Wilderness

for the space of forty years, and not onely giving them possession of their Enemies Land, but also raising up, even of their own Sons, *Prophets*, faithful and eminent Ministers, and of their young men *Nazarites*, who being separated from worldly delights and encumbrances, were Paterns of Purity and Holiness: all which were great and obliging mercies. Yea, the Lord appeals to their own Consciences, whether these his favours were not real and signal, *Amos* 2. 10, 11. The Prophet *Jeremiah*, that he might reduce the people from their backslidings, cries in the ears of *Jerusalem*, with earnestness and boldness declaring unto them, that the Lord remembred how well they stood affected towards him, when he first chose them to be his people and espoused them to himself, how they followed him in the Wilderness, and kept close to him in their long and wearisome passage through the uncultured Desert; how they were then consecrated to God, and set apart for his Worship and Service; as the first-fruits are wont to be sequestred and devoted to God: and thereupon expostulates with them for their forsaking the Lord, and following after their Idols, *Jer.* 2. 2, 3, 5, 6. Surely our Saviour's *Dialogism* with his Hearers in my Text, is not a meer Rhetorical Elegancy to adorn his Testimony concerning *John*, but a clear and strong conviction of their folly in slighting and despising that which they sometime so highly pretended unto, and a wholesome admonition and direction how to recover their primitive affection to his Doctrine and Administration.

USE I. Of solemn and serious Enquiry to us all in this general Assembly, Whether we have not in a great measure forgotten our Errand into the Wilderness. You have solemnly professed before God, Angels and Men, that the Cause of your leaving your Country, Kindred and Fathers houses, and transporting your selves with your Wives, Little Ones and Substance over the vast Ocean into this waste and howling Wilderness, was *your Liberty to walk in the Faith of the Gospel with all good Conscience according to the Order of the Gospel, and your enjoyment of the pure Worship of God according to his Institution, without humane Mixtures and Impositions.* Now let us sadly consider whether our ancient and primitive affections to the Lord Jesus, his glorious Gospel, his pure and Spiritual Worship and the Order of his House, remain, abide

and continue firm, constant, entire and inviolate. Our Saviour's reiteration of this Question, *What went ye out into the Wilderness to see?* is no idle repetition, but a sad conviction of our dulness and backwardness to this great duty, and a clear demonstration of the weight and necessity thereof. It may be a grief to us to be put upon such an Inquisition; as it is said of Peter, *Joh. 21. 17. Peter was grieved, because he said unto him the third time, Lovest thou me?* but the Lord knoweth that a strict and rigid examination of our hearts in this point, is no more then necessary. Wherefore let us call to remembrance the former dayes, and consider whether *it was not then better with us, then it is now.*

In our first and best times the Kingdome of Heaven brake in upon us with a holy violence, and every man pressed into it. What mighty efficacy and power had the clear and faithful dispensation of the Gospel upon your hearts? how affectionately and zealously did you entertain the Kingdome of God? How careful were you, even all sorts, young and old, high and low, to take hold of the opportunities of your Spiritual good and edification? ordering your secular affairs (which were wreathed and twisted together with great variety) so as not to interfere with your general Calling, but that you might *attend upon the Lord without distraction.* How diligent and faithful in preparing your hearts for the reception of the Word, *laying apart all filthiness and superfluity of naughtiness,* that you might *receive with meekness the ingrossed word, which is able to save your souls; and purging out all malice, guile, hypocrisies, envies, and all evil speakings, and as new-born babes, desiring the sincere milk of the Word, that ye might grow thereby?* How attentive in hearing the everlasting Gospel, *watching daily at the gates of Wisdome, and waiting at the posts of her doors, that ye might finde eternal life, and obtain favour of the Lord?* Gleaning day by day in the field of Gods Ordinances, even among the Sheaves, and gathering up handfuls, which the Lord let fall of purpose for you, and at night going home and beating out what you had gleaned, by Meditation, Repetition, Conference, and therewith feeding your selves and your families. How painful were you in recollecting, repeating and discoursing of what you heard, whetting the Word of God upon the hearts of your Children, Servants and

