













As the abundance of scholarship on the “Calvin versus Calvinism” question indicates, the limitations of the term are real. Nonetheless, it designates a stream of theological reflection embodied in creeds and confessions that, although differing in details or emphasis, were acknowledged by Reformed communities in early modern Europe, Britain, and New England as authoritative. I use it cautiously (see chap. 4) and the special circumstances of the 1640s, when orthodoxy was threatened by new enemies in the guise of Socinianism, Arminianism, and a Spirit-centered understanding of conversion that became known as Antinomianism, make it less relevant to that time of struggle. What I foreground in chapter 9, especially, is the sense of crisis that arose among the makers of the practical divinity and how one minister’s response could vary from another’s. For historians of international Calvinism, the practical divinity has a special importance, for the books in which it was embodied were rapidly reprinted in translation and, by the mid-seventeenth century, were influencing Continental Reformed practice. An emphasis on an “experimental” piety made it unusual, and unusual it remained once it made its way into Pietism and, eventually, evangelical Protestantism.

Among the ministers and academic theologians who turn up in this book, theological practice involved defending the truth against enemies such as Roman Catholicism and making it available in creeds and catechisms. In these genres, as in schoolbooks such as William Ames’s *The Marrow of Divinity* (1629, in Latin), truth or doctrine was compressed into its essentials. Simultaneously, theological practice was carried on in sermons or sermon series tied to Scripture and often employing biblical examples to make a point. As a genre, sermons were very different from creeds and catechisms, for they added layer upon layer of reflection to the principles spelled out in a creed. A good example is the theological and biblical category of covenant, which acquired a fresh importance at the outset of the seventeenth century when a “covenant” or “federal” theology came into being.<sup>8</sup> Another reason why simple rules became entangled with overlays of meaning was the ambition of Puritan ministers to reach a broad audience. In everyday life, people needed guidance on how to become a “sincere” Christian and what it meant to behave righteously. Hence the emphasis within the practical divinity on what in our own era is often described as “spirituality.” In this mode, biblical and theological language owed more to the psalms of David than to a sixteenth-century creed.

Making sense of the layers of interpretation that sermons added to key terms is challenging, for historians of Puritan theology have realized that these can encompass inconsistencies or, to quote the historian of theology E. Brooks Holifield, “ambivalence.” Ambivalence did not suddenly appear in early modern Britain, for Calvin wavered in some of his thinking. What he and his heirs said about assurance of salvation is a good example, as is what they said about the sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion or the visible church as a means of grace. We may not be able to understand why someone could simul-

taneously extol the benefits of infant baptism and deny it any efficacy, or why the English minister Arthur Dent added list after list of inconsistent “signs” of assurance to a manual of devotion (see chap. 4), but both were aspects of British and early American “Calvinism.”<sup>9</sup> Another approach to ambivalence or ambiguity is to recognize the layers of meaning embedded in words such as “liberty” and “purity.” At first glance, these are words we think we understand. But our versions vary from how such words were understood in early modern Britain. Time and again, we take for granted their meaning, a mistake that historians of ideas do their best to correct.<sup>10</sup>

Close kin to Calvinism and almost as problematic, orthodoxy is a word I use to denote an agreed-upon framework of doctrine. Nineteenth-century Protestant liberals disliked this word, as do their more recent heirs, to whom it denotes an overly abstract or “rigid” version of theology because it established firm boundaries between truth and error. Liberals also disliked the category because it exposed them to accusations of apostasy: if the truth was so clearly evident, then all other interpretations of the Trinity, justification, and Scripture were wrong, and possibly very wrong. The alternative, which liberals in Europe and America shared, was to understand religious truth and religion itself as always and everywhere historically incomplete or caught up in “development.” In this book, however, the word *orthodoxy* denotes principles or doctrines formally endorsed by synods and state churches or closely related assumptions in the realm of ethics. Yet as I do my best to indicate in chapters 4 and 9, the contours of orthodoxy were constantly being discussed or contested, or to use a more fashionable word, “negotiated” by ministers who according to their own self-estimation remained orthodox.<sup>11</sup> In mid-seventeenth-century England, Richard Baxter (see chap. 9) fits this description, as does another English minister, John Preston.

Some students of the religious politics I describe regard the terms *Puritan* and *Puritanism* as too uncertain to be useful. This point of view has the great merit of recognizing that, as soon as the word surfaced in Elizabethan religious politics, its meaning owed more to anti-puritanism than to the makers of the movement themselves. Anti-puritanism of the kind to which William Bradford was responding (see above) was politically motivated. The goal of its makers was to prevent certain theological ideas and practices from winning the support of kings and parliaments at a moment when advocates of a “thorough reformation” were becoming a vocal presence. Anti-puritanism is alive and well in our own times and, on the both sides of the Atlantic, is responsible for most popular misconceptions of the movement. Freeing the word from the abuse directed at it over the centuries, a task I pursue implicitly in this book, can seem impossible. Too many people in the United States have come under the sway of Arthur Miller’s *The Crucible* and Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Scarlet Letter*. The same seems true of English culture, thanks to nineteenth and early twentieth-century Anglicans who rained contempt upon the movement.



From their perspective, it was unhealthy—too disciplining, too sectarian, and too subversive, as witnessed by the civil wars that erupted in the 1640s and the execution of Charles I in 1649. For people with this point of view, there was nothing to learn from a movement they regarded as being outside of or hostile to the “real” Church of England.

We owe to the late Patrick Collinson (d. 2011), who concluded his distinguished career at Cambridge University, a sharp retort to such assumptions. In essays and books that included *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement* (1967) and *The Religion of Protestants* (1982), he argued exactly the opposite.<sup>12</sup> The movement arose within the Church of England and aspired to reform it *from within*. As he quietly pointed out, important leaders of the state church acknowledged that the institution was imperfect and sided with the reformers on certain issues. The bishops who felt this way had allies in the queen’s Privy Council, an alliance tied to the centrality of the movement or, to say this differently, the common ground shared by various wings of the state church. Only when a small group of “radical” intellectuals, most of them associated with Cambridge University, began to question the royal supremacy, the legitimacy of the *Book of Common Prayer*, and the scriptural basis of episcopacy did an aggressive, sharp-edged version of Puritanism come into being. Even so, the organizers of *this* Puritanism rejected the more extreme alternative of “Separatism.” Like the Scottish reformers, they wanted an inclusive state church and a “Christian prince” (monarch) who would *preserve* uniformity in practice and belief. For everyone who absorbed the lessons of Collinson’s scholarship, the movement ceased to be “revolutionary” or inherently “radical.”<sup>13</sup>

To this forceful argument, Collinson added another. Acknowledging the push and pull of conscience versus conformity or of “lawful” versus “things indifferent” (see chap. 2), he excelled at describing the tensions that accumulated within the movement. One version of these arose around the difference between “voluntary religion” and magisterial Protestantism, a tension allied with another: the difference between a church consisting only of the faithful and one that was broadly inclusive. Properly understood, therefore, the English version struggled with its own internal differences even as it contended against its critics in the state church or government. To capture some of these nuances, Collinson used adjectives and nouns such as “pragmatic,” “dogmatic,” “moderate,” “revolutionary,” and “sectarian,” a vocabulary I use myself, although sparingly, to suggest a dynamics that spun out of control in the 1640s and 1650s. My version also includes the people who are usually classified as “Separatists” because they denied the lawfulness (legitimacy) of the Church of England and formed their own worshipping communities. Collinson excluded these groups because they fell outside his magisterial version of the Puritan movement. My reasons for doing the opposite are implied in the final pages of chapter 2.<sup>14</sup>

Movements are not the same as institutions. No person or self-designated elite headed the movement I am describing and, when disagreements erupted, it had no internal means of restoring consensus. A Puritanism at once tightly bounded and restless complicates the task of deciding who really qualifies as a Puritan—and when. Early modern British history is littered with examples of people, policies, and practices that seem impeccably Puritan from one perspective but not from another. Was John Milton a Puritan? Not if orthodoxy is required. Could a bishop in the Church of England be one? Yes, if the hallmark of identity is doctrine, not ecclesiology. Could Puritans support the monarchy? The answer is yes, despite assertions to the contrary by kings and their allies, to which I add the observation that in mid-seventeenth-century England, “republicans” such as James Harrington (d. 1675) were not involved in the movement. When the scene shifts to the landowning class known as the gentry, some were outspoken in behalf of reform, but in contexts such as Parliament, where consensus and social rank were highly valued, hard-edged identities often became blurred. According to Jacqueline Eales, the high-status Harley family mingled in their home county with others of the same rank who were Catholics, and when Robert Harley attended sessions of the House of Commons, he worked alongside men of quite different convictions.<sup>15</sup> In Scotland as in England, the nuances were many—too many, in fact, for all of them to be adequately acknowledged in this book.

Where does the presence of Puritanism in early modern Britain seem most obvious? Most of us are likely to say it is as an advocate of disciplinary religion, by which we mean a forceful ethics of obedience to divine law, coupled with a machinery of overseeing that obedience. In point of fact, a reformation of manners (another name for this agenda) was widely endorsed, an observation I expand on in chapter 5 in the wake of work by social historians who discount the singularity or importance of a Puritan-derived “civic godliness.”<sup>16</sup> In the same chapter, however, I identify a cluster of assumptions that differentiate the Puritan version of a reformation of manners from its near neighbor. The line between the two was not always clearly drawn, a case in point being the preference of ministers of all persuasions to protect the Sunday Sabbath. Nor was one version more enduring than another, although in the epilogue, I instance some of the legacies of the Puritan version.

When it comes to the practical divinity, its identity as “Puritan” is genuinely in doubt. Ministers in good standing in the Church of England—Arthur Dent, for one; William Perkins, for another—contributed to the making of this version of the Protestant message about salvation. Yet to deny it any connections with the movement is a mistake. We have only to ask why it was impossible for the Church of England to endorse the Westminster Confession of 1647—a text keyed to the practical divinity as well as to disputes about the Trinity and divine sovereignty—to expose how “Anglicanism” of the kind associated with

John Donne, Lancelot Andrewes, Richard Hooker, William Laud, and William Chillingworth was different.<sup>17</sup>

From my perspective, the controversies about who was a Puritan or “presbyterian” or possibly something else hold two lessons. One of these is that historians (literary, social, political, religious, etc.) should pause before they acclaim or denounce this or that practice as singularly “Puritan.” This happens constantly in American scholarship—as in the assertion that a “Puritan” mode of child-rearing existed, an argument usually based on a handful of examples or (at an extreme) a single sentence from a sermon, when in fact people of middling social status in England treated children in the same manner. Ways of dying were also widely shared among Protestants, as were ways of understanding sickness, healing, and gender. Everyone wanted to protect the Sunday Sabbath, although not always for the same reasons. We do better as historians if we qualify all such claims for singularity.

Historians of early New England wrestle with other versions of this problem. Usually unaware of how British scholars have complicated the meaning of the term, they use Puritan or Puritanism without any hesitation, as if Puritanism arrived on this side of the Atlantic in a tidy box or perhaps as a single text (usually, John Winthrop’s essay or discourse, “A Modell of Christian Charity”), a Puritanism shorn of the complexities arising out of the English and Scottish reformations and a hard-fought politics of religion in early modern Britain. This practice abets the quest for “origins,” for we marvel as the colonists unpack the luggage labeled Puritanism and magically turn into “founders” of the America-to-be—founders of a literary tradition or of something resembling democracy, and especially founders of a ready-made “identity,” as though (for example) the colonists equipped their venture with a singular understanding of the “millennium.”<sup>18</sup>

This was how things stood when I began my doctoral work in 1959. Ignorant of the British side of the story, I took for granted an essentially denominational perspective. The “pilgrims” had been “Separatists” and the founders of Massachusetts “Congregationalists,” so any backward glance across the Atlantic could start and end with these two groups or their theorizers. By the close of the 1960s, I was beginning to recognize the limitations of this approach and, in a brief preface to a new edition of Perry Miller’s *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts* (1933, 1970), questioned his reliance on denominational categories. In a monograph on the ministry in seventeenth-century New England, I also questioned a vigorously “Americanist” interpretation of its development in response to arguments along those lines.

But the real awakening to a more fully Atlantic or Reformed framework—my own awakening, if not always shared by others—happened in the wake of scholarship that reclaimed the richness of theological speculation on the other side of the Atlantic and, in doing so, altered our understanding of theological controversy in New England. Pride of place in this enterprise belong to Mi-

chael McGiffert, E. Brooks Holifield, Baird Tipson, W.G.B. Stoeber, Theodore Dwight Bozeman, and Charles Hambrick-Stowe.<sup>19</sup> Later, and continuing to this day, they were joined by Norman Fiering, Charles Lloyd Cohen, Francis J. Bremer, Richard Cogley, and Stephen Foster. The point of view that informs Foster's *The Long Argument: English Puritanism and the Shaping of New England Culture, 1570–1700* (1990), is indicative of how an origins narrative tied to a thick history of the Puritan movement in England looks very different from one that begins at water's edge or depends on denominational categories.<sup>20</sup>

My own confidence in a theological perspective rests on work by another group of historians who share a deep interest in the Reformed tradition as embodied in a Puritanism that remains a resource to this day. Richard A. Muller stands apart from this group in various ways, but his work in historical theology set a standard for evangelical scholars such as Mark E. Dever, Joel Beeke, Lyle Bierma, Randall Gleason, Tom Schwanda, and especially Paul C. H. Lim. My citations to them in chapters 4 and 9 are a small token of their presence in these pages.

