does John Winthrop spend so much time expounding on the way one should behave to live a Christian life?
2. Of what help would this piece be to a non-Saint who still, according to the rules of the church, was required to attend services?
3. How does Winthrop use the Bible to make his points? Which parts of the Bible does he refer to most often?
4. How does Winthrop's view of self-sacrifice, mercy, giving, and the relationship between private and public life compare with other attitudes about these things today? What is the point of all his admonitions so be selfless?

2. Whether people emphasize Puritanism as a theology, a way of life, or a set of attitudes toward society, economy, and politics is shaped by their own attitudes about what is really important in life. Analyze historians' shifting emphasis in trying to understand the Puritans, and determine how those different emphases reflect the shifting attitudes of the times in which they wrote.

Historiographic Essay
"Puritanism and the Great Awakening"

1. Have historians in general argued that the Puritans played a progressive or a conservative role in shaping American society and culture? Explain.
John Withrop, A Model of Christian Charity

CHRISTIAN CHARITY: A MODEL HEREOF

God Almighty, in his most holy and wise providence, hath so disposed of the condition of mankind, as in all times some must be rich, some poor, some high and exalted in power and dignity, others mean and in subjection.

THE REASON HEREOF

First, to hold conformity with the reg of his works. Being delighted to show forth the glory of his wisdom in the variety and difference of the creatures; and the glory of his power, in ordering all these differences for the preservation and good of the whole; and the glory of his greatness, that as it is the glory of princes to have many officers, so this great king will have many stewards, counseling himself more honored in dispensing his gifts to men by man, than if he did it by his own immediate hands.

Secondly, that he might have the more occasion to manifest the work of his Spirit, First, upon the wicked, in moderating and restraining them: so that the rich and mighty should not eat up the poor, nor the poor and despised rise up against their superiors and shake off their yokes. Secondly, in the regenerate, in exercising his graces in them: as in the great ones, their love, mercy, gentleness, temperance, etc., in the poor and inferior sort, their faith, patience, obedience, etc.

Thirdly, that every man might have need of others, and from hence they might be all knit more nearly together in the bond of brotherly affection. From hence it appears plainly that no man is made more honorable than another or more wealthy, etc., out of any particular and singular respect to himself, but for the glory of his creator and the common good of the creatures, man. Therefore God still preserves the property of these gifts to himself, as [in] Ezekiel, 16:17: he there calls wealth his gold and his silver; [in] Proverbs, 3:19: he claims their service as his own: honor the Lord with thy riches, etc. All men being thus (by divine providence) ranked into two sorts, rich and poor, under the first are comprehended all such as are able to live comfortably by their own means duly improved; and all others are poor, according to the former distribution.

There are two rules whereby we are to walk one towards another: Justice and Mercy. These are always distinguished in their act and in their object, yet may they both concur in the same subject in each respect: as sometimes there may be an occasion of showing mercy to a rich man in some sudden danger of distress, and also doing of more justice to a poor man in regard of some particular contract, etc.

There is likewise a double law by which we are regulated in our conversation one towards another, in both the former respects: the law of nature and the law of grace; or, the moral law or the law of the gospel. (To the latter the justice as not properly belonging to this purpose, otherwise than it may fall into consideration in some particular cases.) By the first of these laws man is enabled to widen [in] 1 Corinthians, 6:12: "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you." This was practiced by Abraham, and Lot in entertaining the angels, and the old man of Gilead.

The law of grace, or the gospel, hath some difference from the former, as in these respects. First, the law of nature was given to man in the state of innocency; this of the gospel in the estate of regeneration. Secondly, the former propounds one man to another, as the same flesh and image of God; this as a brother in Christ also, and in the communion of the same spirit, and so teacheth us to put a difference between Christians and others. Do good to all, especially to the household of faith: upon this ground the Israelites were to put a difference between the brethren of such as were strangers, though race of Canaanites. Thirdly, the law of nature could give no rules for dealing with enemies, for all are to be considered as friends in the state of innocency, but the gospel commands love to all an enemy. Proof. If thine enemy hungered, feed him; love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, Matthew, 5:44.