Neighbours? How fervent in Prayer to Almighty God for his divine Blessing upon the Seed sown, that it might take root and fructifie? O what a reverent esteem had you in those dayes of Christ's faithful Ambassadors, that declared unto you the Word of Reconciliation! *How beautiful were the feet of them, that preached the Gospel of peace, and brought the glad tidings of Salvation!* you *esteemed them highly in love for their works sake.* Their Persons, Names and Comforts were precious in your eyes; you counted your selves blessed in the enjoyment of a Pious, Learned and Orthodox Ministry: and though you ate the bread of adversity and drank the water of affliction, yet you rejoyced in this, that your eyes saw your Teachers, they were not removed into corners, and your ears heard a word behinde you, saying, This is the way, walk ye in it, when you turned to the right hand and when you turned to the left, *Isa. 30. 20, 21.* What earnest and ardent desires had you in those dayes after Communion with Christ in the holy Sacraments? *With desire you desired to partake of the Seals of the Covenant.* You thought your Evidences for Heaven not sure nor authentick, unless the Broad-Seals of the Kingdome were annexed. What solicitude was there in those dayes to *seek the Lord after the right Order?* What searching of the holy Scriptures, what Collations among your Leaders, both in their private Meetings and publick Councils and Synods, to finde out the Order, which Christ hath constituted and established in his House? What fervent zeal was there then against Sectaries and Hereticks, and all manner of Heterodoxies? *You could not bear them that were evil,* but tried them that pretended to New Light and Revelations, and found them *liars.* What pious *Care* was there of *Sister-Churches,* that those that wanted *Breasts,* might be supplied, and that those that wanted *Peace,* their Dissentions might be healed? What readiness was there in those days to call for the help of Neighbour-Elders and Brethren, in case of any Difference or Division that could not be healed at home? What reverence was there then of the Sentence of a Council, as being *decisive* and issuing the Controversie? According to that ancient Proverbial Saying, *They shall surely ask counsel at Abel, and so they ended the matter,* 2 *Sam. 20. 18.* What holy Endeavours were there in those dayes to *propagate* Religion to your Children and Posterity,

training them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, keeping them under the awe of government, restraining their enormities and extravagancies; charging them to know the God of their fathers, and serve him with a perfect heart and willing minde; and publickly asserting and maintaining their interest in the Lord and in his holy Covenant, and zealously opposing those that denied the same?

And then had the Churches *rest* throughout the several Colonies, and were *edified: and walking in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the holy Ghost, were multiplied.* O how your *Faith* grew exceedingly! you proceeded from faith to faith, from a less to a greater degree and measure, growing up in Him, who is our Head, and receiving abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness, that you might reign in life by Jesus Christ. O how your *Love and Charity* towards each other abounded! O what comfort of Love! what bowels and mercies! what affectionate care was there one of another! what a holy Sympathy in Crosses and Comforts, weeping with those that wept, and rejoycing with those that rejoyced!

But who is there left among you, that saw these Churches *in their first glory*, and how do you see them *now*? Are they not in your eyes in comparison thereof, *as nothing*? *How is the gold become dim! how is the most fine gold changed!* Is not the Temper, Complexion and Countenance of the Churches strangely altered? Doth not a careless, remiss, flat, dry, cold, dead frame of spirit, grow in upon us secretly, strongly, prodigiously? They that have Ordinances, are as though they had none; and they that hear the Word, as though they heard it not; and they that pray, as though they prayed not; and they that receive Sacraments, as though they received them not; and they that are exercised in the holy things, using them by the by, as matters of custome and ceremony, so as not to hinder their eager prosecution of other things which their hearts are set upon. Yea and in some particular Congregations amongst us, is there not *in stead of a sweet smell, a stink? and in stead of a girdle, a rent? and in stead of a stomacher, a girding with sackcloth? and burning in stead of beauty? yea the Vineyard is all overgrown with thorns, and nettles cover the face thereof, and the stone-wall thereof is broken down, Prov. 24. 31.* yea, and that which is the most sad and certain sign of

calamity approaching, *Iniquity aboundeth, and the love of many waxeth cold, Mat. 24. 12.* Pride, Contention, Worldliness, Covetousness, Luxury, Drunkenness and Uncleaness break in like a flood upon us, and good men grow cold in their love to God and to one another. If a man be cold in his bed, let them lay on the more clothes, that he may get heat: but we are like to *David* in his old age, *they covered him with clothes, but he gat no heat, 2 Sam. 1. 1.* The Lord heaps mercies, favours, blessings upon us, and loads us daily with his benefits, but all his love and bounty cannot heat and warm our hearts and affections. Well, the furnace is able to heat and melt the coldest Iron: but how oft hath the Lord cast us into the hot furnace of Affliction and Tribulation, and we have been scorched and burnt, yet not melted, but hardened thereby, *Isa. 63. 17.* How long hath God kept us in the furnace day after day, moneth after moneth, year after year? but all our Afflictions, Crosses, Trials have not been able to keep our hearts in a warm temper.

Now let me freely deliberate with you, what may be the *Causes and Grounds of such decayes and languishings* in our affections to, and estimation of that which we came into the Wilderness to enjoy? Is it because *there is no bread, neither is there any water, and our soul loatheth this light bread? Numb. 21. 5. Our soul is dried away, and there is nothing at all, besides this Manna, before our eyes, Numb. 11. 6.* What, is Manna no bread? Is this Angelical food, light bread, which cannot satisfy, but starves the Soul? Doth our Soul loath the bread of Heaven? The Lord be merciful to us: The full soul loatheth the honey-comb, *Prov. 27. 7.*