I have already alluded to the anti-puritanism of nineteenth-century British Anglicans. This rhetoric was flourishing in the late sixteenth century and became a significant weapon in the religious politics associated with Charles I, who knew that his father had characterized the movement as anti-monarchical.<sup>21</sup> Renewed after the restoration of Charles II to the throne in 1660 and periodically reenergized during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it remains with us to this day. The American version, which I describe more fully in the epilogue, mainly dates from a schism in the early nineteenth century that divided Unitarians (today, Unitarian Universalists) from Congregationalists. As post-Calvinist Protestants, Unitarians justified their newfound independence by denouncing the intolerance of the seventeenth-century colonists and the cruelties of Calvinist theology. To them we owe the popular assumptions that the colonists persecuted large numbers of innocent people and burned witches at the stake. Neither happens to be true.<sup>22</sup> On the British side as on the American, anti-puritanism included the assumption that Puritans were joyless except when it came to punishing others, an assumption translated by some social and cultural historians, or anyone constructing a scenario of repression versus liberation, into the thesis that the goal of the movement was to impose social discipline on those beneath them in rank or status. This too is an argument with major weaknesses.<sup>23</sup>

In the nineteenth century and continuing into ours, anti-puritanism was likely to reemerge whenever the emphasis fell on the benefits of progress, or of being more enlightened. Puritanism became akin to the Dark Ages once liberals on both sides of the Atlantic embraced the story of progress from superstition to rationality or from dogma to free inquiry, a story endorsed even more widely in our own times despite the horrors of the twentieth century. We may

recognize that the price we pay for “modernity” includes severe damage to the environment and ongoing inequality, but it seems impossible to jettison the assumption that things are better now than they were in the past.

A simple response to anti-puritanism in any of its forms is to reemphasize that this book is about the Protestant Reformation as it unfolded in early modern Britain. No serious student of the past doubts the importance of this Reformation and its Catholic counterpart. Nor should any serious student of early America, for the conflicts associated with these two reformations played an oversized role in determining who moved from Britain or elsewhere in Europe to the colonies—people who identified themselves (e.g.,) as Catholics, Quakers, Puritans, Scots-Irish Presbyterians, German Pietists, and Moravians—and an outsized role as well in the making of Native American and African-American forms of Christianity.<sup>24</sup>

By way of conclusion, I note a few questions of interest to historians of early modern Britain and early America I do not address. That Protestantism and, especially perhaps, anti-Catholicism, played a major role in fashioning English or Scottish popular nationalism seems obvious, but as Arthur Williamson has shown for early modern Scotland, much else was involved.<sup>25</sup> Only in chapter 3, which concludes with the making of a “myth” of the kirk uniquely aligned with divine law, do I deal with the intersecting of national identity with the rhetoric of the reformers. How the people of early modern Scotland and England became Protestants—how, in other words, centuries of Catholic practice were replaced and Protestantism as culture and doctrine implanted—is a fascinating question that animates Peter Marshall’s remarkable *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England* (2002), Margo Todd’s *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland* (2002), and much of the scholarship of Christopher Haigh and Arnold Hunt.<sup>26</sup> Here, however, I pass it by, as I also do a question of more immediate interest to me, how Protestantism was “lived” or, alternatively, what counted as “popular” religion in this period.<sup>27</sup> Addressing either of these became impossible once I decided to foreground theology, the institutional church, and the politics of religion as it was carried on (or by) monarchs, general assemblies, parliaments, and the like.

Given the ambiguities that inhere in so many key words I use, the practical question becomes when to capitalize. Collinson tilted toward a lowercase *p* for puritanism, but other historians vary in their practice, as I did while this book was being written. Because a copyeditor has insisted on consistency, I have capitalized *Puritanism* and *Puritan* but not terms such as *Presbyterian* until I reach the 1640s, which was when the Scottish theologians who participated in the Westminster Assembly advocated *jure divino* Presbyterianism. At this point, therefore, it seems appropriate to acknowledge their point of view with a capital letter. Their many English allies in the Westminster Assembly were a mixed lot, some persuaded by the Scots and others more middling in their sentiments. No good way of naming them exists. Mindful of Collinson’s obser-

vation that historians should not repeat the error of pushing the history of nineteenth-century denominations back into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I have wavered in how I treat the colonists who brought into being a “Congregational Way,” not wanting to baptize them prematurely as Congregationalists but needing a label of some kind. On the other hand, Baptists and Quakers (although this term postdates 1660) seem sufficiently distinctive to merit capitals, even though each was tugged this way and that in deciding matters of doctrine and practice.

In the pages that follow, biblical quotations conform to the King James Version of the Bible. Contrary to the practice of some historians of early modern Scotland, I spell Mary Stuart’s name in this manner and translate most examples of Scots English into ordinary English. When quoting from a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century text, I drop the long-tailed *i* and change *u*’s into *v*’s, but I do my best to preserve capitalization and punctuation. Place of publication for early modern texts cited in my narrative is London unless otherwise noted. Readers wanting to know more about arguments within the field of Puritan studies should consult Peter Lake, “The historiography of Puritanism,” chapter 20 of *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism*, ed. John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); and the essays cited in the bibliographical note in *Puritans in the New World: A Critical Anthology*, edited by David D. Hall (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

## INDEX

- Abbott, George, 112, 182, 205, 208  
Abbott, Robert, 182  
Aberdeen, 155, 162, 191, 246, 392n3,  
395n25  
Aberdeen, “doctors,” 249  
Aberdeen, University of, 93  
Aberdeen Confession of Faith, 11, 416n68  
Abrahamic covenant, 113, 126, 333  
Absolutism, 156, 384n61, 438nn10-11  
accommodating, God as, 116, 119, 413n42  
Act of Classes, 291, 295  
Act of Uniformity (1559), 43  
Act of Uniformity (1662), 342  
*Acts and Monuments* (Foxe), 3, 59. See  
also *Book of Martyrs*  
*Ad fontes*, 15  
Adams, Charles Francis, Jr., 352-53  
Adamson, Patrick, 98-100  
adiaphora, 8, 38, 48, 50, 53, 67, 69, 90,  
176, 186-86, 195, 201, 380n36. See also  
things indifferent  
Admonition controversy, 51-56, 61, 229,  
232  
*Admonitions to Parliament*, 51-59, 66, 71,  
73, 232  
adultery, 147, 148, 152, 153, 157, 161, 162,  
167, 170, 236, 436n82  
Advertisements, 177; Parker’s, 49, 51; re-  
issued, 60-61, 67, 177, 379n32  
affliction, 121, 122, 129, 132  
African Americans, 354  
“Agreement of the People,” 286  
Agricola, Johannes, 304  
Ainsworth, Henry, 75, 197, 198  
Alcott, Louisa May, 347  
alehouse, 148, 155, 163, 166  
Allen, Thomas, 224, 457n55  
Alsted, Johann, 216  
altars, 20-21, 38, 40, 42, 44, 79, 204, 208-  
12, 261, 263-64, 392n4  
Ambrose, Isaac 308-9, 316, 317  
Ames, William, 6, 109, 114, 118, 119, 187,  
190, 197, 200, 202, 204, 229-30, 282;  
covenant theology of, 411n30  
Amsterdam, 75, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200,  
203, 280, 284; English church in, 197,  
203, 229  
Amyraut, Moise, 303  
Anabaptists, 1, 23, 54, 56, 76, 160, 199,  
239, 278, 280, 336-37. See also Bap-  
tists  
*Anatomy of Abuses* (Stubbes), 147  
Andover Theological Seminary, 346  
Andrewes, Lancelot, 10, 204, 207  
Angier, Mary, 326  
Anglicanism, 1, 5, 8-10, 46  
Anglo-Catholics, 348  
Anne of Denmark, 100, 102  
anti-Calvinism, 175, 210-11, 283, 303,  
305  
anti-Catholicism, 26-28, 49, 64, 71, 78-  
80, 85, 90, 91, 95, 97, 104, 106-107, 172,  
176, 178-179, 192, 195, 205, 209, 211,  
296; of James Ussher, 179, 441n26,  
464n10, 490n6  
anticlericalism, 60, 133, 136, 380n38;  
421n95  
anti-popery, 181-82, 190, 211, 214, 218,  
241; see also popish plot  
anti-Puritanism, 17, 42, 62-63, 76, 80, 158,  
164, 190, 205, 212-15, 218; of American  
Unitarians, 11, 350-53, 385n74,  
444n49, 452n16; effects of regicide and  
Cromwellian rule on, 342; of later  
British Anglicans 7, 11, 45  
anti-trinitarianism, 346  
Antichrist (papacy as), 26-28, 49, 64, 71,  
80, 91, 97, 104, 106, 180-81, 185, 187,  
191, 193, 195, 208, 213, 216, 218-219,  
237, 243-245, 284-285, 287, 292,  
370n43, 374n69, 441n26, 440n22;  
overthrow of, 339  
Antinomianism, 5-6, 130, 301, 313; advo-  
cated, 306-7; defined, 304; repudi-  
ated, 311-13; and Westminster Confes-  
sion, 311  
Antinomian debates, England, 303, 304,  
306-7, 310

- Antinomian controversy, New England, 143, 237, 277, 300, 302, 304, 314; interpreted, 352-53; issue as assurance, 318-23, 483n52; pastoral aspects of, 322-23; publicized, 304, 314; sources of, 324; synod of 1637, 321-23. *See also* John Cotton; Thomas Shepard
- Aphorisms of Justification* (Baxter), 313
- apocalypticism, 26-28, 62, 71, 90, 104, 106, 199, 209, 219, 279, 237, 279, 290, 475n109
- Apogetical Narration*, 277, 282-283
- Aquidneck Island, 221
- Aquinas, 408n23
- Argyle: 5th Earl of (Archibald Campbell), 82-84, 89; 8th Earl of (Archibald Campbell), 244, 288-89, 293
- Arianism, 346
- Aristotle, 113, 302, 408n21, 408n23
- Arminianism, 6, 151, 185, 351; among Baptists, 199; Catholic 111, 323; in England, 199, 205, 301, 303, 309, 323; and James I, 172; name for Laudians, 208, 214-15, 217-19, 241, 255, 278, 281; at Oxford, 175; response of Westminster Assembly, 313, 425n127
- Arminius, Jacob, 142
- Arndt, Johann, 403n3
- Arnhem, 200
- Arnold, Matthew, 492n24
- Arran, 2nd Earl of (James Hamilton), 81
- Articles of Perth, 193-194, 206, 241-43; repudiated, 248-49
- Ashby de la Zouch (Leicestershire), 47
- Askew, Anne, 34
- assurance of salvation, 3, 132; certainty of, 111, 142, 312; disputed, in England, 311, 316; disputed, in New England, 317-25; lost, 312; and sanctification, 132-33. *See also* duties; righteousness; sanctification; weak faith
- Atonement, scope of, 130, 142, 301-2, 312. *See also* hypothetical universalism
- Augustine, 11; influence of, 110; Augustinianism, 408n22
- auld alliance, 81
- authority, 25; contradicted, 67, 155, 327-29; of Scottish revolution, 248
- avant-garde conformists, 207. *See* Laudians
- Avery, Elizabeth, 315
- Axton, William, 49
- Bach, Johann Sebastian, 119
- Baillie, Robert, 36, 249, 262, 266, 268, 271-272, 277, 282, 287, 289, 328, 449n1, 456n50, 467n42
- Bale, John, 26-27, 105, 215, 217
- Ball, John, 302
- Balmerino, Lord, 242, 244, 460n90
- Bancroft, Richard, 62-63, 67-68, 69, 76, 100-101, 174, 177, 182, 209
- bands. *See* covenants
- Bannatyne Club, 348
- baptism, 6-7, 21, 46, 73, 91-92, 152, 193, 198, 202, 270; access to, 66, 71, 159, 161, 232, 287; efficacious 115, 125-26, 317, 416n68; gathered churches and, 458n71; private, 53, 91-92, 126, scope of, debated in New England, 327, 332-33; significance of, to Scottish Presbyterians, 66, 169; to Thomas Shepard, 327, 487n93. *See also* sign of the cross
- Baptist Confession of Faith (1644), 281, 302
- Baptists, 197, 199, 266, 280-281, 283, 285-287, 295, 299, 302; in England, 314, 471n74; in New England, 300, 328, 336-37, 489n107, 489n109
- Barnardiston, Nathaniel, 163
- Baro, Peter, 142
- Barrett, William, 42
- Barrington, Lady Joan, 138, 423n113
- Barrow, Henry, 73-75, 195, 197, 200, 280
- Basel, 17, 19
- Basilikon Doron*, 80, 85-86, 102, 174
- Bastwick, John, 219-220, 251-252, 260
- Bateman, Stephen, 146
- Baxter, Richard, 7, 159, 161, 180, 274-75, 304, 313-14, 317, 482n38, 490nn2-3; reputation of, 313
- Bayley, Lewis, 119, 336
- Baynes, Paul, 200, 204, 229, 282
- Beard, Thomas, 145, 148, 213, 296
- Beaton, Cardinal David, 81
- Becon, Thomas, 404n8
- Bedell, Walter, 184
- Beecher, Catharine, 345
- Beecher, Lyman, 344-45