The law of the Gospel propounds likewise a difference of seasons and occasions. There is a time when a Christian must sell all, and give to the poor, as they did in the apostles' times. There is a time also when a Christian (though they give not all yet) must give beyond their ability, as they of Macedonia, 2 Corinthians, 8:9. Likewise community of peculiary calls for extraordinary liberality, and so doth community in some special service for the church. Lastly, when there is no other means whereby our Christian brother may be relieved in his distress, we must help him, beyond our ability, rather than tinge God in putting him upon help by miserable or extraordinary means.

This duty of mercy is exercised in the kinds giving, lending and forgiving.

Questions: What rule shall a man observe in giving, in respect of the measure?
**Answer:** If the time and occasion be ordinary he is to give out of his abundance—but in his way, and as God hath blessed him, if the time and occasion be extraordinary he must be ruled by them, taking this wish that then a man cannot likely do too much, especially if he may leave himself and his family under probable means of comfortable subsistence.

**Objection:** A man must lay up for posterity. The fathers lay up for posterity and children, and he is worse than an infidel that does not so for his own.

**Answer:** For the first, it is a plain that it is being spoken by way of comparison it must be meant of the ordinary and usual course of fathers, and cannot extend to times and occasions extraordinary. For the other place, the Apostle speaks against such as walked iniquitously; and it is without question that he is worse than an infidel who through his own sin and iniquity shall neglect to provide for his family.

**Objection:** The wise man's eyes are in his head (saith Solomon) and forsooth the plague, therefore we must forecast and lay up against evil times when he or his own shall be in need of all he can gather.

**Answer:** This very argument Solomon utters to persuade to liberality: Ecclesiastes [11:2]: "Cast thy bread upon the waters," etc., for thou knowest not what evil may come upon the land. Luke 16: Make you friends of the riches of iniquity. You will ask how shall this be? Very well for first, he that gives to the poor lends to the Lord, and he will repay him even in this life an hundred fold to him or his. The righteous is ever merciful and lendeth, and his seed escapeth the blessing. And besides, we know what advantage it will be to us in the day of account, when many such witnesses shall stand forth for us to witness the improvement of our talent. And I would know of those who plead so much for laying up for time to come, what do they hold that to be Gospel, Matthew, [6:19]: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, etc. If they acknowledge it, what extent will they allow it? If only to those primitive times, let them consider the season whereupon our Saviour ground it. The first is that they are subject to the moth, the rust, the thief. Secondly, they will steal away the heart: where the treasure is, there will the heart be also. The rusts are of like force at all times, therefore the exhortation must be general and perpetual which [apples] always in respect of the love and affection to riches and as regard of the things themselves, when any special service for the church or particular distress of our brother do call for the use of them. Otherwise, it is not only lawful, but necessary to lay up as Joseph did, to have ready upon such occasions as the Lord (whose evidences we are of them) shall call for them from us. Christ gives us an instance of the first when he sent his disciples for the As and bids them answer the same thus: the Lord hath need of him. So, when the Tabernacle was to be built, his [car- vant] sent his people to call for their silver and gold, etc., and yields them no other reason but that it was for his work; when Elea comes to the widow of Zarephath and finds her preparing to make ready her stance for herself and family, be bids her first provide for him—he challengest first God's part, which she must first give before the rest. For the other, we need look no further than to that of John, 11: He who hath this world's goods and seeth his brother to need, and shuts up his compassion from him, now dwelleth the love of God in him? Which comes pointually to this conclusion: if thy brother be in want and thou canst help him, thou needest not make doubt what thou shouldst do; if thou lovest God, thou must help him.