*What then is the cause of our decayes and languishings?* Is it because the Spirit of the Lord is straitned and limited in the dispensers of the Gospel, and hence our joyes and comforts are lessened and shortned? *O thou that art named the house of Jacob, is the Spirit of the Lord straitned? are those his doings? Do not my words do good to him that walketh uprightly? Mic. 2. 7.* Surely it is not for want of fulness in the Spirit of God, that he withhold comforts and blessings from any; neither doth he delight in threatnings and judgements, but his words both promise and perform that which is good and comfortable to them that walk uprightly. The Spirit is able to enlarge



it self unto the reviving and cheering of every man's heart; and that should we experience, did not our iniquity put a barre. 2 Cor. 6. 11, 12. *O ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged: Ye are not straitned in us, but ye are straitned in your own bowels.* The Spirit of God dilateth and enlargeth the heart of the faithfull Ministry for the good of the people; but many times the people are straitned in their own bowels, and cannot receive such a large portion, as the Lord hath provided for them. *What then is the cause of our coolings, faintings and languishings?* The grand and principal cause is our *Unbelief*. We believe not the Grace and Power of God in Christ. Where is that lively exercise of faith, which ought to be, in our attendance upon the Lord in his holy Ordinances? Christ came to *Nazareth* with his heart full of love and compassion, and his hands full of blessings to bestow upon his old Acquaintance and Neighbours, among whom he had been brought up, but their *Unbelief* restrained his tender mercies, and bound his Omnipotent hands, that he could not do any great or illustrious Miracle amongst them. *Mat.* 13. 58. *Mark* 6. 5, 6. *He could do there no mighty work—and he marvelled because of their unbelief.* Unbelief straitens the grace and power of Christ, and hinders the communication of divine favours and special mercies. The word preached profits not, when it is not mixed with faith in them that hear it, *Heb.* 4. 2. We may pray earnestly, but if we ask not in faith, how can we expect to receive any thing of the Lord? *Jam.* 1. 6, 7.

But though Unbelief be the principal, yet it is not the sole cause of our decayes and languishings: *Inordinate worldly Cares, predominant Lusts, and malignant Passions and Distempers* stifle and choak the Word, and quench our affections to the Kingdome of God, *Luke* 8. 14. The Manna was gathered early in the morning, when the Sun waxed hot, it melted, *Exod.* 16. 21. It was a fearful Judgement on *Dathan* and *Abiram*, that the earth opened its mouth and swallowed them up. How many Professors of Religion, are swallowed up alive by earthly affections? Such as escape the *Lime-pit of Pharisaical Hypocrisie*, fall into the *Coal-pit of Sadducean Atheism and Epicurism*. Pharisaism and Sadduceism do almost divide the Professing World between them. Some split upon the *Rock* of affected ostentation of singular Piety and Holi-

ness, and others are drawn into the *Whirlpool*, and perish in the *Gulf* of Sensuality and Luxury.

If any question how seasonable such a Discourse may be upon such a Day, as this; let him consider, *Hag.* 2. 10–14. *In the four and twentieth day of the ninth moneth, in the second year of Darius, came the word of the Lord by Haggai the Prophet, saying, Thus saith the Lord of Hosts, Ask now the Priests concerning the law, saying, If one bear holy flesh in the skirt of his garment, and with his skirt do touch bread, or pottage, or wine, or oyl, or any meat, shall it be holy? And the Priests answered and said, No. Then said Haggai, If one that is unclean by a dead body, touch any of these, shall it be unclean? And the Priests answered and said, It shall be unclean. Then answered Haggai and said, So is this people, and so is this nation before me, saith the Lord; and so is every work of their hands, and that which they offer there is unclean.* It was an high and great day, wherein the Prophet spake these words, and an holy and honourable Work, which the people were employed in. For this day they laid the Foundation of the Lords Temple, *ver.* 18. nevertheless, the Lord saw it necessary this very day to represent and declare unto them, the pollution and uncleanness both of their persons and of their holy Services, that they might be deeply humbled before God, and carry on their present Work more holily and purely. What was their uncleanness? Their eager pursuit of their private Interests, took off their hearts and affections from the affairs of the House of God. It seems they pleased themselves with this, that the Altar stood upon its Bases, and Sacrifices were daily offered thereon, and the building of the Temple was onely deferred untill a fit opportunity were afforded, free from disturbance and opposition: and having now gained such a season, they are ready to build the Temple: but the Lord convinceth them out of the Law, that their former negligence was not expiated by their daily Sacrifices, but the guilt thereof rendred both the *Nation* and this *holy and honourable Work*, which they were about, *vile and unclean* in the sight of God. And having thus shewn them their spiritual uncleanness, he encourageth them to go on with the work in hand, the building of the Temple, promising them from *this day* to bless them, *ver.* 18.

USE II. Of Exhortation, To excite and stir us all up to at-

tend and prosecute our Errand into the Wilderness. *To what purpose came we into this place, and what expectation drew us hither?* Surely, not the expectation of *ludicrous Levity*. We came not hither to see a *Reed shaken with the wind*. Then let us not be *Reeds*, light, empty, vain, hollow-hearted Professors, shaken with every wind of Temptation: but solid, serious and sober Christians, constant and stedfast in the Profession and Practice of the Truth, *Trees of Righteousness, the planting of the Lord, that he may be glorified*, holding fast the profession of our Faith without wavering.