- Beeke, Joel, 11  
bell-ringing, 44-45  
Benedict, Philip, 170  
Bermuda, 283, 327, 485n78  
Bernard, Richard, 135-136, 217, 240,  
407n18, 421n95, 422n101  
Berwick, Treaty of, 462n114  
Best, Paul, 305  
Beza, Theodore, 18, 47, 53, 59, 66, 95, 98,  
114, 142, 195; on episcopacy, 398n54,  
405n12  
Bible, authority of, 21-22, 46, 53, 67; as  
law, 15, 16, 38; printing of, 89; role in  
spirituality, 112; scholarship on, 75;  
sole source of belief, 306; translations  
of, 14-15, 18, 75, 335. *See also* regula-  
tive principle; Word  
biblical hermeneutics, 103, 104, 135-36,  
307, 422n102, 422n104, 475n106  
Biddle, John, 297, 305  
Bierma, Lyle, 11  
Bilney, Thomas, 404n9  
bishop (contested meaning of, in Bible),  
49, 53, 62, 95-96, 99-100. *See also*  
episcopacy  
Bishops Bible, 18, 43  
Bishops' Wars, 250, 252, 256, 257, 265,  
288; and Scotland in the Civil Wars,  
290-291, 295  
Black, David, 102-4, 139  
Black Acts, 98-102, 265  
black rubric, 42-43  
Blair, Robert, 179, 194, 195, 206, 207, 287,  
291, 314, 316, 449n1  
blasphemy, 236, 343  
Blasphemy Acts of 1648 and 1650, 280,  
297, 303  
*Bloody Tenet of Persecution* (Williams),  
266  
*Bloody tenent washed and made white  
with the bloud of the Lambe* (Cotton),  
273  
Bodin, Jean, 156  
Body of Liberties, 228, 236, 238  
Bohemian Confession, 132  
Bolton, Robert, 117, 180, 314  
book burning, 72  
*Book of Common Order* (Scotland), 23, 89,  
91, 123, 193  
*Book of Common Prayer*, 8, 42, 44-45, 49,  
51-53, 61, 65, 70, 71, 100, 107, 122, 126,  
134, 135, 152, 172, 174, 175, 177, 183,  
184, 185, 189, 193, 197, 205, 212, 224,  
231, 242, 261-62, 264, 267, 269-70,  
274, 287, 294, 298, 315, 384n67,  
465n27, 468n46  
"Book of Discipline" (Travers), 58, 60  
*Book of Discipline* (Scottish): First, 29,  
83-84, 86, 90, 91-93, 98, 134, 161, 167,  
186; and ministry, 161, 167; Second,  
58, 60, 95-100, 167, 192  
*Book of Martyrs* (Foxe), 3, 19, 27, 47, 59,  
69, 70, 104-5, 110, 123, 186, 209, 213,  
219, 253, 264, 299, 473n88  
*Book of Sports*, 210, 212, 218, 260, 450n6,  
453n18  
book trades: and practical divinity, 141;  
and English revolution, 472nn78-79  
Borders (Scotland), 85, 87-88  
Boston (Lincolnshire), 143, 187-89, 218  
Boston (Massachusetts), 129, 226-27,  
229, 236-37, 239, 314, 318, 320-21,  
327, 329-30, 332, 336, 338, 345, 350,  
354  
Bownde, Nicholas, 433n48  
Boyd, Robert, 114  
Bozeman, Theodore Dwight, 11  
Bradford, John, 110, 118, 121, 123, 124, 128,  
137, 303, 340, 404nn8-9  
Bradford, William, 1, 7, 340  
Bradshaw, William, 122, 123, 138, 186, 187,  
199, 202, 282, 447n75, 448n80  
Braintree (Essex), 190  
Bramhall, John, 207, 208, 209  
Branford (Connecticut), 232  
Bremer, Francis J., 11, 458n71  
*Brest-plate of Faith and Love* (Preston),  
131  
Brewster, William, 198, 203  
Bridge, John, 61, 200  
Brightman, Thomas, 165, 197, 216-219,  
223, 231, 253, 279, 285, 287  
Bristol, 280, 296  
British reformations, compared, 1, 2, 4,  
34-35, 41, 44, 47, 52, 77, 78, 79, 108,  
173, 373n61, 402n83  
Broadmead (Bristol), 284-85  
Brock, John, 222  
Brooke, Samuel, 212  
Broughton, Hugh, 217

- Browne, Robert, 71–75, 196, 197, 201, 202, 229–30, 280, 297, 299, 343  
“Brownisme,” 71–72, 76, 202, 240, 275, 281, 290  
Bruce, Robert 88–89, 100, 150, 243  
bubonic plague, 148, 152, 290, 330  
Bucer, Martin, 17, 24–25, 34, 84–85, 92, 114, 118, 157, 158, 159, 166, 292, 381n46, 382n48  
Buchanan, George, 85, 104, 401n75, 462n106  
Buckingham, Duke of (George Villiers), 112, 204–5, 207, 442n29  
Bulkeley, Peter, 318, 323; and baptism, 333  
Bullinger, Heinrich, 18, 54, 112, 114, 158, 409n24  
Bunyan, John, 316, 347, 403n2, 483n47  
Burgess, Cornelius, 263, 421n95, 433n46  
burgesses (Scotland), 87; in parliament, 246, 250, 294  
Burghley, Lord (William Cecil), 59, 64, 65, 142, 161, 384n60, 386n82.  
burials, 167. *See also* funerals  
Burton, Henry, 156, 198, 217–18, 220, 251–53, 265–66, 282  
Burton, Robert, 418n82  
Bury St Edmunds, 71–73; godly reform in, 162–63  
Byfield, Nicholas 121, 124, 185  
  
Calamy, Edmund, 266  
Calderwood, David, 105, 194, 195, 196, 197, 217, 243, 245  
Calvert, Giles, 304  
Calvin vs. Calvinism thesis, 5–6, 406n15  
Calvin, John, 5, 17, 20, 23–27, 38, 47, 54, 55, 78, 84–85, 89, 92, 112, 113, 114, 142, 186, 190, 201, 212, 230, 272, 365n9; catechism of, 114, 118, 126, 128; concept of assurance, 128, 32, 134, 420n88; editions of, in England, 409n25; and ministry, 137, 158, 303  
Calvinism: dominant in England and Scotland, 46, 111, 111, 313–13; questioned as a category, 5–6, 406n13, 406n15; and Westminster Confession, 312  
Cambridge (Massachusetts), 141, 183, 233–236, 300, 326–27; church organized in, 233–34  
Cambridge Platform, 330–33  
Cambridge University, 8, 17, 18, 44, 51, 52, 60, 65, 66, 73, 74, 114, 138, 142, 175, 180, 188, 212, 216, 239  
Cameron, John, 114, 303  
Campbell, Clan, 83  
Campbell, John (1st Earl of Loudon), 245  
Cane, Christopher 326  
Canne, John, 197, 284  
Canons (1604), 141, 182; canons (1640), 262, 257, 260, 452n14; canons, Ireland (1634), 209; ministers suspended or deprived under them, 439n16; repudiated, 248; Scottish (1636), 242–44.  
Cant, Andrew, 291  
capital laws, 168, 170  
Carbury Hill, Battle of, 84  
Caribbean, 174, 203, 220  
Carlyle, Thomas, 343, 348–49  
Carswell, John, 89  
Cartwright, Thomas, 52–59, 61, 63, 66–69, 70, 74–76, 80, 96, 125, 132, 183, 184, 187, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 202, 220, 229–31, 267, 270, 273, 296, 443n39  
Cary, Lucas, 305  
Case, Thomas, 266  
catechisms, 18, 24, 33, 44, 75, 88, 112, 126, 138, 153, 327; and moral reform, 163  
Cathars, 1, 56–57  
Catholicism (Roman), 6, 12; and apocalypticism, 26–27, 71, 78–79, 90, 106; and Bible, 14–15; in debate, 33; and episcopacy, 68; in the Highlands, 87, 102; and idolatry, 20–21, 71; militancy of, 65; the papacy, 22, 25, 57; persecution of the “true church,” 19; originating the word “puritan,” 46; source of practical divinity, 115–15, 421n96  
Catholics, in England, insurgency of 1569: toleration of, 101  
causes, Aristotelian, 113; secondary, 113  
Cecil, William. *see* Burghley, Lord  
censorship, 156, 210, 301, 451n11  
Chaderton, Laurence, 146, 175, 182, 184, 186, 190, 198  
Channing, William Ellery, 351

- “Charitie Discourse” (Winthrop), 153, 232, 322, 340  
charity, 52. *see also* love
- Charles I, 173, 174, 176, 179, 180, 182, 189, 192, 193, 196, 197, 200, 205–10, 212–14, 219, 221, 224, 226, 231, 241–45, 247–62, 264–65, 287–88, 290–93, 292–97, 342; execution of, 259, 285, 299, 327; and international Protestantism, 29–30; personal rule by, 453n19; religious policies of 3, 4, 173, 437n4
- Charles II, 280, 290, 295, 344, 348
- charter: of Connecticut, 327; of Massachusetts, 327; of Rhode Island, 327
- Chauncy, Charles, 188, 423n110, 444n47
- Cheeshahteumuck, Caleb, 335
- Chesapeake, 174, 220
- Cheshire, 127, 140
- Cheynell, Francis, 305–6, 313
- Chidley, Daniel, 284
- Chidley, Katherine, 284
- Child, Robert, 328, 329
- childbirth, 321
- children, 127, 161, 169; and baptism, 332–33, 417n75, 428n13. *See also* mothers
- Chiliasm, 278
- Chillingworth, William, 10, 306
- Choice Experiences* (Turner), 314–15
- Christ Alone Exalted* (Crisp), 306
- Christ as king, 22, 37, 55, 248, 292, 399n57
- Christ’s College, Cambridge, 187, 213
- Christian Concord* (Baxter), 313
- Christian prince, 2, 8, 25, 36, 39, 55, 56, 69, 74, 90, 93, 97, 103, 104, 106, 108, 161, 299
- Christian Warfare against the Devil World and Flesh* (Downname), 121, 124
- Christian year, 158
- Christians Daily Walke* (Scudder), 165–66
- Christmas, 91, 115, 168
- Church fathers, 113, 408n21
- Church of Ireland, 178–80
- Church of Scotland: as influence on Church of England, 52; ecclesiology, 58; resistant to Separatism, 77. *See also* myth of kirk as pure; Presbyterianism
- Church, Bucer and Calvin’s understand-  
ing of, 22–23, 160–61; covenants and, 159, 160–61, 273, 279, 283, 285; disciplining, 172, 173, 191, 201, 202, 217, 227–28, 265, 267, 274–75, 290, 295, 317; gathered or voluntary, 6, 69, 72, 74, 207, 234, 317; as little flock 374n70; membership of, 173, 223, 228, 232–35, 239–40, 265, 271, in New England, 232–35; visibility of, 22–24, 38, 46, 53, 55, 74, 90. *See also* Christ as king; edification; ministry; two-kingdoms; sacraments
- civic republicanism, 155
- Civil war, England (“War of Three Kingdoms”), 206, 220, 254, 258, 259, 262–63, 267–68, 280, 288–89, 298; causes of, 463n8, 464n15, 464n17; and religion, 4, 36, 66, 82, 84, 90
- Clans, Scottish, 156, 461n96
- Classis movement, 58, 60, 63, 172
- clericalism, 421n98
- Clifton, Richard, 198
- Cogley, Richard, 11
- Cohen, Charles Lloyd, 11
- Colacurcio, Michael, 325
- Cole, Nathaniel, 123
- Collins, Edward, 222
- Collinson, Patrick, 8
- comets, 346
- Commission for the Public Affairs of the Kirk, 289, 290, 292–95
- Commissioners (Scotland), 102
- Committee of Estates, 289–90
- Common Council (London), 275
- Common weal, 150–51, 156, 161
- Commonwealth, English, 259, 296
- communion table, 204, 208–13, 242, 450n6. *See also* altars
- Community, meanings of, 430n37
- Compassion. *see* sympathy
- Comstock, Anthony, 345
- Concord (Massachusetts), 232, 323
- conditions, of covenant of grace, 115, 133, 308, 310, 315, 321–22. *See also* covenant of grace; duties; golden chain; works
- conferences (Puritan), 58, 60, 62
- Confession: Aberdeen, 111; Baptist, 281; 1560 (Scots), 111, 126, 159, 167, 406n15. *See also* Westminster Confession