**Question:** What rule must we observe in laying out?

**Answer:** Thou must observe whether thy brother hath present or probably or possible means of repaying thee; if there be none of these, thou must give him according to his necessity, rather than lend him as he requires. If he hath present means of repaying thee, thou art to look at him, not as an act of mercy, but by way of commerce, whereas thou art to walk by the rule of Justice. But if his means of repaying thee be only probably or possible, then in an object of thy mercy—thou must lend him, though there be danger of losing it, Douteronomy, 15:7: If any of thy brethren be poor, etc. thou shalt lend him sufficient. That man might not shift off this duty by the apparent hazard, he stills them thus, though the Year of Jubilee was at hand (when he must remit it, if he were not able to repay it before), yet he must lend him, and that cheerfully: it may not grieve thee to give him (saith he). And because some might object, why should I so soon impoverish myself and my family? He adds, with all thy work, etc., for our saviour Matthew, 5:2: "From him that would borrow of thee, curs not away."

**Question:** What rule must we observe in forgiving?

**Answer:** Whosoever thou didst lend by way of commerce or in mercy, if he have nothing to pay thee (thou must forgive him (except in case where thou hast a suitor or a law- ful pledge), Douteronomy, 15:2. Every seventh year the creditor was to quit that which he lent to his brother if he were poor, as appears verses [4], save when there shall be no poor with thee. In all these and like cases, Christ was a general rule, Matthew, 7:12. Whosoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye the same to them also.

**Question:** What rule must we observe and walk by in case of community of peril?

**Answer:** The same as before, but with more enlargement towards others and less respect towards ourselves and our own right. Hence it was that in the primitive church they sold all, bad all things in common, neither did any man say that which this possessed was his own. Likewise in their return cut of captivity: because the work
was great for the restoring of the church, and the danger of massacre was common to all, Nehemiah exhorts the Jews to literality and readiness in remitting their debts to their brethren, and despotes liberally of his own to such as wanted, and sends not upon his own dues, which he might have demanded of them. Thus did some of our forefathers in times of persecution here in England, and so did many of the faithful in other churches, where we keep an honourable commerce of business. Hence it is to be observed that both in scripture and later stories of the churches, that such as have been most bountiful to the poor, Saints especially, in these extraordinary times and occasions. God hath left them highly commended to posterity—as Zacheus, Cornelius, Dacius, Bishop Hooker, the Curate of Brussels and divers others. Observe again that the scripture gives no caution to restrain any from being over-liberal this way: but all men to the liberal and cheerful practice hereof by the sweetest promises, as to instance one for many, Isaiah, 58:10: "If thou shalt call, and he will answer thee; if thou shall cry, and he shall hear thee." etc. 58:10: "If thou pour out thy soul to the hungry, and he will bring the poor that wander into thy house, when thou wert naked to cover them, etc.—even shall thy light break forth as the morning, and thy health shall grow speedily, thy righteousness shall go before thee and the glory of the Lord shall embrace thee, then shalt thou call, and the Lord shall answer thee," etc. 58:10: "If thou pour out thy soul to the hungry, then shall thy light spring out in darkness, and the Lord shall guide thee continually and satisfy thy soul in draft and make fat thy bones; thou shalt be like a watered garden, and thou shalt be of that shall build the old waste places," etc. On the contrary, most heayy curses are laid upon such as are straitened towards the Lord and his people. Judges, 5:23: "Curse the Meloroshe because they came not to help the Lord," etc., Proverbs, 21:13: "He that heareth his ears from hearing the cry of the poor, he shall cry and shall not be heard." Matthew, 25:41: "Go ye cursed into everlasting fire," etc. 42:42: "I was hungry and ye fed me not; I was thirsty and ye gave me not to drink." Matthew, 4:6: "He that sows sabbath shall reap sabbath." Playing already set forth the practice of mercy according to the rule of God's law, it will be useful to lay open the grounds of it also (being the other part of the commandment, and just in the affection from which this exercise of mercy must arise. The Apostle tells us that this love is the fulfilling of the law, not that it is enough to love our brother and so much; but in regard of the excellency of his parts giving any motion to the other as the soul to the body and the power it hath to set all the faculties on work in the outward exercise of this duty. As when we bid one make the clock strike, he doth not lay haad on the hammer, which is the immediate instrument of the sound, but sets on work the first mover or main wheel, knowing that it will certainly produce the sound which he intends. So the way to draw men to works of mercy, is not by force of argument from the goodness or necessity of the work, for though this course may enforce a rational mind to some present act of mercy, as is frequent in experience, yet it cannot work such a birth in a soul, as shall make it prompt upon all occasions to produce the same effect, but by framing these affections of love in the heart, which will as naturally bring forth the other, as any cause doth produce effect.