*Alas, there is such variety and diversity of Opinions and Judgements, that we know not what to believe.*

Were there not as various and different Opinions touching the Person of Christ, even in the dayes of his flesh? Some said that He was *John the Baptist*, some *Elias*, others *Jeremias*, or one of the old *Prophets*. Some said he was a gluttonous man, and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners: others said He was a *Samaritan*, and had a Devil; yet the Disciples knew what to believe. *Whom say ye that I am? Thou art Christ, the Son of the living God, Mat. 16. 15, 16.* The various heterodox Opinions of the people, serve as a *foil* or tinctured leaf to set off the lustre and beauty of the Orthodox and Apostolical Faith. This is truly commendable, when in such variety and diversity of Apprehensions, you are not byassed by any sinister respects, but discern, embrace and profess the Truth, as it is in Christ Jesus.

*But to what purpose came we into the Wilderness, and what expectation drew us hither?* Not the expectation of *Courtly Pomp and Delicacy*. We came not hither to see men clothed like *Courtiers*. The affectation of Courtly Pomp and Gallantry, is very unsuitable in a Wilderness. Gorgeous Attire is comely in Princes Courts, if it exceed not the limits of Christian Sobriety: but excess in Kings houses, escapes not divine Vengeance. *Zeph. 1. 8.—I will punish the Princes and the Kings children, and all such as are clothed with strange Apparel.* The pride and haughtiness of the Ladies of Zion in their superfluous Ornaments and stately gestures, brought wrath upon themselves, upon their Husbands, and upon their Children, yea and upon the whole Land, *Isa. 3. 16–26.* How much more intolerable and abominable is excess of this kinde in a

Wilderness, where we are so far removed from the Riches and Honours of Princes Courts?

*To what purpose then came we into the Wilderness, and what expectation drew us hither?* Was it not the expectation of the *pure and faithful Dispensation* of the Gospel and Kingdome of God? The times were such that we could not enjoy it in our own Land: and therefore having obtained *Liberty* and a gracious *Patent* from our *Sovereign*, we left our Country, Kindred and Fathers houses, and came into these wilde Woods and Deserts; where the Lord hath planted us, and made us *dwell in a place of our own, that we might move no more, and that the children of wickedness might afflict not us any more, 2 Sam. 7. 10.* What is it that *distinguisheth New-England* from other Colonies and Plantations in *America*? Not our transportation over the *Atlantick Ocean*, but the *Ministry* of Gods faithful Prophets, and the fruition of his holy *Ordinances*. Did not the Lord bring *the Philistines from Caphtor, and the Assyrians from Kir*, as well as *Israel from the land of Egypt? Amos 9. 7.* But *by a Prophet the Lord brought Israel out of Egypt, and by a Prophet was he preserved, Hos. 12. 13.* What, is the Price and Esteem of Gods Prophets, and their faithful Dispensations, now fallen in our hearts?

The hardships, difficulties and sufferings, which you have exposed your selves unto, that you might dwell in the House of the Lord, and leave your Little Ones under the shadow of the wings of the God of *Israel*, have not been few nor small. And shall we now withdraw our selves and our Little Ones from under those *healing Wings*, and lose that full Reward, which the Lord hath in his heart and hand to bestow upon us? Did we not with *Mary* choose this for our *Part, to sit at Christs feet and hear his word?* and do we now repent of our choice, and prefer the Honours, Pleasures and Profits of the world before it? *You did run well: who doth hinder you, that you should not obey the truth? Gal. 5. 7.*

Hath the Lord been wanting to us, or failed our expectation? *Micah 6. 3. O my people, what have I done unto thee, and wherein have I wearied thee? testifie against me. Jer. 2. 5. What iniquity have your fathers found in me, that they are gone far from me? and ver. 31. O generation, see ye the word of the Lord: have I been a wilderness unto Israel? a land of darkness? May*

not the Lord say unto us, as *Pharaoh* did to *Hadad*, 1 *King.* II. 22. *What hast thou lacked with me, that behold, thou seekest to go to thine own Country? Nay, what could have been done more, then what the Lord hath done for us? Isa. 5. 4.*

How sadly hath the Lord testified against us, because of our *loss* of our *first love*, and our *remissness* and negligence in his Work? Why hath the Lord smitten us with *Blasting* and *Mildew* now seven years together, superadding sometimes severe *Drought*, sometimes great *Tempests*, *Floods*, and sweep-*Rains*, that leave no food behinde them? Is it not because the *Lords House* lyeth waste? *Temple-work* in our *Hearts*, *Families*, *Churches* is shamefully neglected? What should I make mention of *Signes* in the *Heavens* and in the *Earth*, *Blazing-Stars*, *Earthquakes*, dreadful *Thunders* and *Lightnings*, fearful *Burnings*? What meaneth the heat of his great *Anger*, in calling home so many of his *Ambassadors*? In plucking such burning and shining *Lights* out of the *Candlesticks*; the principal *Stakes* out of our *Hedges*; the *Cornerstones* out of our *Walls*? In removing such faithful *Shepherds* from their *Flocks*, and breaking down our *defenced Cities*, *Iron Pillars*, and *Brazen-Walls*? Seemeth it a small thing unto us, that so many of Gods *Prophets* (whose *Ministry* we came into the *Wilderness* to enjoy) are taken from us in so short a time? Is it not a *Sign* that God is making a way for his *Wrath*, when he removes his *Chosen* out of the *Gap*? Doth he not threaten us with a *Famine* of the *Word*, the *Scattering* of the *Flock*, the *Breaking* of the *Candlesticks*, and the turning of the *Songs* of the *Temple* into *howlings*?