- confessionalization, 35, 38, 373n63  
confirmation, 45  
conformity, 134, 174, 177-78, 179, 183, 212  
Congregational way, 4, 238, 299, 328, 330, 458n41; origins of, in New England, 456n50, 457n58; origins of term, 458n59; reconsidered, 330-35; and Separatism, 456n50  
congregationalism, 4, 76, 80, 87, 197, 200, 202, 204, 230, 281, 283, 287, 295, 298; parochial, 240, 270, 334; in Scotland, 330, 477n131  
Congregationalists, in nineteenth-century America, 343, 345-47, 350-51  
Connecticut, 220, 235; charter, 327  
conscience, 40, 50, 63, 67, 74, 92, 177, 187, 188, 189, 206, 244, 336, 343, 352, 337, 371n51, 375n35, 382n54, 388n90; John Cotton's understanding of, 337  
*Consensus Tigurinus*, 16  
Constantine, Emperor, 19, 69, 100, 217, 222  
Continental Reformed churches, 173, 217, 283; contacts, with, 17  
conventicles, 63, 72, 126, 196, 240, 242-43, 275, 284  
Convention of Leith, 94-95  
conversion, 116; as process, 127, 316, 411n33, 418n76  
Convocation: of 1562-63, 45, 51, 377n17; of 1604, 177, 182; of 1624, 182; of 1640, 252, 260; of Ireland, 1634-1635, 209  
Coppin (or Copping), John, 71, 73  
Cosin, John, 207  
Cotton, John, 127, 143, 156, 188, 189, 190, 212, 218, 223-32, 234, 236, 238, 240, 273, 277, 282, 302, 303, 313-323, 325, 328, 353, 426n129; as authentic Calvinist, 483n52; as non-conformist, 445n51, 457n50; role in Antinomian controversy, 318-20, 484n55; role in independency in England, 467n39; sources of objections to practical divinity, 484n53  
Council of Trent, 65  
Counter-Reformation, 65, 100  
Court of High Commission (England), 196, 256-57, 275, 444n47  
Court of High Commission (Scotland), 192, 242, 244, 246-47  
covenant, 6; local church, 72-74, 198, 200, 202-3, 226, 230, 232-4, 240; federal and baptism, 332-34; of grace, 115, 304, 320, 459n80; national, 4, 83, 88, 101-2, 104-8, 145, 162; of works, 115, 320-21, 459n80  
covenant theology, 115; as conditional, 411nn30, 32; historiography of, 353, 361n8; in Westminster Confession, 310  
Covenanters (party in Scotland), 245, 247, 252, 254, 265-66, 288-91, 293, 298, 348  
covenanting, personal or communal; 124, 125, 159, 163, 165, 232-33, 394n14; congregations founded on, 230; in Scotland, 82, 144, 171; small group, 127, 183  
Cowper, William, 119, 132, 195, 411n14, 411n33  
Craig, John, 24, 88-89, 103, 105-6, 110, 168  
Cranmer, Thomas, 17, 35, 45, 112, 114  
creeds, 75, 111, 302, 313, 346, 350-51, 353-54  
Crisp, Tobias, 304, 306-7, 308  
Cromartie, Alan, 65  
Crome, Andrew, 136  
Cromwell, Henry, 298  
Cromwell, Oliver, 5, 141, 255, 259, 285-87, 293-95, 297-98, 328, 337, 342, 348, 349; assessments of, 478n136  
Cromwell, Thomas, 151  
Cromwellian settlement, 296  
*Cry of a Stone* (Trapnell), 314  
cult of domesticity, 345  
Culverwell, Ezekiel, 131, 179, 303, 418n84  
dancing, 147, 160  
Davenant, John, 190  
Davenport, John, 185, 190, 197, 204, 218, 222-23, 228-29, 282, 329, 334  
Davidson, John, 89, 104, 108, 139, 44, 162, 402n83  
Davies, Julian, 450n6  
Day, John, 18  
*De Regno Christi* (Bucer), 157, 162, 166; influence of, 434n62; substance of, 160-61  
death and dying, 115, 125, 127, 141

- Declaration of the Faith and Order*  
(Savoy), 302
- decline, perceptions of, 145–47; in New England, 490n17; social and economic sources of, 154–55
- Dedham, 60
- Dedham, Massachusetts, 232–33, 235, 238, 285; church founding in, 234
- Dedham orders, 163–64; reform in, 163–64
- Delft, 200
- Dell, William, 304
- democracy, attributed to Puritanism, 343
- democracy, in Rhode Island, 329
- demography: in England, 155; in New England, 329
- Denne, Henry 306
- Dent, Arthur, 7, 32, 110, 120, 128, 134, 135, 141, 165–66, 180, 216, 344
- Dering, Edward, 59, 64, 110, 151, 165, 384n60
- despair, 129, 130, 141, 301, 307, 313, 314, 418n82
- Dever, Mark E., 11
- Devil, 115, 117, 121, 124, 131, 150, 154, 316, 324, 416n62
- devotion, as heart of practical divinity, 120–29; household, 127, rituals of, 120, 123–25, 131
- D'Ewes, Simonds, 131, 261, 425n125
- Dickson, David, 141, 243, 247, 311–12, 317
- Directory of Church-Government*, 58, 66
- Directory of Publique Worship*, 269, 293; Scottish variant, 469n52
- discipline, 5, 9, 16, 23–24, 46, 53, 66, 74, 76, 78, 89, 91, 93, 99, 103, 105, 344, 354; as mark of true church 159, 397n39; and practical divinity, 110, 133, 317; and reformation of manners, 167, 170
- Discourse* (Davenport), 228–29, 329
- disputations, academic, 112, 407n16, 436n1
- dissent, in post-1662 England, 342
- divine sovereignty, and free will, 409n26, 412n39
- divorce, 161, 272, 468n51
- Dod, John, 124, 182, 198, 240
- Donaldson, Gordon, 4
- Donatism, 76
- Donne, John, 10
- Doome warning all men to the iudgemente* (Batman), 146
- Dorchester (Dorset), 125, 218; moral reform in, 164–65
- Dorchester (Massachusetts), 333
- Dordt, synod of, 111, 128, 142, 306, 346, 351, 406n13, 479n7
- doubt, 122, 131, 132–33, 308, 322, 324–26
- Douglas, James (Earl of Morton), 94
- Douglass, Robert, 291
- Downname, George, 135
- Downname, John, 121, 124, 127
- Downing, George, 298
- Dowsing, William, 264
- Drake, Joan, 129, 141, 165, 166, 340
- Drury, John, 412n41
- Dry Drayton, 136
- Dublin, 178, 285, 298, 315, 317
- Dudley, Paul, 490n6
- Dudley, Robert (Earl of Leicester), 18
- Dugard, Thomas, 183, 213
- Dunbar, battle of, 295
- Dundee (Scotland), 79, 394n12
- Dunster, Henry, 485n67
- Dutch puritanism, 3, 196–204
- Dutch Reformed, 11, 75, 11, 197–200, 203
- duties, 115, 130, 132; and assurance, 301, 304, 308, 314, 315, 319; criticized, 320; defended in New England, 321–23, 325, 415n54, 483n44, 485n68. *See also* righteousness; sanctification
- Dyer, Mary, 304, 338, 354
- Eales, Jacqueline, 9
- Eaton, John, 130, 304, 306, 307, 308, 480n12
- Eaton, Nathaniel, 324
- Ecclesiasticae Disciplineae, et Anglicanae Ecclesiae*, 56, 58, 95
- ecclesiastical courts, 110, 175, 153–54
- economics of the church, 28–29, 68, 78, 94–95, 98
- economy, New England, 329
- edification, 16, 48, 50, 54, 55, 66, 72, 74, 76, 89, 91, 100, 102, 135, 155, 167, 202–3, 232; and Word, 316, 326, 392n2, 458n71
- Edinburgh, 206, 220, 241–46, 288, 290; reformation in, 395n25; St. Giles, 242

- Edinburgh, University of, 93  
Edward VI, 25, 30, 31, 34, 41, 45, 47, 79, 138, 150, 152, 159–160, 208, 211  
Edwards, Jonathan, 347, 354  
Edwards, Thomas, 277–78, 282–84, 298, 304, 315, 331, 336  
effectual call, 116, 303, 307, 309, 310, 312; in Westminster Confession, 323. *See also* vocation  
elders, 30, 57, 91, 96, 98, 138, 159–61, 167; disputed at Westminster Assembly, 270  
Eliot, John, 328, 335; missional strategy of, 335  
Eliot tracts, 328  
Elizabeth I, 19, 30, 76, 85, 92, 102, 138, 147, 150, 157, 172, 176, 182, 184, 208, 211, 253, 262, 297; affairs in Scotland, 79, 82–84; refusal of further reform, 45; religious policies of, 2, 4, 34, 36, 40–69; subject to church discipline, 74, 383n54. *See also* Elizabethan Settlement; royal supremacy  
Elizabethan poor law, 151  
Elizabethan Settlement, 48, 52, 173, 176, 204, 212, 226, 297  
Ellis, George E., 352  
Emden, 17, 45  
*Encyclopaedia* (Alsted), 216–17  
Endicott, John, 227  
Engagers (Scotland), 293–95, 476n112  
*English Puritanism* (Bradshaw), 186, 199, 202  
“English” Synod (Netherlands), 197  
Enthusiasm, 305, 348  
episcopacy, 63, 65, 67–68, 71, 76, 91, 93, 95–96, 98, 100, 101, 107, 172–73, 174, 176, 183, 186, 190–92, 195–96, 203, 205, 207, 211, 220, 230, 244, 248–49, 254–55, 263–65, 267–68, 270, 273, 282–83, 287, 289–91, 296; *jure divino*, 208, 241, 258–61; in Scotland, 192, 342, 397n44  
equity, 149, 160, 166, 167, 236  
Erasmus, Desiderius, 109, 450n6  
Erastianism, 30, 69, 240, 272–73, 292, 298, 331, 371n50, 388n94, 400n62, 469n59, 496n90  
Erastian, as politicized, 152, 292, 331, 388n94, 469n59, 486n90; and James VI, 400n62  
Erastus, Thomas, 30, 271, 371n50  
Erskine, John, of Dun, 88, 94–95, 103  
Essex (England), 190, 223  
Eucharist *See* Holy Communion, kneeling at Lord’s Supper, sacraments  
Eusden, John, 118  
*Exceeding Riches of Grace Advanced* (Jessy), 307  
excommunication, 71, 74, 91, 98, 100, 101, 172, 177, 238, 248–49, 271, 291 (and civil penalties); 154, 156 (James VI and nobility), 167–69, Calvin and, 23  
experimental or inward, faith as, 6, 109, 119, 120, 128, 129  
Fairclough, Samuel, 163  
faith, and justification, 133, 308, 313, 320, 322, 323; passive, 310; repentance before, 309; and vocation, 307; weak, 127–28, 130, 131, 227, 311, 322, 323, 332, 486n91; in Westminster Confession 309–10, 481n23; and works, 112, 307  
*Faithful Shepherd* (Bernard), 135  
families and devotion, 126–27, 152  
family government, 166, 317  
Familism, 225, 278, 318, 319, 344  
fasts, 88, 105–106, 25, 144, 152, 159, 161, 167, 171, 340  
fast-day sermons, England, 338  
federal theology. *See* covenant theology  
Fenner, Dudley, 61  
Feoffees for Improvements, 140, 185, 210  
Field, John, 51, 53, 59–61, 67, 79, 111, 172, 184, 263–64, 299, 400n62  
Fiennes, William (Lord Say and Sele), 224–25  
Fiering, Norman, 11  
Fife, 89, 100  
Fifth Monarchists, 197, 281, 285–87, 298, 474n96, 475n108, 483n44  
Forbes, John, 200, 408n23, 44n82  
Forbes, William, 241  
Form of Prayers, Anglo-Genevan, 19, 91. *See also* *Book of Common Order*  
*Forme of Examination* (Craig), 168  
Foster, Stephen, 11, 456n41

- Fox, George, 279–80, 316  
Foxe, John, 3, 19, 27, 47, 54, 59, 69, 70,  
104, 110, 150, 208, 217, 219, 253, 264,  
279, 296, 299, 365<sup>n10</sup>  
France, 29, 52  
franchise, and church membership, 223–  
24, 329  
Francis I, 25  
Francis II, 17, 81  
Frankfurt, 4, 17, 45, 53, 67, 79–80  
Frankfurt, troubles at, 377<sup>n18</sup>–19, 436<sup>n3</sup>  
Frederick (V), Elector Palatine, 181  
Free Church of Scotland, 348  
free grace, 20, 64, 111, 113, 117, 118, 131,  
137, 208, 231, 236, 278–79, 281, 303,  
304, 306, 307, 308, 310, 313, 314, 315,  
320, 321, 351, 353  
*Free Grace: Or the flowings of Christs  
blood* (Saltmarsh), 306  
free inquiry, 305–6, 346  
free will, 119, 346  
freedom of the church, 90, 94, 97, 98  
French Reformed. *See* Huguenot  
*Fresh Suit Against Human Ceremonies in  
Gods Worship, A*, 187, 197  
Fulke, William, 20, 55–56, 197, 202  
Fuller, Thomas, 267  
funerals, 92  
Further (or “Second”) Reformation 119,  
413<sup>n43</sup>  
  
Gaelic (language), 87, 89, 135  
Galloway, Patrick, 195  
*Gangraena; or, A Catalogue and Discov-  
ery* (Edwards), 277  
Gardiner, Samuel Rawson, 343, 349  
Gataker, Thomas, 309, 316  
General Assembly (Scotland): 93–106; of  
1560, 83–84, 87–89, 91, 144; of 1588,  
167; of 1596, 89–91, 144; of 1604, 191;  
of 1609, 192; of 1616, 193; of 1617, 193–  
94; of 1618, 194, 243; of 1638: 192, 247,  
250, 288; 1639: 25; of 1642: 289; 1647:  
293; of 1653: 29; Aberdeen (1605), 191,  
192; membership of, 395<sup>n2</sup>, 396<sup>n34</sup>  
generosity, 153  
Geneva, 4, 17, 21, 31, 45, 47, 52, 59, 66, 71,  
78–80, 84–85, 88, 91, 95, 98, 101, 114,  
374<sup>n3</sup>  
Geneva Bible, 14, 18, 27, 89, 112, 116, 126,  
175, 253, 366<sup>n15</sup>, 384<sup>n61</sup>  
Geneva Liturgy, 61, 71  
gentry, 64; and English revolution, 464<sup>n11</sup>  
German Reformed, 119  
Germany, 32, 37, 87  
Gifford, George, 76, 110, 123  
Gilby, Anthony, 47–48, 50, 59, 61, 380<sup>n39</sup>,  
382<sup>n54</sup>  
Gillespie, George, 170, 243, 253–54, 268,  
272, 292  
Glamis, Chancellor (John Lyon, 8th Lord  
Glamis), 95  
Glasgow, 89, 168; university of, 93  
Gleason, Randall, 11  
Gledstanes, George, 103, 243  
*Glimpse of Sions Glory* (1641), 253, 339;  
authorship of, 463<sup>n4</sup>  
Glorious Revolution, 295  
godparents, 397<sup>n42</sup>  
Golden Acts of 1592, 192, 245, 291  
golden chain, 115–16, 304, 308, 312; in  
New England, debates, 320, 322; at  
the Westminster Assembly, 310. *See  
also* Antinomianism; antinomian con-  
troversy in New England; free grace,  
means  
*Golden Chain*e (Perkins), 115–16, 117, 304,  
308, 310, 319  
Golden rule, 149, 153  
Goodman, Christopher, 37, 57, 80  
Goodman, Elizabeth, 338  
Goodwin, John, 283, 303, 470<sup>n66</sup>,  
475<sup>n106</sup>, 484<sup>n53</sup>  
Goodwin, Thomas, 253 272, 282, 319, 335,  
337, 339, 403<sup>n7</sup>  
Gordon, Clan, 86  
Gordon, George (6th Earl of Huntly), 86,  
98, 100–102  
Gordon, George (second Marquess of  
Huntly), 289  
Gorton, Samuel, 273, 328, 336  
Goulart, Simon 111  
Gowrie Conspiracy, 195  
*Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*  
(Bunyan), 316  
Graham, James (Earl of Montrose), 288,  
290–291  
Graham, Michael, 168

