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CHRIST AND ANTICHRIST:
A STUDY OF ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON AND THE ANTINOMIAN DEBATE IN 17TH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND

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ABSTRACT

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CHRIST AND ANTICHRIST: A STUDY OF ANNE MARBURY HUTCHINSON AND THE ANTINOMIAN DEBATE IN 17TH CENTURY NEW ENGLAND

Historians, with the exception of the testimony rendered by Mrs. Hutchinson at her civil and church trials, must depend primarily on the reports of her adversaries and former supporters. In general the result has been a cover-up--a distorted portrait of Mrs. Hutchinson and her role in the Antinomian controversy. Therefore my primary objective is to redress the balance--to offer a study that does justice to Mrs. Hutchinson and her role in the Antinomian debate.

Chapter one serves as an introduction to the debate, with emphasis on the primary doctrinal issues which engendered it. Calvin's interpretation of redemption and assurance, grace and works, serves as a standard to measure some of the differences and similarities between Preparationists, Orthodox and Radical Antinomians. Additional themes include a discussion of the spirit and objectives of the Great Migration.

Chapter two focuses in-depth on Mrs. Hutchinson and the dynamics of her spiritual evolution. Themes range from probing Anne's relationships with the primary male figures in her life to exploring the nature and significance of her impact on women.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

WORKS, GRACE AND MAN'S ESTATE

At the most primitive level the Antinomian debate was a struggle for power--a bitter confrontation between warring factions of the Puritan movement for spiritual and civil supremacy in Massachusetts. As the majority party, the Preparationists represented most of the ministers and settlers of the commonwealth. Among the Preparationists John Winthrop was the most prominent of the civil leaders. His efforts were complemented by spiritual leaders of such a caliber as Thomas Shepard, Peter Bulkeley, Hugh Peter, John Wilson, John Davenport, Richard Mather, Thomas Hooker and Thomas Welde. Anne Hutchinson, with the support of John Wheelwright and Sir Henry Vane led the Antinomians (a term conferred by their adversaries meaning opponents of the law). They included most members of the Boston church (many of whom were prominent merchants) with additional support drawn from such towns as Ipswich, Newbury, Roxbury, Charlestown and Salem.[1] John Cotton, torn between both factions,

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[1]Edward Johnson, Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England 1628-1651, ed. by J. F. Jameson (New York: Barnes & Nobel, Inc., 1967), p. 175.

but in closest harmony with orthodox Calvinism, lent his weight to the majority party in the final stages of the crisis. Thereafter the majority party claimed as their own the brilliant and controversial teacher of the Boston church.

The Antinomian debate brought to the surface a labyrinth of theological, political and social issues that were confusing to the participants and, which still remain difficult to decipher. According to Cotton Mather, privy to information since lost or suppressed, " . . . Tis believed, that Multitudes of Persons, who took in with both Parties, did never to their dying Hour understand what their Difference was." The roots of discord radiated from a theological base--the resolution of which had profound consequences for the development of New England in the seventeenth century.

> . . . in the heighth and heat of all the difference . . . there did arise in the Land a Distinction between such as were under a COVENANT OF WORKS, and such as were under a COVENANT OF GRACE: wherein the bigger Part of the Country in the management of that Enquiry, By what Evidence must a Man proceed in taking to himself the Comforts of his Justification? Laid upon our Sanctification the first and main Stress of our Comfortable Evidence. But the Opinionists were for another sort of Evidence as their Chief; namely, The Spirit of God by a powerful Application of a Promise, begetting in us, and revealing to us a powerful Assurance of our being Justified.[2]

To this point Mather suggesfs, with careful regard for the

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[2]Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana: or the Ecclesiastical History of New-England, from Its First Planting in the Year 1620 unto the Year of our LORD, 1698, (New York: Arno Press, 1972), Book VII, p. 14. Hereafter cited as Magnalia Christi Americana.

reputation of his grandfather John Cotton, it was possible to bridge the differences between the two parties. As one proceeds further it becomes apparent that the gap between them was present from the beginning of the Great Migration in 1630. Heirs of Calvin's theological system, reworked and modified by generations of continental and English divines, each faction was, " . . . always careful to insist that man by his natural will could not achieve salvation."[3]