It is high time for us to *remember whence we are fallen, and repent, and do our first works*. Wherefore let us *lift up the hands that hang down, and strengthen the feeble knees, and make straight paths for our feet, lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, but let it rather be healed, Heb. 12. 12, 13.* Labour we to redress our *Faintings* and *Swervings*, and address our selves to the *Work* of the *Lord*. Let us arise and build, and the *Lord* will be with us, and from this day will he bless us.

*Alas, we are feeble and impotent; our hands are withered, and our strength dried up.*

Remember the man that had a withered hand: Christ saith

unto him, *Stretch forth thy hand; and he stretched it forth, and it was restored whole, like as the other, Mat. 12. 13.* How could he stretch forth his hand, when it was withered, the *Blood* and *Spirits* dried up, and the *Nerves* and *Sinews* shrunk up? The *Almighty Power* of *Christ* accompanying his *Command*, enabled the man to stretch forth his withered hand, and in stretching it forth, restored it whole, like as the other. Where the *Sovereignty* of *Christ's Command* takes place in the *Conscience*, there is effectual grace accompanying it to the healing of our *Spiritual Feebleness* and *Impotency*, and the enabling of us to perform the duty incumbent on us. Though we have no *might*, no *strength*, yet at *Christ's Command*, make an essay. Where the word of a *King* is, there is power.

*But alas, our Bruise is incurable and our Wound grievous, there is none to repair the Breach, there is no healing Medicine.*

The *Lord Jesus*, the great *Physician* of *Israel*, hath undertaken the *Cure*. *I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds, saith the Lord, Jer. 30. 17.* No case is to be accounted desperate or incurable, which *Christ* takes in hand. If he undertake to heal *Jairus* his daughter, he will have her *death* esteemed but a *sleep*, in reference to his power. *She is not dead, but sleepeth, Mat. 9. 24.* When *Christ* came to *Lazarus* his grave, and bade them take away the stone, *Martha* saith, *Lord, by this time he stinketh; for he hath been dead four dayes.* But *Christ* answereth, *Said I not unto thee, that if thou wouldest believe, thou shouldst see the glory of God? Joh. 11. 40.* Let us give glory to *God* by believing his word, and we shall have real and experimental manifestations of his *glory* for our good and comfort.

*But alas, our hearts are sadly prejudiced against the Means and Instruments, by which we might expect that Christ should cure and heal us.*

Were not the hearts of *John's Disciples* leavened with carnal emulation and prejudices against *Christ* himself? They would not own him to be the *Messias*, nor believe their *Master's* *Testimony* concerning him: insomuch that the *Lord* saw it necessary that *John* should decrease and be abased, that *Christ* might encrease and be exalted: and therefore suffered *Herod* to shut up *John* in *Prison*, and keep him in durance about twelve moneths, and at length to cut off his head, *that so these*

*fondlings might be weaned from their Nurse; and when John was dead, his Disciples resort to Jesus, acquaint him with the calamity that befell them, and were perfectly reconciled to him, passing into his School, and becoming his Disciples, Mat. 14. 12.*

*But alas, the Times are difficult and perillous; the Wind is stormy, and the Sea tempestuous; the Vessel heaves and sets, and tumbles up and down in the rough and boisterous waters, and is in danger to be swallowed up.*

Well, remember that *the Lord sitteth upon the flood, yea the Lord sitteth King for ever, Psal. 29. 10. His way is in the sea, and his path in the great waters, and his footsteps are not known, Psal. 77. 19. He stilleth the noise of the seas, the noise of their waves, and the tumult of the people, Psal. 65. 7. He saith to the raging Sea, Peace, be still: and the wind ceaseth, and there is a great calm, Mark 4. 39. Yea, he can enable his people to tread and walk upon the waters. To sail and swim in the waters, is an easie matter; but to walk upon the waters, as upon a pavement, is an act of wonder. Peter at Christ's call came down out of the ship and walked on the water to go to Jesus, Matth. 14. 29. and as long as his Faith held, it upheld him from sinking; when his Faith failed, his body sunk: but he cried to the Lord, and he stretched forth his hand and caught him, and said unto him, O thou of little faith, wherefore didst thou doubt?*

*But what shall we do for bread? The encrease of the field and the labour of the Husbandman fails.*

Hear Christ's answer to his Disciples, when they were troubled, because there was but one Loaf in the ship. *O ye of little faith, why reason ye, because you have no bread? perceive ye not yet, neither understand? have ye your heart yet hardened? having eyes, see ye not? and having ears, hear ye not, and do ye not remember? Mark 8. 17, 18. Mat. 16. 8, 9. Those which have had large and plentiful experience of the grace and power of Christ in providing for their outward Sustenance, and relieving of their Necessities, when ordinary and usual Means have failed, are worthy to be severely reprehended, if afterward they grow anxiously careful and solicitous, because of the defect of outward supplies. In the whole Evangelicall History, I finde not that ever the Lord Jesus did so sharply rebuke his*