- Grand Remonstrance*, 257, 265, 267  
Great Bible, 18, 31  
Great Ejection, 342  
Great Tew Circle, 305  
Greaves, Richard, 402n85  
Greenham, Richard, 110, 117, 120, 123, 132, 136, 149, 158, 186, 424n117  
Greenwood, John, 73–75  
Greville, Robert (Lord Brooke), 183, 261, 262, 265  
Grimston, Harbottle, 260  
Grindal, Edmund, 44–45, 48, 63, 70–71, 148, 151, 161, 375n11  
Guise, Mary *See* Mary of Guise  
Gunpowder Plot, 146, 176, 181  
Guthrie, William, 117
- Hadley, Massachusetts, 341  
Haig, William, 241–242  
Haigh, Christopher, 12  
Hall, Edward, 326  
Hall, Joseph, 119, 182, 186, 261  
Halley, Edmund, 346  
Hambrick–Stowe, Charles, 11  
Hamilton, James (Marquis of Hamilton), 248, 250, 289, 293, 461n97  
Hampton Court conference, 143, 175–76, 184, 185, 424n120; as viewed by historians, 437n7  
Harley, Brilliana, 123, 129, 218  
Harley, Edward, 180, 181, 189, 190, 263  
*Harmonie, An*, 111, 406n15  
Harrington, James, 9  
Harrington, John 109, 117  
Harrison, Robert, 71–73, 75, 198  
Hartford (Connecticut), 235, 338  
Harvard College, 239, 324, 335, 347, 354; graduates leaving for England, 339; Native Americans at, 335–36  
Harvard, John, 239  
Hastings, Francis, 47, 139, 379n27, 425n1  
Hatton, Christopher, 68  
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 7, 343, 352  
Hazard, Dorothy, 284–85  
Heidelberg, 17  
Heidelberg Catechism, 114, 118  
Helwys, Thomas, 199, 280, 343  
Henderson, Alexander, 243–44, 246–49, 262, 265, 267–68, 272, 287–88, 291, 463n4, 468n47  
Henrietta Maria, 207, 257  
Henry II (father-in-law of Mary Stuart), 81  
Henry IV (France), 176, 207, 373n66  
Henry VIII, 17, 30–31, 34, 41, 85, 151, 178  
Herbert, George, 149  
Herefordshire, 127  
heresiographers, 304  
hermeneutics, biblical, 136, 135, 310. *See also* plain style; biblical hermeneutics  
Hertfordshire, 263  
Heylyn, Peter, 212, 342  
Hiacoomes, Joel, 336  
hierarchy, beneficial, 155  
Hieron, Samuel, 197  
Higgins, Thomas, 315  
Higginson, Francis, 225  
Highlands (Scotland), 87–89, 102; ministers in, 396n26; resistance to Covenant of 1638, 249  
Hildersham, Arthur, 47, 110, 139, 141, 186, 198, 412n39, 444n43  
Hill, Christopher, 430n31, 430n35, 432n45  
Hirst, Derek, 274  
historians, evangelical, 354  
Hoby, Margaret, 123, 125  
Hogge, Thomas, 241  
Holifield, E. Brooks, 6, 11  
Holman, Winfried, 489n11  
Holmes, Jane, 326  
Holmes, Obadiah, 300–301, 317, 337  
Holy Communion, 152–53; administered by clergy, 134, 203; preparation to the receiving, 122, 138, 166; protecting access to, 185, 334, 469n58; and social discipline, 154, 168; theological meaning of, 375n7. *See also* Lord's Supper; communion  
Holy days, 397n41. *See also* saints' days  
Holy Spirit, 21–22, 48, 53, 55, 75, 112, 120, 128, 133, 171, 299, 308; and assurance, 40n88, George Fox and, 316, and preaching, 423n1098, 482n35; in Westminster Confession, 313. *See also* witness of Spirit (Holy)  
*Homilies, Book of*, 44, 53; English, 147, 148; Second Book of, 148, 150  
Hooker, Richard, 10, 63, 363n17, 381n46  
Hooker, Thomas, 117, 129, 159, 170, 187, 190, 203, 204, 227, 229, 231, 301, 303,



- 308 314, 320, 323, 350, 353, 423n110, 424n115
- Hooper, John, 17, 45
- Hopkins, John, 18, 43
- Hosea, 105
- House of Commons, 48, 60–61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 133, 176–78, 205, 213–14, 250–53, 255–64, 267, 273, 297, 378n24; role of Puritans in rise of, 343
- House of Lords, 33, 48, 176, 213, 250, 256–57, 261–62, 264, 267, 343
- Households, as centers of piety, 18–19, 93
- How, Samuel, 284
- Hughes, Ann, 355, 472n80
- Huguenots, 29, 37, 65, 77, 88, 95, 98, 114, 146, 393n10
- human inventions, 15
- humanism, 16, 114, 135, 154, 161, 168, 409n26
- humiliation, 109, 128, 308
- Humphrey, Laurence, 379n35
- Humphrey, Thomas, 40, 48
- Hunt, Arnold, 12
- Huntington, Earl of (Henry Hastings), 64, 139, 162
- Huntley, Earl of. *See* George Gordon
- Hutchinson, Ann, 236–37, 239, 254; biography of, 320–21, 323, 324, 333, 354; and church membership, 321; influenced by Separatism, 320–21; objections to “legal” ministers, 320–21; role of, praised by Cotton, 321; theological ideas, 323, 324, 458n71, 484n55, 484n60
- Hutchinson, John, 299, 344
- Hutchinson, Lucy, 344
- Hutton, Matthew, 65, 177
- hypocrite, 2, 6, 15, 26, 129, 160, 285, 311, 316; issue in Antinomian controversy, 322, 324–25, 458n71, 484n62, 486n91
- hypothetical universalism, 131, 303, 462n129, 482n34
- iconoclasm, 20, 37–38, 79, 82; in civil war England, 264, 392n4
- identity, of New England, 339–41
- idleness, 122, 149, 152, 151, 163, 165, 168
- idolatry, 15, 20–21, 35, 37–38, 41–43, 48–49, 66, 69, 71, 73, 76, 82, 83, 90, 92, 93, 104, 106, 144, 158
- images, 43–44
- inconsistency, of theologians, 6–7
- Independents, 303, 304, 313, 328, 467n39, 467n42, 469n54, 469n59, 474n100, 475n106, 479n106; understanding of church membership, 283; factions among, 475n10; and toleration, 475n106
- Indianness, 490n117
- individualism, 126, 171
- Institutes* (Calvin), 25, 26, 137
- “Instructions” (James I), 210
- Instrument of Government* (1653), 286; and religion, 313
- Ipswich (Massachusetts), 333
- Ireland, 135, 178–80, supplying ministers for, 474n97
- Irish Articles (1615), 111, 180, 209, 281–82, 302, 310; authorship of, 440n22
- Irish Puritanism, 440n19
- Irish uprisings, of 1595, 178; of 1641, 255, 257, 288
- irresistible grace, 142
- Israel (ancient), 22, 105, 107
- Jacob, Henry, 187, 190, 199, 200–2, 230, 240, 265, 280, 282, 438n9, 448nn. 84, 85
- Jacobinism, 344
- James II, 342, 348
- James V (Scotland), 35, 81
- James VI and I, 3, 29–30, 36, 76, 84–88, 90, 94, 98–103, 105–107, 138, 139, 140, 144, 151, 168, 172–79, 181, 182, 187, 189, 190–93, 195, 196, 199, 201, 204, 206–10, 242, 247, 249, 254, 265, 272, 289, 291, 297; understanding of monarchy, 175–76, 438n10
- Jamestown (Virginia), 350
- Jefferson, Thomas, 350
- Jeremiah, 105
- Jeroboam, 104
- Jessey, Henry, 283, 302, 307
- Jesuits, 100, 207
- Jesus, character of, 346–47
- Jewell, John, 15, 33
- Jews, conversion of, 217–18, 454n30, 454n33
- Johnson, Edward, 329
- Johnson, Francis, 74, 196, 197, 198

- Johnson, George, 436n1  
Johnston, Archibald (of Wariston), 123–  
24 129, 185, 245–46, 268, 287–88, 290,  
292, 298, 316  
joy, 120–21, 133, 420n93  
judgment of charity, church membership  
and, 332, 486n91  
*jure divino* church government, 4, 12  
justices of the peace, 64  
justification by faith, 111, 116, 117, 128, 133,  
301, 304, 306, 307, 314; issue in Anti-  
nomian controversy, 319–20; relation-  
ship with faith and repentance, de-  
bated, Westminster Assembly, 310,  
369n33, 482n30
- Katharine Hall, Cambridge, 182  
Kedington (Suffolk), 162–63  
Kent, 260, 263  
Kenyon, J. P., 463n8  
*Keys of the Kingdom* (Cotton), 282, 331  
Kidderminster (Worcestershire), 274  
King James Bible, 18, 175, 190  
kingship: and authority in religious af-  
fairs, 89, 103; and religious uniformity,  
31; and royal power, 30, 108. *See also*  
Christ as king; royal supremacy  
kneeling to receive communion, 20, 42,  
45, 53, 75, 78, 175, 179, 185, 187, 189,  
193, 208, 210, 242, 284, 307, 375n7  
Kirk sessions, 87, 107, 138, 155, 167–71,  
435n76, 435n78  
Knightly, Richard, 183  
Knollys, Hansard, 336, 403n44  
Knox, John, 2, 17, 21, 36–37, 38, 41, 57, 78,  
80–84, 86–87, 103, 105–8, 193, 196,  
222, 236, 296, 348
- La Rochelle, 214, 218  
Laing, David, 348  
Lake, Peter, 13  
Lambe, Thomas, 281  
Lambeth Articles, 111, 128, 142, 175, 179,  
302, 303, 304, 405n12  
Lambeth Palace, 59  
Lancashire, 64  
land, as distributed in New England,  
328–29  
Lanside, Battle of, 84  
Larkham, Thomas, 283
- Last conflicts and death of M. Thomas  
Peacock*, 129  
Latin, 135  
Laud, William, 10, 180, 207–10, 212–14,  
219–20, 231, 241–43, 252–53, 256, 260,  
277; attitude toward Catholicism,  
453n20; charges against him, 450n5;  
role of, 450n6, 443n20  
Laudianism, 207–209, 211–214, 218, 220,  
222, 260, 262–65, 267, 421n99, 449n4;  
makers of, 450n6; opposition to,  
464n10  
law (civil), 68; reform, 160, 161, 236  
law (divine), 15, 25, 36, 68, 93, 116–17; as  
binding, 158; and grace, 115–17, 118,  
131, 307–10, 312, 313, 315, 325,  
420n88; as preparatory, 129, 131, 133,  
304, 306, 307, 309  
Lawson, James, 89, 99  
lay patronage (of church property), 29, 94,  
97  
lay presidency (over the Lord's Supper),  
74  
lay reading, 44, 89  
learnedness, 135–36, 422n101  
lecturers, 139–4, 182, 424n121; not in  
Scotland, 87  
lectures by combination, 162, 182  
legal (or legalism), as epithet, 306–7, 309,  
312, 315, 412n36  
Leicester, Earl of 64, 162  
Leicestershire, 263  
Leiden, 75, 199, 203; “pilgrims” in, 203,  
220  
Leiden University, 142  
Leighton, Alexander, 185, 197, 218, 246  
Leighton, Robert, 304  
Leith, 94  
Levellers, 266, 281, 474n96, 480n13  
Lever, Thomas, 70–71, 137  
Lewis, Sinclair, 354  
*Lex, Rex, or the Law and the Prince*  
(Rutherford), 292  
Liberal Party, 343, 345  
liberalism (religious), 346, 350, 352  
liberals (modern), 7  
Libertine, 301, 303, 304, 315, 480n15  
liberty (Christian), 6, 48, 50, 56–57, 75–76,  
118, 171, 199, 351; in choosing minis-  
ters, 66

