

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION		1
CHAPTER 1	From Protestant to Reformed	14
CHAPTER 2	A Movement Emerges	40
CHAPTER 3	Reformation in Scotland	78
CHAPTER 4	The Practical Divinity	109
CHAPTER 5	A Reformation of Manners	144
CHAPTER 6	Royal Policies, Local Alternatives	172
CHAPTER 7	A New Sion? Reform, Rebellion, and Colonization c. 1625–1640	206
CHAPTER 8	The End of the Beginning, 1640–1660	252
CHAPTER 9	Change and Continuity	300
EPILOGUE	Legacies	342

Acknowledgments · 355

Notes · 357

Index · 495

Introduction

WHEN CHRISTENDOM IN THE WEST was swept by currents of renewal and reform in the sixteenth century, the outcome was schism. A single catholic church gave way to a world divided between Catholics and Protestants and, among Protestants themselves, to several versions of true religion. This book is about one of those versions as it unfolded in early modern Scotland and England and, many years later, was transplanted to New England—the Protestantism that, in its British context, acquired the nickname of “puritanism.”

Nicknames usually contain an ounce of truth alongside much that is distorted or downright untrue. William Bradford, who became one of the founders of new-world Plymouth, disliked this particular nickname because it implied that such people were reenacting the mistakes of an early Christian sect, the Novatians, who referred to themselves as the Cathari, the “pure,” hence “puritans.”¹ Not this genealogy but another he would have acknowledged lies at the heart of the Puritanism I am describing, the British version of international Calvinism or, as I prefer to say, the Reformed tradition or Reformed international. On the Continent, the Reformed competed in the mid-sixteenth century with Lutherans and the Anabaptists for the allegiance of the people who abandoned Catholicism and became Protestants. The advocates of Reformed-style Protestantism in England were also competing with a fourth possibility that eventually became known as Anglicanism. For much of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-centuries, the line between this version of Protestantism and what Puritans preferred was uncertain, for they agreed on some aspects of theology and practice. In Scotland, the party aligned with Reformed principles came much closer to succeeding, able to dominate when it came to doctrine and worship until the early decades of the seventeenth century, when its policies were disrupted by an unfriendly monarch. My answer to the question “What was Puritanism?” is to emphasize everything the movement inherited from the Reformed and how this inheritance was

reshaped in Britain and again in early New England—as it were, the Reformed tradition with a Scottish, English, or colonial accent.

To its parent, the Puritan movement owed the ambition to become the state-endorsed version of Christianity in England and Scotland. Theological principle lay at the heart of this ambition. On both sides of the Protestant-Catholic divide, theologians and civic leaders agreed that true religion could be readily defined. All others were false—entirely false or perhaps only in part. Either way, defending true religion against its enemies was crucial. Were error to overtake truth, vast numbers of people would never receive or understand the gospel promise of unmerited grace.² Almost as crucial was a second principle, that God empowered godly kings or, as was also said, the “Christian prince,” to use the powers of the civil state in behalf of true religion. In early modern Britain and subsequently in early New England, Puritans took both of these assumptions for granted. A third principle concerned the nature of the church. Its role on earth was as a means of grace for all of humankind, a role complicated by the doctrine that only the faithful few would eventually be included within the gospel promise of salvation. Whether (and how) the faithful few should be set apart from hypocrites or the “unworthy” was a question that eventually differentiated some versions of Puritan practice from others.

Because the Puritan movement took a strong stand on the Bible as “law” and insisted that the state churches in England and Scotland eliminate all aspects of Catholicism, it became intensely controversial. Although opposed by many, it enjoyed surprising success in mid-sixteenth-century Scotland. In the 1550s, the government in that country was led by a Catholic queen serving in the place of her daughter, Mary Stuart, who returned from France in 1561 and began to rule in her own right. For reform to succeed, she would have to be circumvented or, as finally happened, defeated in civil war. Thereafter, the reformers were able to enact most of their agenda. Elizabeth I, who became monarch of England in 1558, was a Protestant. But she disliked the reformers who clamored for a “thorough reformation” and thwarted them at every turn. Nonetheless, these people learned how to work around her, aided in doing so by high-placed officials in the government, some of the bishops in the state church and, depending on the issue, members of Parliament. Thanks to these circumstances, the Puritan movement began to thrive—paradoxically, as much within the state church as on its margins.