Disciples for any thing, as for that fit and pang of Worldly care and solicitude about Bread. Attend we our Errand, upon which Christ sent us into the Wilderness, and he will provide Bread for us. *Matth. 6. 33. Seek ye first the Kingdome of God, and his Righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you.*

*But we have many Adversaries, and they have their subtile Machinations and Contrivances, and how soon we may be surprized, we know not.*

Our diligent Attention to the Ministry of the Gospel, is a special means to check and restrain the rage and fury of Adversaries. The people's assiduity in attendance upon Christ's Ministry, was the great obstacle that hindred the execution of the bloody Counsels of the Pharisees. *Luk. 19. 47, 48. He taught daily in the Temple, but the chief Priests and the Scribes, and the chief of the people, sought to destroy him, and could not finde what they might do: for all the people were very attentive to hear him. If the people cleave to the Lord, to his Prophets, and to his Ordinances, it will strike such a fear into the hearts of enemies, that they will be at their wits ends, and not know what to do. However, In this way we have the promise of divine Protection and Preservation. Revel. 3. 10. Because thou hast kept the word of my Patience, I also will keep thee from the hour of Temptation, which shall come upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth. Let us with Mary choose this for our Portion, To sit at Christ's feet and hear his word; and whosoever complain against us, the Lord Jesus will plead for us, as he did for her, and say, They have chosen that good part, which shall not be taken away from them, Luk. 10. 42. AMEN.*

the High Commission of the Church of England. In 1633 he sailed for New England on the same ship with John Cotton. He organized a church at New Towne (now Cambridge), but after a series of controversies he settled in 1636 with a large part of his congregation in Hartford and became a dominant figure in early Connecticut politics.

Hooker was an advocate of preparationism, holding—notably against Cotton, who stressed the absoluteness of God's indwelling grace—that the soul can prepare itself for conversion. He published many volumes of sermons dealing with the inner process of salvation, including *The Soules Preparation* (1632), *The Soules Humiliation*, *The Soules Implantation* (both 1637), *The Soules Vocation*, *The Soules Ingrafting*, and *The Soules Exaltation* (all 1638). "Of Gods Image in the Affections" comes from a series of sermons on Genesis 1:26, published in 1640 as *The Paterne of Perfection*. Hooker reviewed the process of conversion in a series of sermons called *The Application of Redemption* that were published between 1656 and 1659. His treatise on the Congregational doctrine and practice, *A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline* was published posthumously in 1648.

**THOMAS SHEPARD** (1605–1649) Orphaned at the age of ten, Shepard attended Emmanuel College at Cambridge. He was ordained in 1627, but was silenced by Bishop William Laud in 1630. Shepard sailed for New England in 1634, was driven back by storm, went into hiding, and finally reached Massachusetts in October 1635, where he became minister at New Towne (Cambridge). After his first wife's death the following year, he married a daughter of Thomas Hooker. He participated in the founding of Harvard College, serving as its unofficial chaplain until his death.

Shepard promoted missionary work in *The Clear Sun Shine of the Gospel Breaking Forth upon the Indians of New England* (1648), and published a number of works on salvation, including *The Sincere Convert* (1641) and *The Sound Believer* (1645). Many of his works addressed whether, given the absolute nature of divine grace and predestination, one can know one's own salvation with any assurance. Shepard was an early exponent of using spiritual autobiography as evidence of conversion and condition of church membership, gathering narratives from his own congregation, keeping a spiritual journal, and writing his own autobiography not long before his death. He spent three days each week preparing his Sabbath sermons, and was described by Edward Johnson in *The Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour* (1654) as a "soul-ravishing Minister."

The first text included here comes from a series of sermons,

preached weekly from June 1636 to May 1640, that were taken down in shorthand and later published as *The Parable of the Ten Virgins*. "Of Ineffectual Hearing," a sermon on listening to sermons, was preached in 1641 and published in *Subjection to Christ* (1652).

**JONATHAN MITCHEL** (1624–1668) Born to a wealthy family in Yorkshire in 1624, Mitchel suffered an illness when he was ten that stiffened one of his arms for the rest of his life. In 1635 he immigrated with his family to New Towne (Cambridge), Massachusetts, where he became a student of Thomas Shepard. Mitchel graduated from Harvard in 1647 and succeeded Shepard as minister of the Cambridge church in 1650; he married Shepard's widow, Margaret, later that year.

In 1662 he played an influential role in the synod that adopted the compromise known as the Half-Way Covenant. It attempted to solve the problem of the status of church members' children that resulted from the Congregational churches' restriction of membership to those who could show evidence of their salvation. The Half-Way Covenant allowed such children some church privileges, but not full communion.

Increase Mather recorded that Mitchel wrote his sermons out in full and would then "commit all to his Memory without once looking into his Bible after he had named his Text." "Nehemiah on the Wall in Troublesom Times" was an election sermon preached in 1667 and published posthumously in 1671. Beginning with John Cotton in 1634, and then annually from 1640, sermons were delivered on election day in May to the assembled freemen, magistrates, and ministers, by specially appointed preachers. Generally laying out a vision of politics and the collective history of the colony, they were commonly longer than regular weekly sermons, and were usually printed at public expense.