- liberty (civic), 82  
liberty of conscience, 299, 303, 304, 343;  
in New England, 318; in Westminster  
Confession 309. *See also* conscience  
Lightfoot, John, 271  
Lilburn, John, 219  
Lim, Paul C. H., 11  
Lincoln, Diocese of, 173  
Lincolnshire, 127, 173, 188–89, 198, 218  
Lindsay, David, 103, 195  
Litchfield (Connecticut), 344  
literacy and reformation of manners, 160,  
163, 168  
*Little Women* (Alcott), 347  
Livingston, John, 179  
Llanvaches, 284  
Locke, Ann, 365n10, 417n74  
Locke, John, 346  
logic, art of, 135  
London, 17, 70, 73, 75, 100, 111, 127, 140,  
185, 284  
Long Parliament, 174, 206, 221, 224, 250,  
252, 255, 258, 260–65, 267–69, 271–  
73, 276–77, 288–92, 298–99, 305; fac-  
tions in, 464n15  
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 346  
Lord's Prayer, 93, 269  
Lord's Supper, 6–7, 20–21, 23, 38, 42, 46,  
55, 70, 73, 91, 124, 125, 138, 200, 208;  
admission to, 234, 235, 266, 295; cele-  
brated by separatists, 73; controversy  
in Salem, 226; as converting, 304; and  
examination, 234, 415n56; exclusion  
from, 272; kneeling during celebration  
of, 20, 42, 45, 53, 78, 193, 196; in mixed  
congregations, 278; protection of,  
from the unworthy, 23, 55, 66, 105,  
232, 265, 270, 271, 272, 274, 276, 287,  
469n58; seated at the table, 91. *See also*  
Holy Communion; kneeling.  
Lords of the Congregation, 82, 88, 93  
Lothrop, John, 202, 284  
love, divine, 120–21, 307, 325; of brethren,  
125, 127, 130, 159, 165, 285, 314, 316; as  
mutuality, 166, 314, 316; and sympa-  
thy, 322–23, 418n84, 418n86, 485n65.  
*See also* Christ  
Lowell, Charles Russell, 347  
Lowlands (Scotland), 87–88, 93  
Luther, Martin, 14, 17, 25, 111, 113, 228,  
369n37; invoked by English antinomi-  
ans, 304, 306–8, 480n15  
Lutherans, 1, 23, 37, 65, 119, 132; efforts to  
unite with the Reformed, 16  
magistracy (godly), 25, 34, 36–37, 47, 55,  
59, 69, 72, 74, 76, 84, 90, 93, 106–107  
Maitland, John, 99  
Mar-prelate, Martin, 195  
Mar-prelate tracts, 62, 69, 74, 75, 136  
Marbury, Francis, 6, 320, 438n8  
Marian exiles, 3, 17, 35, 44–45, 47, 78, 91  
marketplace, and decline 149, 153  
marks of the church, 23, 54, 71–72, 91  
marriage, 148, 151, 153, 161; as civil,  
435n79  
*Marrow of Divinity* (Ames), 6, 114  
*Marrow of the Oracles of God* (Byfield),  
124  
Marshall, Peter, 12  
Marshall, Stephen, 190  
Martha's Vineyard, 136, 335–36  
Martindale, Adam, 312  
Marston Moor, battle of, 258  
martyrs, 19, 34, 70, 71, 82, 110, 122, 136,  
149, 347; of 1637, 219; as figures, 136;  
Quakers as, 338  
Mary of Guise, 35, 79, 81–83, 87, 91, 93,  
196  
Mary Stuart, 35, 40, 79, 81–85, 88, 94, 99,  
105, 135, 144, 157  
Mary Tudor, 3, 28–29, 31, 33, 36–37, 41–  
42, 70–71, 284, 402n83  
Maryland, 327  
Massachusetts, 3, 123, 200, 206, 220–40,  
252, 284, 314  
Massachusetts Bay Company, 185, 221,  
223–25, 229, 235; charter revoked,  
327; converting Native Americans, 334  
Massachusetts General Court, 228, 235,  
237  
Masterless men, 149, 428n16  
Mather, Cotton, 352, 354, 493n36  
Mather, Increase, 334, 487n94  
Mather, Richard, 231, 234, 282, 323,  
332–33  
Mathew, Tobie, 182, 382n51  
Maxwell, John, 241  
*Mayflower* (ship), 203, 340  
Mayflower Compact, 203, 238, 350, 353

- Mayhew, Thomas, 336  
Maypole, 149, 162  
McCallum, John, 89  
McGiffert, Michael, 10–11  
means of grace, 116, 119, 132, 307, 316;  
criticized, 310, 313, 314, 325, 326; and  
divine decree, 312; as means of assur-  
ance, 300, 412n39. *See also* golden  
chain  
Mede, Joseph, 216  
melancholy, 129  
Melancthon, Philip, 38, 365n9, 380n36  
Melville, Andrew, 52, 66, 93, 95, 98, 99,  
100–102, 104, 107–8, 114, 139, 191, 245,  
273; legend of, 399n60; party of, 173,  
393n6, 398n46;  
Melville, James, 88, 99, 100, 101, 104, 105,  
108, 191, 195, 217, 245, 402n83  
memoirs, 344  
memory, historical; in Ireland, 492n20;  
modern, of Puritanism, 343, 347–54;  
among puritans, 447n76; 454n26  
Mennonites, 199, 280  
Merchant Adventurers, 196  
merchants, 87; in New England, 486n85  
*Meritorious Price of Our Redemption*  
(Pynchon), 318  
Metcalf, Margaret, 109  
Methodists, 344–45, 347  
Middelburg (Zeeland), 72, 73, 74, 196  
Middle Advent, 217, 222, 253  
*Milk for Babies* (Cotton), 302  
Millenary Petition, 172, 173, 177  
millennium, 370n40  
millenarianism, 26, 296, 339, 456n43  
Miller, Arthur, 7  
Miller, Perry, 10, 343, 353, 418n79  
Mills, Humphrey, 315  
Milton, Anthony, 30  
Milton, John, 9, 161, 261–62, 266, 272,  
305, 343  
ministers, scandalous, 293  
ministry: Baxter's understanding of, 317;  
within Congregational Way, 331,  
421n98; contradictions in, 140–41; di-  
visive, 424n115; as instrument of re-  
form, 110; puritan understanding of,  
133–41 1; standards for, 110  
miracles, 346  
mission, to Native Americans, 335–36  
missionaries in Scotland: Protestant, 88;  
Catholic, 100, 106  
“Modell of Christian Charity.” *See* “Chari-  
tie Discourse”  
moderation, 38, 160, 174, 190; of James I,  
175–76, 362n14, 444n49  
Mohegan (Native Americans), 335  
monster births 147, 304  
Montagu, Edward (Earl of Manchester),  
264  
Montagu, Richard, 205, 219  
Montaigne, George, 189, 207  
Morrill, John, 264, 373n61  
Morton, 4th Earl of (James Douglas), re-  
gent, 97, 99  
Moses, 72, 106, 346  
*Mother's Legacie* (Joscelin), 127  
*Mothers blessing* (Leigh), 127  
Mothers, 127, 316. *See* women  
Muller, Richard A., 5, 11  
Münster (Germany), 150  
mutuality. *See* love  
*Mysteries Discovered* (Best), 305  
mystical theology, 410n28, 480n15  
myth, of kirk as pure, 4, 104–7, 195–96,  
291, 402n83  
myth-making about Puritanism, 343,  
347–54  
Napier, John, 216, 218  
Narragansett (Native Americans), 335  
Naseby, battle of, 258  
Natick, 335  
National Council of Congregational  
Churches, 350  
National Covenant (1638; Scotland), 4,  
209, 241–51, 255, 287–88, 293, 342,  
461n101; sources of, 462n106  
national identity, Puritanism and, 402n85  
nationalism, 12, 343, 348–50  
Native Americans, 239, 354; colonists' as-  
sumptions about, 334, 487n98; con-  
version of, 334–36; demography of,  
487n98; policies toward, 334–35;  
praying towns, 335; privileges of, in  
Massachusetts, 488n101  
Naylor, James, 280, 297  
Negative Confession of 1581, 104, 106, 108,  
111, 144, 193–94, 196, 245, 247, 249  
Neile, Richard, 204, 207, 208, 214, 453n21

- Netherlands, 3, 18, 28, 65, 72, 89, 142, 174, 187, 194, 196–204; Presbyterians in, 448n80
- Nevin, John, 492n16
- New Amsterdam, 203, 237
- New England, 3, 36, 38, 112; economy of, 329; identity of, 489n114, 490n117; legal system in, 328–29; political systems of, 328–39; toleration in, 336–37, 489n109
- New England Company, 335–36
- New England Company (London), 221
- New England Confederation, 327–28, 335
- New Englands First Fruits*, 239, 339, 460n85, 486n84, 489n114
- New Gagg for an Old Goose* (Montagu), 205
- New Hampshire, 237
- New Haven, colony 220–21, 327, 335; town, 334
- “New light,” 279
- New London, 335
- New Model Army, 258–59, 273, 286, 289, 293–94, 296; politics of, 278; “Agreement of the People,” 286
- New Netherland, 327, 487n98
- New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, 345
- Newcastle Propositions, 259
- Newcastle upon Tyne, 252, 291
- Newcome, Henry, 274, 471n70
- Newport (Rhode Island), 329
- Newtown. *See* Cambridge, Massachusetts
- Niclaes, Hendrik, 278
- Nineteen Propositions, 258, 267
- nobility (Scottish), 81–88, 90, 93–95, 97–99, 101–105, 107, 130, 131, 132, 138, 139, 140, 156, 162; claiming revenues, 137; rejecting church discipline, 169; religious commitment, questioned, 395n22
- Nominated Parliament of 1653, 286–87, 297
- nonconformity, 40, 46–47, 49, 51, 61, 68, 90, 107, 134, 153, 177–78, 180–90, 205, 09–10, 212, 223; politics of, under James I, 172, 173, 174, 176–77, 178, 180, 182–90, 194, 196; under Charles I, 198, 200, 205, 210–12, 221–22; reason for emigrating, 254–255, 283. *See also* “old puritanism”
- nonresidency, 44, 47, 48, 66, 92, 152
- Northampton (Northamptonshire), 127, 183, 213
- Northumberland, Duke of, 41
- Norton, John, 113, 323, 483n51
- Norton, Thomas, 18
- Norwich (Norfolk), 72, 198, 210
- notes of the church. *See* marks of the church
- Nottingham (Nottinghamshire), 299
- Nottinghamshire, 198
- Nova Scotia, 220
- Nowell, Alexander, 24, 33, 117, 126, 138, 153, 154, 378n25, 409n25
- obedience, 150, 151–52
- Of the Calling of the Ministry* (Perkins), 137
- Offwood, Stephen, 389n101
- Old Mortality* (Scot), 348
- “old puritanism” or “good old non-conformity,” 184–85, 190, 205, 222, 267, 282, 443n37
- Old Testament, 78, 100, 104, 106, 108, 307; continuous with New, 475n106; discarded, 312. *See also* biblical hermeneutics
- Oliver, Mary, 235
- oppression, 149, 160, 165, 168
- order of nature, 113, 114, 308–9, 310, 482nn29
- ordination, 91, 270; in New England, 331; in Scotland, 397n37; Separatists repudiating, 71, 73, 320
- original sin, 111, 113, 346–47
- Orthodox Evangelist* (Norton), 113, 323
- Orthodoxy, Reformed, 7, 110, 201–3, 306, 309, 330, 336, 479n4
- Owen, John, 282, 287, 301, 304, 331; theology of, 331, 482n35; and toleration, 475n109; understanding of the church, 474n98; understanding of Holy Spirit, 482n35
- Oxford, 109, 262, 291, 305
- Oxford University, 17, 40, 44, 65, 66, 74, 182, 239
- Oxfordshire, 263

- Pacification of Perth, 84  
Packer, James I., 354  
Paget, John, 197, 200, 203, 204, 229  
Pagitt, Ephraim, 277-78  
panics (moral) 157, 170  
Papacy. *See* Antichrist  
*Parable of the ten virgins* (Shepard), 323-34  
parents, and baptism, 333-34  
Paris, 98  
Parker, Matthew, 43-44, 49-51, 70, 150, 152, 161, 433n102  
Parker, Robert, 187, 199, 204, 217, 229, 282  
Parker Society, 348  
Parliament (English), 9, 41, 43, 47, 51, 60-61, 65, 67, 68, 79; Parliament of 1604, 174, 191; Parliament of 1610, 175, 176; Parliament of 1614, 175; Parliament of 1625, 213; Parliament of 1628-1629, 164, 255; Short, 206, 252. *See* Long Parliament  
Parliament (Scottish), 79, 82-83, 87, 94-96, 98, 101, 102, 104; Parliament of 1621, 194; Parliament of 1639, 249; Parliament of 1640, 250, 287-88; Parliament of 1645, 291; Parliament of 1649, 294; Parliament of 1651, 295; structure redefined, 280  
Parr, Catherine, 410n27  
Parsons, Robert, 114  
Patient, Thomas, 474n97  
patriarchy, 431n37  
patronage, lay, of clergy, 29, 94, 97, 139-40, 227, 231, 400n68  
peace, as social value, 149, 15, 163, 164, 428n15; *see also* town covenants  
peace movement, 345  
Pearson, A. F. Scott, 57  
peasants, 87  
Peebles (Scotland), 461n101  
Pelagianism, 113  
Pemble, William, 138-39  
Penance, Catholic, 113, 118  
Penry, John, 32, 74, 299, 391n116  
people, becoming Protestant, 372n54, 403n4  
Pequot, 334-35  
Pequot "War," 334-35  
Perkins, William, 18, 110, 113, 114, 116, 117, 118, 121, 123, 127, 128, 129, 132, 134, 135, 137, 141, 149, 180, 184, 186, 301  
persecution, 351-52; spiritually beneficial, 324  
perseverance of the saints, 118, 142, 301, 403n4  
personal rule (Charles I), 453n19  
Perth, 7, 102-3, 206, 241-43, 392n3; kirk sessions in, 169, 193-95  
Peter, Hugh, 125, 189, 200, 204, 229, 239, 282, 448n82  
Petition of Right, 256  
petitioning, in New England, 329, 340  
Pettegree, Andrew, 66  
Philip II, 29  
Phillips, George, 227  
pietism, 353  
pilgrim, as spiritual model, 121  
*Pilgrim's Progress* (Bunyan), 347  
Pilgrims (Plymouth), 75; memory of, 350-51, 353  
Piscator, Johann 114  
Pius V, 65  
plague, 146, 155, 169, 330; as biblical, 148; none in New England, 330. *See also* bubonic plague  
*Plain Mans Path-way* (Dent), 32, 110, 180, 316, 244  
*Platform of Church Discipline*, 330. *See also* Cambridge Platform  
plays (theater), 163  
plowman, figure of, 33  
Plumbers' Hall congregation, 70, 80  
Pluralism, 44, 47, 64, 66, 89, 136, 152  
Plymouth (colony), 75, 202, 220-21, 227, 300, 340, 334; church membership rules in, 449n92; as source of Congregational Way, 456n50; toleration in, 336  
Poitiers, 98  
Popish plot, 211, 213, 256, 260, 262. *See also* anti-popery  
popular election (of church office holders), 57-58, 72, 74, 91  
popular religion, 12, 31-32, 87, 93  
portents. *See* wonders  
Portsmouth (Rhode Island), 329  
poverty, and the reformation of manners, 160, 161, 166