In the early chapters, I describe the substance of a “thorough” or, to quote John Knox, a “perfect reformation” and the politics that arose in the wake of this concept. Worship had a singular importance in this politics, the source of crisis after crisis in early modern Britain. Important, too, was the nature of the visible church as a community headed, in principle, by Christ as king. The implications of this argument were resisted by monarchs who insisted on what became known as the royal supremacy. By the middle of the seventeenth cen-

tury as well as earlier, British and colonial Puritans were also disputing how best to describe the relationship between unmerited grace and the “duties” or activity of the redeemed, a quarrel often focused on how to achieve assurance of salvation. As this brief summary suggests, I do my best throughout this book to associate the Puritan movement with theological principles and biblical precepts. Always, however, I situate these commitments in an ongoing politics shaped by social, cultural, and economic circumstances, and especially by the interests of the civil state.

Chronology and comparison drive the structure of *The Puritans*, with two exceptions. The story begins (chap. 1) with an overview of the Reformed (or “Calvinist”) tradition and how it was conveyed to British Protestants through books such as John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments (1563 in English)* and firsthand encounters with Reformed practice that happened in the 1550s during the reign of Mary Tudor (1553–58), when English and Scottish ministers—the “Marian exiles”—fled to the Continent. As Foxe and the martyrs whose faith he was documenting repeatedly declared, Catholicism was wrong because it was based on “human inventions” whereas their version of Christianity was restoring the “primitive” (in the sense of first or earliest) perfection of the apostolic church. In the opening chapter, I also outline how the Reformation in Scotland differed from the Reformation in England, differences cited some eighty-five years later by Charles I when he was being pressured to endorse Scottish-style Presbyterianism (see chap. 8).

How the politics of religion unfolded after 1560 is traced in the chapters that follow (2 and 3), which carry the story of reformation in England and Scotland from circa 1555 to the beginning of the seventeenth century. Then come two chapters that are topical, not chronological, the first (chap. 4) on the “practical divinity,” or how Puritan ministers and laypeople understood the workings of redemption and developed a dense system of “means,” followed by another (chap. 5) situating the Puritan version of a “reformation of manners” or moral reform within a larger anxiety about “decline.” Chronology returns in chapter 6, which covers the early decades of the seventeenth century, when James VI of Scotland became James I of England and controversy about worship and the structure of the state church erupted anew in Scotland. As well, chapter 6 covers “Dutch Puritanism,” a convenient shorthand for the more radical or safety-seeking laypeople and ministers who went to the Netherlands as early as the 1580s. The final three chapters deal with the run-up to the civil war that broke out in 1642 and its political and theological dimensions (chaps. 7, 8, and 9). In chapter 7, the colonists who founded Massachusetts and other New England colonies finally appear and return in chapter 9, which covers their story after 1640. An epilogue traces the workings of “memory” on both sides of the Atlantic: Puritans not in their own voice but as represented by nineteenth- and twentieth-century novelists, denominational historians, cultural critics, and the like.

To narrate the history of Puritan-style reformation in England and Scotland is not unusual, but treating them side by side as companions who share the same project is less common. From the beginning, the two were entangled, Scottish and English exiles mingling in Geneva, Frankfurt, and elsewhere during the period when England was ruled by Mary Tudor or in pre-1553 England, where John Knox lived at a moment when Protestants in his Scottish homeland could not worship publicly. The partisans of a perfect reformation in England admired what Knox and his heirs accomplished, for the Scottish reformers avoided most of the compromises that dogged the “Elizabethan Settlement” (see chapter 2). It was a different matter when James VI of Scotland became James I of England in 1603, for he brought with him a deep-seated hostility to Scottish “puritans” and set about remodeling the Scottish kirk, a project that blew up in the face of his son and successor, Charles I. With tensions building in the 1620s and 1630s, the narrative in chapter 7 concludes with an extraordinary moment in Scottish religious and political history, the insurgency of 1637–38 that led to the “National Covenant” of 1638 and the return of presbyterian governance for the state church. The implications for England were immense, for the Scottish “revolution” provoked two brief episodes of civil war with the government of Charles I. When his army was defeated, the king had to summon a new Parliament, which began to chip away at royal authority and revamp or curtail aspects of worship, doctrine, and structure within the Church of England. Because Charles I regarded royal authority and an episcopal church structure as two sides of the same coin, space for compromise was scant. The outcome was civil war in England between Royalists and Parliamentarians—a British war once the Scottish government decided to support the English Parliament against the king.