> . . . we assert, that by an eternal and immutable counsel, God has once for all determined, both whom he would admit to salvation, and whom he would condem to destruction. We affirm that this counsel, as far as concerns the elect, is founded on his gratuitous mercy, totally irrespective of human merit; . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . By the appellation of the elect or chosen, he certainly designates believers, . . . By saying that they were elected before the creation of the world, he precludes every consideration of merit . . .
> . . . Wherever this decree of God reigns, there can be no consideration of any works . . . Who has called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Jesus Christ, before the world began.[4]

As progenitors of the human race, Adam and Eve were endowed by the creator with free will. But Adam's fall from grace brought on his posterity, " . . . an hereditary depravity and corruption of our nature, diffused through all parts

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[3]Norman Pettit, The Heart Prepared (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966), p. 128.

[4]John Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, trans. by John Allen, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: W. B. Eerdmans Pub. Company, 1949), II, pp. 181,184,185.

of the soul, rendering us obnoxious to the Divine wrath and producing in us the works which Scripture calls works of the Flesh." Deprived of free will, Adam's seed bore the burden of original sin--a flawed nature inclined to evil. ". . . death has therefore passed upon all men, for that all have sinned."[5] In consequence natural man is destitute of virtue--holiness being the fruit but not the cause of election.[6]

> . . . if the Lord should suffer the human passions to go to all the lengths to which they are inclined. There is no furious beast that would be agitated with such ungovernable rage; . . . In his elect, the Lord heals these maladies. . . . In others he restrains them, only to prevent their ebullitions so far as he sees to be necessary for preservation of the universe. Hence some by shame, and some by fear of the laws, are prevented from running into many kinds of pollutions, though they cannot in any great degree dissemble their impurity; others, because they think that a virtuous course of life is advantageous, entertain some languid desires after it, others . . . display more than common excellence, that by their majesty they may confine the vulgar to their duty. Thus God by his providence restrains the perverseness of our nature from breaking out into external acts, but does not purify it within.[7]

In Calvin's view of history the external signs by which man might derive some assurance of salvation may be no more than an illusion. Even unregenerate men who achieve eminence in public or private life are nothing more than puppets in a divine plan.

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[5] Ibid., I, pp. 274-75.

[6] Ibid., II, pp. 184-85.

[7] Ibid., I, p. 316.

> . . . those virtues are not the common properties of nature, but the peculiar graces of God, which he dispenses in great variety, and in a certain degree to men that are otherwise profane . . . because God, consulting the benefit of mankind, frequently furnishes with an heroic nature those whom he destines to hold the reins of empire; and from this source have proceeded all the exploits of great heroes which are celebrated in history. The same judgement must be formed concerning those also who are in a private station . . . everyone who has risen to great eminence has been impelled by his ambition, which defiles all virtues, and deprives them of all excellence in the Divine view, whatever may be apparently laudable in ungodly men, ought not to be esteemed at all meritorious. Besides, the chief branch of rectitude is wanting, where there is no concern to display the glory of God: of this principle all are destitute whom he has not regenerated by his Spirit.[8]

Step by step Calvin builds a portrait of natural man's depravity and helplessness--a being whose will is so inclined to sin, " . . . that it cannot excite itself, much less devote itself to anything good; for such a disposition is the beginning of conversion to God, which in scripture is attributed solely to Divine grace." In plain terms, " . . . simply to will belongs to man; to will what is evil to corrupt nature; to will what is good to grace."[9] Calvin consistently emphasizes the fallibility of scantification as evidence of justification. It should be possible, he states, for the regenerate to discern the sheep from the goats, but only God knows who is predestined to election or damnation. In consequence, the word must be preached to all, none must be

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[8] Ibid., I, pp. 316-18.

[9] Ibid., I, p. 318.

excluded from the visible church if, " . . . by a confession of faith, an exemplary life, and a participation of the sacraments, profess the same God and Christ with ourselves." Therefore admission to church membership of necessity must be based on a charitable judgement rather than absolute assurance.[10] Calvin aimed for a purified church of visible saints, but in contrast to the exclusive tendency of both Preparationists and Antinomians he was wary of excessive elitism in church membership.