- power of the keys, 55, 74, 201, 230, 240, 270, 330, 368n31, 458n58, 469n54
- practical divinity, 3, 6, 9, 80, 109, 110, 180, 203, 208, 347; attacked, 300, 306; Catholic sources of, 114–15; embraced 141–42; impact on a “further reformation,” 109–10; origins of, 403n3, 403n8, 403n9; tonalities of, 141
- practical syllogism, 132, 320
- Practice of Piety* (Bayley), 119, 316
- prayer, 21, 91; for the dead, 42, 53; free-form, 53, 185, 201, 231, 269–70, 283, 348
- praying towns, 335
- preaching, 21, 23, 53, 55, 64, 66, 87; as instrument of order, 151–52; plain, 136–37, 423n109
- predestination, 27, 111, 112, 115, 118, 346–47; Arminius on, 142; and assurance, 420n89; as “central idea,” 4; church membership and, 74; Great Tew circle on, 306; and libertinism, 118; as mystery, 118, 128; Weber thesis and, 158; Westminster Confession on, 423n109
- preparation for salvation, 116, 119, 130, 131, 133, 308, 310, 312, 325, 353, 482n30. *See also* assurance; duties; repentance; works
- preparation sermons, 91, 168, 469n52
- Presbyterianism, in England, 6, 35, 51, 59, 60, 61, 65–69, 80, 134, 328, 332, 383n58; adopted within Reformed international, 65–66, 346; endorsed by James VI, 172; *jure divino*, 68, 270, 278, 281, 187, 289–94, 296, 298; resistance to, by monarchy, 62, 66, 101; in Scotland, 93, 96, 172, 178, 184, 189, 192–93, 195, 197, 199–200, 209, 213, 219, 342; understanding of the church, 471n70. *See also* anti-Presbyterianism; Melville, Andrew; Book of Discipline (Second); Westminster Assembly
- presbyteries, 97–99, 101, 108
- Preston, John, 7, 128, 131, 134, 146, 179, 180, 182, 184, 185, 189, 197, 279, 323, 419n86
- Pride’s Purge, 259, 285
- Prima, The First Things* (Ambrose), 308–9
- primitivism, 15, 47–48, 52, 53, 66, 70, 78, 280
- printing, 18, 59, 73, 75, 89, 180
- printing office, Cambridge (Massachusetts), 323
- Privy Council England, 65, 176, 203, 210, 257, 261; Scotland, 176, 191, 193–94, 242, 244–45, 289, 396n36
- privy kirks, 82, 394n12
- profession, meaning of, in New England, 458n71
- progressive orthodoxy, 346
- prophesying, 51, 63, 93, 151, 82, 177, 182. *See also* women
- Protectorate, 259, 263, 281, 286, 296, 328
- Protestant ethic (Weber), 158; questioned, 432n45
- providence (divine), 26–28, 59, 90, 105, 117–18, 124–25, 160, 245, 252, 262, 296, 310, 339, 346
- Providence (Rhode Island), 227
- Providence Island, 220, 224
- Prynne, William, 111, 116, 198, 202, 218–20, 251–52, 260–61, 271–72, 277–78, 292, 303, 363n15
- psalmody, 75, 81, 91
- Psalms, 112–13; place in devotion, 120, 125, 141, 231
- psalter, 18–19, 43–44, 89
- public sphere, 156, 472n77
- Pulsifer, Jenny Hale, 334
- Puritanism, definition of, 1–2, 7–9, 52–53, 174; as culture, 180, 185; contested, in scholarship, 7–10, origins of movement, 45–63; Scottish version, 80, 393n6. *See also* anti-Puritanism, Dutch Puritanism
- purity, 6, 216–17, 222–24, 226–27, 232–33, 238, 240, 246, 278, 284–85, 298, 334
- Pym, John, 183, 214–15, 220, 241, 255–58
- Pynchon, William 318, 339
- Quakerism: 279–81, 286–87, 298
- Quakers, 316; “invasion” of New England, 338; not part of Puritanism, 473n90
- Racovian Catechism*, 305
- Radical Reformation, 16
- Rainolds, John, 175
- Ramus, Peter, 114, 302

- Ramism, 409n26, 422n104  
rational, humankind as, 113, 115, 312;  
485n68  
rationalism, 346  
reading, 17–18; and decline, 149  
reason, as means of knowing, 305, 408n23  
recusancy (Catholic), 44, 47–49, 64–65,  
106, 176, 214, 258–59  
Reeve, Edmund, 212  
Reformation, memory of, 351  
reformation of manners, 9, 28, 24–26,  
145–71; coercive or voluntary, 160,  
171; debated, 426n7; legacy of Puri-  
tan movement, 343–45; Puritan ver-  
sion of, 157–71; spasmodic, 157; theo-  
logical basis of, in practical divinity,  
165–66, town-based versions of,  
163–66  
Reformed international, 1, 6, 17, 34, 35,  
29–30, 52, 63, 65–66, 70, 80, 173, 180–  
82, 185, 212, 264, 268, 296; English  
ties to, 17–18, 40, 45, 52, 53; Scottish  
ties to, 17–18, 80  
Reformed orthodoxy, 179–80, 182, 190,  
192, 205, 209–10, 213–14, 241, 281,  
343, 346  
*Reformed Pastor* (Baxter), 317  
Reformed tradition, 1, 6, 10–11, 16–17, 20–  
28, 65, 79, 211, 228, 234, 262, 267, 272,  
283, 296, 298–99. *See also* Reformed  
international, Reformed orthodoxy  
regents, in Scotland, 94, 97–98, 100  
regicide, 348  
regulative principle, 16, 54, 70, 73, 90, 104,  
186, 198  
Rehoboth (Plymouth colony), 300  
relations (“confessions”) and church  
membership, 323–34, 324, 326  
*Religion of Protestants* (Chillingworth),  
306, 313  
repentance, 109, 116, 117, 121, 131, 141, 159,  
161, 174, 300, 303, 307–310, as “evan-  
gelical,” 310, insisted on, in New En-  
gland, 322, 323, 325; in Savoy, 313, in  
Westminster Confession, 310–12  
reprobation, 111  
republicanism, 9, 36–37, 57–58, 103, 106,  
350  
restoration of monarchy, 295, 342, 344  
Restoration Parliament, 287  
Revelation (book of), commentary on,  
156, 370n43  
Revisionism (historiography of English  
politics), 492n26  
Reyner, John, 187  
Rhode Island, 221, 227, 237, 266, 280,  
327, 329  
Rich, Robert (2nd Baron Rich), 64  
Rich, Robert (3rd Baron Rich, Earl of  
Warwick), 220  
Ridge, John, 179  
righteousness, 112, 115, 120, 132, 133, 301,  
157, 304, 315, 323  
*Rise, Growth, and Danger of Socinian-  
ism* (Cheynell), 305  
Robinson, John, 198–200, 202–3, 282,  
284–85, 299, 340, 343, 351, 436n1  
Rogers, Ezekiel, 122, 239  
Rogers, John (martyr), 36, 379n35  
Rogers, John (of Dedham), 130, 285, 303  
Rogers, John (of Dublin), 285, 315–317  
Rogers, Richard, 110, 113, 114, 117, 120, 121,  
127, 128, 141, 314, 183, 384n67  
Rogers, Samuel, 125  
Rollock, Robert, 88, 93, 103, 110, 121, 125,  
404n9  
Rosendale, Timothy 152  
Roths, John, 244  
Rotterdam, 200, 204, 282; English church  
in, 204, 229, 282  
Rough, John, 70  
Rous, Francis, 215, 250, 260  
Row, John, 187, 194, 195  
Roxbury, 234, 237; church membership  
in, 324; Native Americans as mem-  
bers, 335  
royal supremacy, 2, 8, 43, 48, 49–50, 53,  
56, 57, 61, 63, 67–68, 71, 74, 98–99,  
173, 175, 177, 184, 193, 205, 206, 207,  
212, 224, 229, 240, 245, 255, 260,  
287–88, 298; oath endorsing, 192,  
201, 242, 380n33, 382n54, 384n61,  
384n67, 388n90. *See also* two-  
kingdoms theory  
Rump (Parliament), 259, 286, 335  
Russell, Conrad, 492n26  
Rutherford, Samuel, 119, 121, 243, 246,  
267–68, 292, 298, 302, 316, 328,  
449n1; and assurance, 133, 302, 307–8,  
316; attitude toward Long Parliament,



- 476n115; citing church fathers, 408n21; conditions of covenant, 481n23; sense of the times, 463n5  
Ruthven raid, 98–100
- sabbatarianism, 9, 10, 344–45  
Sabbath, 117, 158, 166, 318, 344–45, 426n7  
Sabbath-breaking 148, 154  
sacraments, 6–7, 23, 53, 66, 68. *See also*  
baptism, Lord's Supper  
sacraments, protecting, 23, 110, 122, 123, 163, 469n58; limited to visible saints, 331; significance of, as means of grace 123, 310; 369n32; of 1616, 105  
saints' days, 45, 53, 115  
Saints Everlasting Rest (Baxter), 313, 314  
Salem (Massachusetts), 225–27, 229, 235, 238, 240, 319, 330, 351–52  
Saltmarsh, John, 273, 304, 306–7, 323, 326, 337; attacked by Gataker, 309; personal history of, 307–8  
Saltonstall, Richard, 337  
Sampson, Thomas, 40–41, 44, 46–47, 50, 59, 67, 69, 79–80, 110, 161, 217, 222, 379n27  
sanctification, 24, 116, 132, 159, 165, 369n33; as evidence of justification 308, 321–22, 485n67, 485n68; as source of assurance, 304  
sanctified society, 24, 65, 110, 158–59  
Sanderson, Robert, 188, 218, 275  
Satan. *See* Devil  
Saugus (Massachusetts), 329  
Savonarola, Girolamo, 146  
Savoy Conference, 287  
Savoy Declaration, 287, 312–13  
Saybrook Company: 221  
*Scarlet Letter*, 7, 343, 352  
Schilling, Heinz, 155, 383n58  
schism, 75  
Schwanda, Tom, 11  
science and Puritanism (Merton thesis), 343  
Scituate (Plymouth colony), 202  
Scotland (geography), 87  
Scots Confession: of 1560, 107, 111, 126, 369n32; of 1616, 105  
Scott, Thomas, 181, 196, 442n29  
Scott, Walter, 343, 348  
Scottish revolution, collapse of, 476n112  
Scripture, authority of, 111; hermeneutics of 135–36, 422nn102–4  
scrupulosity, 110, 130  
Second causes, 115, 310  
Second Helvetic Confession, 114  
sectaries, 74, 255, 266, 274–81, 293, 302, 304, 318, 330, 472n80, 475n106  
sedition, 46, 57, 63, 68, 74, 93, 99, 102–3, 140, 150, 162, 176, 182, 184, 186, 199, 210, 212, 219, 237, 242, 378n25, 382n54  
Selden, John, 271, 469n59  
self-discipline, 344. *See also* watchfulness  
self-examination, 112, 123, 122–25, 167, 308, 316, 415n55  
sentimentalism, 346  
Separatism, 4, 8, 17, 69–75, 76, 80, 104, 107, 174, 177, 183, 184–86, 188–89, 196–99, 200, 201, 203, 240, 266, 455n38; definitions of, 389nn10, 14; colonists as embracing, 456n49–50, 457n53–54  
sermon notes, 123, 125  
sermons, fast-day, 344  
*Seven Treatises* (Rogers), 113, 114, 122, 183, 411n33  
sex, illicit, 148; premarital 155, 163, 431n38, 427n8  
sex, regulation of, 345  
shaming, as ritual process, 169  
Shepard, Joanna 141  
Shepard, Thomas, 120, 122, 233–35, 239, 273, 300, 308, 347, 353–54; during Antinomian controversy 318–27, ministry of, in Cambridge, 323–27; personal struggles, 323–25; spirituality of, 326–27; vision of pure church, 233  
*Short Catechism* (Ball), 302  
Short Parliament, 211, 213, 255, 260  
*Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine*, 304, 308, 318, 328  
Shropshire, 180  
Shuger, Debora, 31  
Sidney Sussex College, 182, 183, 184  
Sibbes, Richard, 120, 130, 133, 179, 182, 279, 306, 419n84  
sign of cross in baptism, 45, 49, 78, 91, 125; rejected, 125, 172, 175, 186–87, 190, 213, 284  
Sill, John, 222