**SAMUEL DANFORTH** (1626–1674) Danforth was born to a prominent family in Suffolk, England, in 1626. He immigrated with his widowed father in 1634, and was raised in Thomas Shepard's congregation after his father's death in 1638. After graduating from Harvard in 1643 in a class of four, he served as a tutor until his ordination in 1650 as the associate of John Eliot, "the Apostle to the Indians," in Eliot's Roxbury church; he also assisted Eliot in his mission to the Indians. Danforth also compiled almanacs for several years in the late 1640s, and wrote a treatise on astrological omens, *An Astronomical Description of the Late Comet or Blazing Star* (1665). His other published sermon, *The Cry of Sodom Inquired Into*, appeared in 1674. He was said to be "a Notable Text-Man," quoting 40 or 50 scriptures in

each sermon, yet with such passion that, according to Cotton Mather, "he rarely, if ever ended a Sermon without Weeping."

"A Brief Recognition" was preached on election day in 1670 and published the following year. It is a prominent example of the jeremiad, a form that became popular among New England clergy following the deaths of Winthrop, Cotton, Hooker, and Shepard, the end of the Puritan Commonwealth in England at the Restoration of Charles II (1660), and the adoption of the Half-Way Covenant in Massachusetts (1662).

**INCREASE MATHER** (1639–1723) The son of the minister Richard Mather, Increase was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, and named for "the never-to-be-forgotten *Increase*, of every sort, wherewith God favoured the Country, about the time of his Nativity." After graduating from Harvard in 1657, he sailed to Dublin where he lived with his older brother Samuel (also a minister) and studied at Trinity College. He traveled and preached in England, but, refusing to conform to the Church of England after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, returned to Boston in 1661. In 1662 he married his step-sister, a daughter of John Cotton. From 1664 until his death he presided over the Second Church of Boston (called the Old North Church). For half a century one of the most prominent political and ministerial figures of New England, Mather preached against the Indians during King Philip's War (1676); represented Massachusetts at court after James II revoked the original charter of the colony; and remained after the Glorious Revolution to negotiate a new charter with William and Mary. In 1692 he counseled moderation in the witchcraft trials, but did not end them.

Mather is reported to have spent an average of 16 hours a day in his study. He committed sermons to memory, keeping "a Page or two" of notes to consult while preaching. In 1683 Mather founded the Philosophical Society of Boston in imitation of the Royal Society of London, and in 1685 became the first American-born president of Harvard, serving until 1701. While in his 80s, he joined his son Cotton in advocating the then-dangerous practice of inoculation against smallpox.

Increase Mather published over a hundred books, sermons, and scientific treatises including *A Brief History of the Warr with the Indians in New England* (1676), *An Essay for the Recording of Illustrious Providences* (1684), *The Doctrine of Divine Providence* (1684), and such jeremiads as his 1677 election sermon, *A Discourse Concerning the Danger of Apostasy*, and two fast-day sermons that were published as *Ichabod* (1702).

**COTTON MATHER** (1663–1728) The son of Increase Mather and a grandson of John Cotton, Cotton Mather was born in Boston in 1663. He took his M.A. at Harvard in 1685, and was ordained that year as minister under his father at the Second Church. While Increase Mather was in England in 1689, Cotton was active in the overthrow of the royal governor Edmund Andros, as the Glorious Revolution against James II reached Massachusetts.

In February 1692, the first allegations of witchcraft surfaced at Salem, and in June, Cotton Mather, who had already published accounts of witchcraft, wrote the report of a group of ministers who, though counseling caution, endorsed the proceedings of the court charged with trying the accused. By the time royal governor William Phips ordered a suspension of the trials in October, 19 men and women had been convicted and hanged, and one man pressed to death under heavy stones for refusing to enter a plea. "An Hortatory and Necessary Address" is a special fast-day sermon preached amid the controversy, and published in *Wonders of the Invisible World* (1693), Mather's account of the proceedings. Although Mather continued to preach and write about witchcraft and devils, he confessed in a diary entry of January 15, 1697, his fear that God would punish him "for my not appearing with *Vigor* enough to stop the proceedings of the Judges, when the Inextricable Storm from the *Invisible World* assaulted the Country."

Cotton Mather published at least 445 works; chief among these was the *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), a massive history and biographical compendium of Puritan New England. In 1713 he was elected to the Royal Society of London; among his many scientific works are a medical treatise, *The Angel of Bethesda* (1722), and *The Christian Philosopher: A Collection of the Best Discoveries in Nature, with Religious Improvements* (1721). He also wrote poetry and literary criticism, kept a diary, and in 1710 published a popular book on ethics called *Bonifacius: Essays upon the Good*, which influenced Benjamin Franklin. "A Man of Reason" was preached in the previous year (1709) and first published in 1718.

**SOLOMON STODDARD** (1643–1729) Born in 1643, the son of "the ancientest shop-keeper" in Boston, Solomon Stoddard graduated from Harvard in 1662. After a two-year sojourn in Barbados, he assumed the pulpit in Northampton on the western frontier of Massachusetts, where he remained from 1669 until his death.