The definition which the scripture gives us of love is this: "Love is the bond of perfection." First, it is a bond, or ligament. Secondly, it makes the work perfect. There is no body but consists of parts, and that which binds these parts together, gives the body its perfection, because it makes each part so contiguous to others as thereby they do mutually participate with each other, both in strength and inferiority, in pleasure and pain. To instance in the most perfect of all bodies; Christ and his church make one body. The several parts of this body considered apart, before they were united, were as disproportionate and as much disresembling as so many contrary qualities or elements; but when Christ comes and by his spirit and love knits all these parts to himself and each to other, it becomes the most perfect and best proportioned body in the world, Ephesians, 4:16: "Christ, by whom all the body begetteth together, by every joint in the furniture thereof, according to the effectual power which is in the measure of every perfection of parts," a glorious body, without spot or wrinkle, the ligaments hereof being Christ, or his love, for Christ is love, 1 John 4:8: So this definition is right: "Love is the bond of perfection." From here we may frame these conclusions, first, all true Christians are of one body in Christ, 1 Corinthians, 12:27: "Ye are the body of Christ and members of [your] part." Secondly, the ligaments of this body which knit together are love. Thirdly, no body can be perfect without that which perfects its proper ligament. Fourthly, all the parts of this body, being thus united, are made so contiguous in a special relation as they must needs partake of each other's strength and inferiority, joy and sorrow, weal and woe, 1 Corinthians, 12:26: "If one member suffers, all suffer with it. If this, this sensibleness and sympathy of each other's conditions will necessarily influe inn each part a native desire and endeavor to strengthen, defend, preserve and comfort the other. . . . It seems now to make some application of this discourse by the present design, which gave the occasion of writing of it. Herein are four things to be presupposed, first, the present; secondly, the work; thirdly, the end, fourthly, the means. First, for the persons. We are a company professing ourselves fellow members of Christ, in which respect only though we are absent from each other many miles, and tread our employments as far distant, yet we ought to account ourselves knit together by this bond of love, and live in the
exercise of it, if we would have consistence of our being in Christ. This was not so in the practice of the Christians in former times; as it is testified of the Waldenses, from the mouth of one of the adversaries Amos Sylvius, in his letter to Antonio de' Portuarii—"they used to love any of their own religion even before they were acquainted with them."

Secondly, for the work we have in hand, it is by a mutual consent, through a special overvaluing, reverence and a more then an ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ, to seek out a place of cohabitation and consorship under a due form of government both civil and ecclesiastical. In such cases as this, the care of the public must ever away all private respects, by which not only conscience, but mere civil policy, doth blind us. For it is a true rule that particular estates cannot subsist in the ruin of the public.

Thirdly, the end is to improve our lives to do more service to the Lord; the comfort and increase of the body of Christ whereof we are members, that ourselves and posterity may be the better preserved from the common corruptions of this evil world, to serve the Lord and work out our salvation under the power and purity of his holy ordinances.