Treating the two reformations side by side sharpens our understanding of the politics that united the advocates of reform in England with their counterparts in Scotland or, as also happened, pulled them apart. Each side endorsed a Reformed-inflected theology of the church, or ecclesiology, but when the moment came (1643–46) to define an alternative to episcopacy, Scottish theologians were virtually unique in upholding a *jure divino* (mandated by divine law) system of church government alongside “magisterial” (state-sustained) Protestantism. As the Scottish historian Gordon Donaldson has pointed out, the reformers in his country never entertained the possibility of separating from an unlawful church, a possibility favored by small groups of Puritans in England early in the reign of Elizabeth I and acted on anew in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.³ Already, however, one wing of the Puritan movement in England was moving toward a more decentered, “local” siting of the church. By the early seventeenth century, a handful of ministers were beginning to imagine what such a church would look like. Their ideas played a part in the decision of the colonists who founded Massachusetts in the 1630s to adopt what became known as the “Congregational Way.” Soon, others

in England were following suit, a step that undermined any possibility of agreement on what should replace the bishop-centered structure of the Church of England. Of the several factors that led to the breakdown of the alliance formed in 1643 between Scotland and the English Parliament, this seems the least understood despite its significance to most British Protestants.

Different though they were in certain respects, each quest for true religion shared a commitment to “discipline” and a social agenda known as a reformation of manners (chap. 5). At a moment when Reformed theology was under attack from various directions, the leaders on each side endorsed a statement of doctrine known as the Westminster Confession (1647). This moment dominates chapter 9, in which I also revisit the “Antinomian controversy” in mid-1630s Massachusetts and describe alternatives to the orthodoxy spelled out in the Confession.⁴

My journey through early modern British and early American history has included the company of historians as interested as I am in doctrine, the practical divinity, the Reformed tradition, and the politics that culminated in civil war and the reign of Oliver Cromwell. Argument among these historians is endemic,⁵ argument that encompasses the meaning and significance of events, people, circumstances, and—topics of special pertinence to this book—the descriptive categories on which we depend.

Calvinism is one of these categories. Does it refer to John Calvin and his many publications or to a wider movement in which he was influential but not the final authority in every debate? If the term denotes a wider movement that extended into the seventeenth century and beyond, could it designate an alternative to Calvin—for example, a way of doing theology introduced by a second or third generation of Reformed theologians? That Calvinism in and of itself seems inadequate is suggested by adjectives such as “moderate,” “hyper,” “experimental,” “Dordtian,” and “English” that some historians have attached to it. The “practical divinity” I describe in chapter 4 (the term is not mine but dates from c. 1600), is a case in point, “Calvinist” from one vantage but something else from another.⁶ In much older scholarship, Calvinism is regarded as inferior to or somehow compromising the theology of John Calvin, a thesis summed up in the phrase, “Calvin versus Calvinism.” In this book, however, I temper this distinction after learning of its limitations from Richard A. Muller’s numerous articles and books. Muller has put his finger on another problem, the assertion by mid-nineteenth-century German historians that predestination was the “central idea” in Calvin’s theology. A misreading of both Calvin and Puritan theologizing, this argument has generated consequences that seem impossible to unwind, one of them the assertion that the doctrine was singular to Puritans and avoided by “Anglicans.” As I have learned from informal events where I am asked to describe Puritan theology, someone *always* asks about predestination, and in far too many monographs it turns up as the centerpiece of Puritanism.⁷

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.⁸ 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.”⁹ 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.¹⁰

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.¹¹ 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.¹² 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.”¹³

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 2.¹⁴

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.¹⁵ 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.”¹⁶ 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.¹⁷

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.”¹⁸

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.¹⁹ 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.²⁰

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.²¹ 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.²² 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.²³

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.²⁴

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.²⁵ 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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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 Baptists
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; advocated, 306-7; defined, 304; repudiated, 311-13; and Westminster Confession, 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
- Apologeticall 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, 365ⁿ¹⁰
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, 377ⁿ¹⁸–19, 436ⁿ³
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,
413ⁿ⁴³

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, 395ⁿ², 396ⁿ³⁴
generosity, 153
Geneva, 4, 17, 21, 31, 45, 47, 52, 59, 66, 71,
78–80, 84–85, 88, 91, 95, 98, 101, 114,
374ⁿ³
Geneva Bible, 14, 18, 27, 89, 112, 116, 126,
175, 253, 366ⁿ¹⁵, 384ⁿ⁶¹
Geneva Liturgy, 61, 71
gentry, 64; and English revolution, 464ⁿ¹¹
German Reformed, 119
Germany, 32, 37, 87
Gifford, George, 76, 110, 123
Gilby, Anthony, 47–48, 50, 59, 61, 380ⁿ³⁹,
382ⁿ⁵⁴
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, 463ⁿ⁴
Glorious Revolution, 295
godparents, 397ⁿ⁴²
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, 470ⁿ⁶⁶,
475ⁿ¹⁰⁶, 484ⁿ⁵³
Goodwin, Thomas, 253 272, 282, 319, 335,
337, 339, 403ⁿ⁷
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 Babes (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