- Simons, Meno, 197  
*Sincere Convert* (Shepard), 308, 333  
singing of Psalms, 91, 125, 127  
*Sixteene Questions*, 319, 321, 322  
Skelton, Samuel, 225, 238  
slavery, 354  
Smectymnuus, 261–62  
Smith, Henry, 110, 121  
Smith, Henry (Wethersfield), 333  
Smith, John, 220  
Smithfield (London), 70  
Smythe, John, 198, 280, 343, 447n79  
social discipline, Puritanism as an instrument of, 432n45; situation of, during civil war and Protectorate; 470n67. *See also* churches as disciplining, reformation of manners, sanctified society  
social status, and receptivity to Reformation, 32–35, 86  
societies for the reformation of manners, 344  
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, 335–36  
Socinianism, 6, 301, 303, 304, 305, 313, 346  
Socinius. *See* Fausto Sozzini, 305  
*sola scriptura*, 56, 67  
Solemn League and Covenant, 224, 258–59, 268–69, 289–94, 299, 327, 335, 339; drafting of, 468n47  
Somers Island Company, 220  
Somerset, Duke of, 41  
*Sound Believer* (Shepard) 323  
Sovereignty of God, affirmed in Westminster Confession, 310–11; applied via means, 311, 313, 412n39  
Spain, 18, 29, 43, 64, 65, 100, 145  
Spanish Armada, 101, 146, 181  
Spanish Match, 179, 181, 196, 205, 213  
Sparks, Michael, 180, 438n8  
*Sparkles of Joy* (Saltmarsh), 306  
Sparrowhawk, Nathaniel, 222  
Spirit (Holy), witness of, 316, 317, 325. *See also* Holy Spirit  
Spirit, seal of, 315, 320, 322–23, 325  
Spottiswood, John, 88–89  
Spottiswood, John (d. 1639), 192, 194, 196  
Spring, John, 198  
Springfield (Massachusetts), 318  
Sprunger, Keith, 200  
St. Andrews, 79, 81, 89, 99, 100, 102, 103  
St. Andrews, University of, 93, 96, 99  
St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, 37  
St. Giles, Edinburgh, riot in, 220, 242  
stages of redemption, 115, 314. *See also* golden chain  
Stam, Jan, 197  
Stamford (Lincolnshire), 138  
Standish, Miles, 203  
Star Chamber, 219, 256, 275–76  
state church, 2, 8, 46, 67, 69, 72, 83, 93–95  
Stationers Company, 276  
Stedman, Alice, 300, 301, 326  
Sternhold, Thomas, 43, 151  
Stewart, Esme (1st Duke of Lennox), 98  
Stewart, James (1st Earl of Moray), 94, 98, 100–101  
Stewart, Laura, 244  
Stewarton, Scotland, 141  
Stirling, 99  
Stockwood, John, 378n26  
Stoever, W. G. B., 11  
stool of repentance, 169, 317  
Stoughton, Thomas 318  
Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 347  
stranger churches, 17, 51  
Strasbourg, 17, 21, 25, 31, 433n58  
Stuart, Henry (Lord Darnley), 84  
Stuart, James (Earl of Arran), 86  
Stubbe, Anne, 75  
Stubbe, John, 75  
Stubbes, Philip, 147:153, 427n9  
suffering. *See* affliction  
Suffolk (England), 73, 264  
Sugar Islands, 329  
*Summe of Certain Sermons* (Mather), 323  
*Summe of Christian Divinity* (Downname), 127  
Sunday Sabbath, 163, 426n7, 452n12  
Sunday schools, 345  
superintendent, 88, 93, 94, 398n45  
supremacy. *See* royal supremacy  
surplice, 40, 43, 45, 49–50, 65, 71, 80, 92, 172–73, 177–78, 184–85, 187, 190, 195. *See also* vestarian controversy  
*Survay of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, 62  
Sussex (England), 139  
Switzerland, 16  
Symonds, Samuel, 339

- sympathy, 125, 159–60, 167, 232. *See also*  
love of brethren
- Synod of Dordt, 111, 182, 213, 281
- synods, in New England: in 1637, 304,  
321–22; in 1646–48, 330–33; in 1662,  
334
- synods (provincial), 96, 98, 99, 100, 101
- Tavistock, 283
- Taylor, John, 275
- Taylor, Nathaniel William, 346
- tears (weeping), 121
- Tears of Repentance* 335
- temperance, 344–45
- Temple, William, 178
- Ten Commandments, 20, 24, 32, 44, 116,  
153; Second Commandment, 49
- Ten Vows (Dorchester, England), 164–65
- Terling (Essex), 223
- terror, preaching and, 129–30, 309,  
418n81
- Thacher, Thomas, 338
- Theater, and decline, 149
- Theatre of Divine Judgments* (Beard), 145,  
156
- theft, punishment for, 236, restitution  
for, 161
- theology, as practical, 109, 380n36, 451n8
- Theses Sabbaticae* (Shepard), 323
- things indifferent, principle of, 8, 176, 185,  
195, 208, 222, 254, 380n36, 381n44.  
*See also* adiaphora
- Thirty Years' War, 29, 177, 146, 164, 204,  
207, 216–217, 246; Battle of White  
Mountain, 181
- Thirty-Nine Articles, 45, 48–49, 75, 111,  
177, 180, 189, 208–9, 214, 267, 269,  
309, 313, 384n67
- Thomas à Kempis, 114
- Throckmorton, Job, 51, 62, 64, 75–76, 136,  
157, 176, 344
- Tipson, Baird, 11
- tithes, 201, 225, 231, 286
- Todd, Margo, 12
- toleration, 281, 299; as advocated by sec-  
ulars, 276–77; Baptists and, 287; In-  
dependents and, 285, 475n106; in New  
England, 336–38, 343, 489n109
- Tombs, John, 280
- Towne, Robert, 304, 480n12
- Trapnel, Anna, 314–15, 316, 317
- Travers, Walter, 47, 52, 56, 58, 59, 61, 66,  
67, 95–96, 178, 184, 187, 196–98, 200,  
202, 229, 296, 467n42
- Treatise of Faith* (Culverwell), 131
- Trelawny, Edward, 222
- Trial and Triumph of Faith* (Rutherford),  
308
- Triennial Act, 256
- Trinity, 9, 301. *See also* Socinianism
- Trinity College, Cambridge, 178
- Troubles at Frankfurt*, 67, 465n24
- True Christian Love* (Dickson), 141
- true church, 19, 23, 26–27, 48, 53–54, 69,  
71–72, 80, 91, 106–7
- Turner, Jane, 314–15 spiritual history of;  
317
- Twelve Arguments . . . Wherein the Deity*  
(Biddle), 305
- Twisse, William, 143, 303, 310, 455n34
- two-kingdoms theory, 25, 30, 39, 53, 56–  
57, 72, 84, 93, 97, 101–3, 169, 176, 195,  
201, 331, 382n49; in New England,  
227–29
- Tyndale, William, 15, 135, 149
- typology, biblical, 113
- tyranny, 22, 23, 66, 67, 96, 99, 106, 156,  
230, 342
- Udall, John, 61, 64, 297, 389n100,  
390n107
- Ulster, 178, 206, 208; Scots settling, 178
- Uncas, 335
- uniformity (religious), 8, 31, 49, 51, 60, 70,  
173, 208–9, 212, 241
- Unitarians, and memory, 350–53
- unity, and decline, 150, 164; as value,  
429n19
- Upham, Charles, 352
- Ursinus, Zacharius, 114
- Ussher, James 119, 145, 179–80, 189, 209,  
261, 267, 313, 370n43, 426n129,  
440n21, 441n26 (on Catholicism),  
442n25, 479n10
- Van Engen, Abram, 322
- Vane, Henry Jr., 261; as mystical theolo-  
gian, 480n15; contributions to Solemn  
League and Covenant, 468n6
- Vere, Mary, 339

- Vermigli, Peter Martyr, 17, 365n9  
vestarian controversy, 49–51, 52, 67, 70–71, 92  
vestments, 44–45, 49, 71, 80, 92  
Vicars, John, 138–39  
Virginia, 202, 203, 220–21, 327, 334  
Virginia Company of London, 203, 220  
visible saint, definition of, 324  
visitations, episcopal, 126, 152, 157, 198, 210, 382n54, 452n13  
vocation, 116, 323. *See also* golden chain  
voluntary religion, 139; 274; not in Scotland, 87. *See also* church as voluntary
- Waldegrave, Robert, 62  
Wales, 32, 283–84  
Walker, Williston, 351, 353  
Wallace, Adam, 394n11  
Wallington, Nehemiah 125–26, 129, 183, 219–20, 252–54, 432n45, 433n49  
Walpole, Robert, 344  
Walsham, Alexandra, 160  
Walzer, Michael, 343, 490n2  
Ward, John, 200  
Ward, Samuel, 179, 182, 184, 213  
Ward, Samuel (Ipswich), 159, 162  
Washington, George, 350  
watchfulness, 119, 121, 165–66, 308, 331, 347  
watchmen, ministers as, 145, 146  
Watertown (Massachusetts), 226  
weak faith, 127–28, 130, 131, 227, 322, 323, 332, 486n91  
Weber, Max, 126  
Weber thesis, 158, 490n2  
Webster, Daniel, 343, 350  
Wedderburn, James, 241  
weddings, 92  
Weld, Thomas, 223, 273, 318, 320  
Wentworth, Thomas, 209, 250, 252–53, 256  
Wesley, John, 347  
Western design (Cromwell's), 328  
Westminster Assembly, 12, 224, 255, 267–73, 282, 289, 291–93, 296, 305; goals of, 309  
Westminster Confession of Faith, 5, 115, 267, 271, 287, 302, 309–16, 346; endorsed, 327; making of, 481n27  
Westminster Hall, 253, 298  
Weston, William, 421n96  
Wethersfield (Connecticut), 235, 333  
Wethersfield (Essex), 125  
Wheelwright, John, 218, 236–37, 320, 459n80; fast-day sermon, 320, 340  
Whigs, 343, 349  
White, John (minister), 164–65, 218, 225, 456n49; and *Planters Plea*, 218, 225  
Whitgift, John, 52–54, 56–57, 60–61, 63, 66, 67, 69, 76, 100, 111, 114, 142, 177, 229, 382n53, 384n67, 421n99  
Whitaker, William, 142  
Whittingham, William, 47  
*Whole Booke of Psalmes*, 18–19, 43  
Wigglesworth, Michael, 340  
Wight, Sarah, 307  
Wilcox, Thomas, 51, 53, 299  
William III (of Orange), 342  
Williams, John, 189, 212, 261  
Williams, Roger, 138, 221, 226–27, 236–40, 265–66, 273, 278, 280, 285, 318, 331, 336, 343, 352; expelled, 457n51, 473n93  
Williamson, Arthur, 12  
Willock, John, 394n11  
Wilson, John, 227, 236  
Wilson, Thomas, 266  
Windsor (Connecticut), 233, 235, 318  
Wine islands, 329  
Winslow, Edward, 328  
Winthrop, John, 10, 117, 120, 126, 153, 221–22, 225–27, 229, 232, 234–35, 238–39, 298, 347, 354; spiritual history of, 314, 425n125, 432n42, 487n93  
Winthrop, John Jr., 206, 449n1  
Winthrop, Margaret, 122  
Wishart, George, 78, 81  
witch-hunting, 38, 157, 352; and moral panics, 432n42; in New England, 489n111  
witch, figure of, 149  
witchcraft, 128, 168–69, 352  
witness of the Spirit, 308; and assurance, 318–20, 322, 483n52  
Woburn (Massachusetts), 232, 486n81  
women, 34; Baptist, 471n74; and church membership, 332, 334; role in private baptism, role of, 126; prophesying, 278–79; as sectaries, 284, 472n84; as source of decline, 149, 150, 160; as

- spiritual teachers, 127, 417n74, 470n66, 472n84; and witch-hunting, 489n111
- wonders, 115, 117, 141, 145, 147, 157, 164, 346, 470n66. *See also* providence
- Woodford, Robert, 127, 183, 218
- Worcester, battle of, 295
- Worcestershire, 274
- Word, 14, 21, 133–35; as transformative, 165, 310. *See also* witness of the Spirit
- work ethic, Protestant, 343
- works, opposed to free grace, 310, 312, 321–22, 420nn89–90, 420n92; as sign of being elected, 311–12, 321–22, 420nn89–90, 420n92. *See also* legalism, sanctification
- worship, 2, 3, 19, 21, 41, 43, 53 68, 71, 90–92; defined by Westminster Assembly, 269–70; issue in Elizabethan England, 381n43; issue in Scotland, 187, 193–94; in New England, 229–31; Separatist-style, 284. *See also* Articles of Perth, Laudians
- Wotton, Anthony, 484n53
- Wren, Matthew, 207, 210–11, 452n13
- Yorkshire, 44, 177, 182
- Yule, George, 276
- Zanchi, Girolamo, 114
- Zurich, 17, 93
- Zwingli, Ulrich, 14