Stoddard became the most prominent challenger to the orthodoxy of Increase and Cotton Mather. In 1677 he moved beyond the still-controversial Half-Way Covenant and offered full communion

- 54.28-29 *Bee not like . . . understanding*] A marginal note in the original reads: Psal. 32.
- 56.30 *Angell of light*] A marginal note in the original reads: 2 Cor. II.14.
- 58.34-35 *The fruits . . . meekness*] A marginal note in the original reads: Gal. 5.22.
- 59.29 *the purples*] An eruption of purplish pustules.
- 60.16 *I shall perish . . . of Saul*] A marginal note in the original reads: 1 Sā. 27.1.
- 60.40 *Samuel . . . mee.*] A marginal note in the original reads: 1 Sam. 3.
- 61.4 *Blessed . . . counsell*] A marginal note in the original reads: Chap. 25.
- 61.22-23 *The Word . . . good*] A marginal note in the original reads: Esa. [Isaiah] 39.8.
- 70.33 *Cartwrights*] Probably English Puritan theologian Thomas Cartwright (1536-1603), a professor of divinity at Cambridge whose writings include *A Body of Divinity* (posthumously published 1616), Biblical commentaries, and ecclesiastical works.
- 73.36 *tickle*] Narrow, difficult, turbulent, often shallow.
- 83.8-9 *A little more . . . armed man*] A marginal note in the original reads: Prov. 6.9, 10.
- 90.12-14 *Barnabas . . . unto him;*] A marginal note in the original reads: Acts II.23.
- 90.18 *as David*] A marginal note in the original reads: 1 Sam. 17.16.
- 98.8-11 *Happy . . . most.*] Marginal notes in the original read: *Rev.* 12.9. / *Rom.* I.22.
- 114.31 *You . . . God*] A marginal note in the original reads: 1 Thes. 2.3.
- 115.31-34 *My son, . . . soul.*] Marginal notes in the original read: *Prov.* 3. / *Vers.* 22.
- 121.37-38 *Alsted . . . Encyclop.*] Johann Alsted (1588-1638), German writer in Latin of numerous works on theology and history.
- 125.3 *Mulier*] Latin: Woman.
- 127.26 *Brightman*] English Puritan clergyman Thomas Brightman (1557-1607); among his works are *Revelation Revealed, Predictions and Prophecies*, and studies of the Apocalypse, Book of Daniel, and the Canticles.
- 130.11 *Fiat . . . Cælum.*] Latin saying: "Let justice be done though the heavens fall."

- 130.14-15 *Salus . . . Lex.*] Cicero, *De Legibus*, III.3: "The people's good is the highest law."
- 141.19-20 *Si tam . . . essemus*] If we should be so ready.
- 143.1 *Dulce . . . mori*] Horace, *Odes* 3.2.13: "It is sweet and right to die for one's country."
- 143.17 *LXX.*] The Septuagint (Latin: Seventy), a pre-Christian translation into Greek of the Hebrew Scriptures; according to tradition, it was translated by 72 persons in 72 days.
- 152.24 *Θεάσασθω*] To see.
- 178.3 *(c)*] No footnote is keyed to this reference in the original pamphlet.
- 199.3 *Ty-Dogs*] Tie-dogs, fierce dogs kept chained up.
- 210.7 *Hic Labor, Hoc Opus est!*] This is the labor, this is the work (to be done); in Virgil, *Aeneid*, 6:129, this reads *hoc opus, hic labor est.*
- 212.13-14 *Diaboli . . . Remedium*] The devil's whip; remedy for misery.
- 227.8-10 *Nam et . . . Turpia*] "For common intelligence makes this known to us, that which starts in our souls, such that honesty is placed in virtue, and shamefulness in vice."
- 240.5 *Festus the Judge*] Porcius Festus (d. c. A.D. 62), Roman administrator before whom St. Paul made his "appeal unto Caesar."
- 240.11 *Aristides*] Aristides (c. 530-c. 468 B.C.), called the Just, Athenian statesman who commanded Athenian forces at Plataea (479) and Byzantium (478).
- 240.13 *Fabritius*] Gaius Fabricius Luscinus (d. after 275 B.C.), Roman general and statesman who established a reputation for honesty when he rejected all attempts to bribe him.
- 240.14 *Regulus*] Marcus Atilius Regulus (d. c. 250 B.C.), Roman hero who defeated Carthaginian army (256), and, on his promise to return to Carthage, went back under hostile circumstances and was tortured to death.
- 256.15 *Dr. Tillotson*] John Tillotson (1630-94), an English prelate, preached against atheism, Puritanism, and Roman Catholicism.
- 267.3 *Maran-atha*] An Aramaic expression that may have been used in early Christian liturgies; it is variously translated "The Lord is coming!" or "The Lord is come!"
- 267.36-39 *Caveamus . . . Hoste*] "Let us beware that we not offer our ears to Satan when he solicits us against God with these little blasts; we are warned to refute blasphemies of this kind vigorously, as if they were the