Fourthly, for the means whereby this must be effectually. There are twofold, a conformity with the work and end we aim at. These we see are extraordinary, therefore we must not content ourselves with usual ordinary means whatever we did, or ought to have done, whereas we lived in England, the same must we do, and more also, where we go. That which we must in these churches maintain as a truth in profession, we must bring into familiar and constant practice, as in this duty of love. We must love brotherly without dissimulation, we must love one another with a pure heart fervently, we must bear one another's burdens, we must not look only on our own things, but also on the things of our brethren. Neither must we think that the Lord will bear with suchblings at our hands as he doth from those among whom we have lived, and that for three reasons.

First, in regard of the more near bond of marriage between him and us, wherein he hath taken us to his after a most artful and peculiar manner, which will make him the more jealous of our love and obedience. So he tells the people of Israel, you only have I known of all the families of the earth, therefore will I punish you for your transgressions. Secondly, because the Lord will be satisfied in them that come near him. We know that there were many that corrupted the service of the Lord, some setting up altars before his own, others offering both strange fire and strange sacrifices also; whereas there came no fire from heaven or other sudden judgment upon them, as did upon Nadab and Abihu, who yet we may think did not sin presumptuously. Thirdly, when God gives a special commission he looks to have it strictly observed in every article. When he gave Saul a commission to destroy Amalek, he sentenced with him upon certain articles, and because he failed in one of the last, and upon a fair promise, he lost him the kingdom which should have been his reward if he had observed his commission. Thus stands the cause between God and us. We are entered into covenant with him for this work, we have taken him out a commission, the Lord hath given us leave to draw our own articles, we have professed to exercise these actions upon these and these ends, we have here set before him what he ought to expect of our conduct. Now if the Lord shall please to hear us, and bring us in peace to the place we desire, then hath he ratified this covenant and sealed our commission, and will expect a strict performance of the articles contained in it. But if we shall neglect the observance of these articles, which are the ends we have promised, and, dispensing with our God, shall fail to embrace this present world and prosecute our carnal insertions, seeking great things for ourselves and our posterity, the Lord will surely break through wick in wrath against us, be revenged of such a presumed people and make us know the price of the breach of such a covenant.

Now the only way to avoid this shipwreck, and to provide for our posterity is to follow the counsel of Micaiah: do justly, to love mercy, to walk humbly with our God. For this end, we must be knit together in this work as one man, we must entertain each other in brotherly affection, we must be willing to abridge ourselves of our superfluities, for the supply of their necessities, we must hold a familiar commerce together in all meekness, gentleness, patience and liberality; we must delight in each other, make others' conditions our own, rejoice together, mourn together, labor and suffer together, always having before our eyes our commission and community in the work, our community as members of the same body. So shall we keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. The Lord will be our God, and delight to dwell among us as his own people, and will commend a blessing upon us in all our ways, so that we shall see much more of his wisdom, power, goodness and truth, than formerly we have been acquainted with. We shall find that the God of Israel is among us, when ten of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when he shall make us a praise and glory that shall make us say of succeeding plantations: "The Lord make it like that of New England." For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill. The eyes of all people are upon us, so that if we shall deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a by-word through the world: we shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God and all professors for God's sake. We shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause their prayers to be turned into curse upon us, till we be convinced out of the good land whether we are going.

And so shut this discourse with that exhortation of
Moses, that faithful servant of the Lord, in his last farewell to Israel, Deuteronomy, 30:16, believed, there is now set before us life and good, death and evil, in that we are commanded this day to love the Lord our God, and to love one another, to walk in his ways and to keep his commandments and his ordinance and his laws, and the articles of our covenant with him, that we may live and be multiplied, and that the Lord our God may bless us in the land whither we go to possess it. But if our hearts shall turn away, so that we will not obey, but shall be seduced, and worship other gods—our pleasures and profits—and serve them, it is propounded unto us this day, we shall surely perish out of the good land whither we pass over the vast sea to possess it:

Therefore let us choose life,
that we and our seed may live
by obeying His voice and cleaving to Him,
for He is our life and our prosperity.