The Antinomain crisis was not a struggle for religious liberty or a more open church. On the contrary, both parties sought to determine with greater certainty the spiritual estate of church members. By 1640 candidates for full membership in the Congregational churches of Massachusetts were required to give evidence of vocation (effectual calling) and describe their struggles for grace.[11] Gradually a resistance developed to such strict measures, which led to the adaptation of the half-way covenant as the primary criterion for church membership. But for the first generation, caught up in the spiritual intensities and expectations of the 1630's, such a compromise was unthinkable. Thomas Shepard, second to Cotton as a theologian, enforced a strict policy for membership in the church. He placed an exacting emphasis on

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[10] Ibid., II, pp. 280-81.

[11] Pettit, The Heart Prepared, p. 84

preparation as an instrument for guarding and maintaining the purity of gathered churches. The judgement of charity that Calvin endorsed for church membership Shepard considered a dangerous principle, " . . . if those individuals to whose admission he demurred were really Christians, their rejection could not prejudice their final acceptance in Christ."[12] The Antinomian attack on the clergy as legal preachers that, " . . . did preach a covenant of works when others did preach a covenant of grace, and that they were not able ministers of the new testament, and . . . had not the seal of the spirit, . . . " reflects the same insatiable striving for purity in the church.[13] But equally important it establishes specific boundaries between the two parties.

The Antinomian debate raised numerous theological issues of greater or lesser importance--a synod of Massachusetts ministers held in August, 1637 condemned eighty-two errors. The two cited most frequently were, " . . . That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person . . . That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our

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[12] Ibid., p. 102.

[13] John Winthrop, A Short Story of the Rise, reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists & Libertines, in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638, ed. by David D. Hall (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1968), p. 326. Hereafter cited as A Short Story.

justification."[14] The second of these, up to Mrs. Hutchinson's civil trial in November, 1637 seemed to be the most prominent point of debate between the two parties. Underlying the intricate web of accusations and recriminations, of theological points spun to a fineness, the rank and file pressed for a resolution to the pivotal question from which all others flowed: how shall I discern my salvation? Hence the importance of the relationship between justification and sanctification and, incumbent to it, the problem of assurance.

Initially the Antinomian crusade against the Massachusetts clergy was well in tune with Calvin's position. Note John Cotton, claimed by Mrs. Hutchinson as her teacher, who on several occasions in debate with his brother ministers turned to Calvin for reinforcement on disputed points. Moving from this frame of reference, Anne based her interpretation of redemption on the differences between the old and new covenants. Adam's fall from grace negated the terms of God's original covenant with man. Under the terms of the new covenant established between God and Abraham, man's salvation depended on the free gift of God's grace and the gospels of Christ. Therefore man is a passive, not an active and co-operative partner in the process of conversion and redemption;

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[14] John Winthrop, The History of New England from 1630 to 1649, ed. by James Savage, (New York: Arno Press, 1972), I, p. 200. Hereafter cited as The History of New England.

he, " . . . has not the smallest particle in which he can glory, because all is in God."

> It is beyond all doubt . . . that the will of God . . . cannot possibly be resisted by the will of man, so as to prevent the execution of his purposes; since he controls the wills of men according to his pleasure . . . When he designs to bring men to himself, . . . He acts inwardly; he inwardly seizes their hearts; he inwardly moves their hearts, and draws them by their wills which he has wrought in them.[15]

God seizes man, bending and molding him to his will--providing the support necessary to persevere in his vocation. The final stage of the conversion process is completed when Christ efficaciously unites and seals man to himself by the secret testimony of the Holy Spirit.[16] The Antinomians emphasized that nothing prior to effectual conversion (immediate sealing to Christ by free grace and the efficacy of the Holy Spirit) serves as evidence of justification. Effectual conversion conformed to the unchanging terms and promises of the new covenant. To impute to it qualifications or conditional promises suggests a covenant of works, voided by Adam's fall, not a covenant of grace--freely bestowed but not earned or merited by man. The Antinomians rejected the interdependency of sanctification and justification as legalism--a covenant of works. Increasingly the Antinomians moved from

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[15]Calvin, Institutes of the Christian Religion, II, pp. 216,322,324,330.

[16]Ibid., I, pp. 587,589,590.

formalism to simplification--emphasizing a one-to-one relationship in the process of salvation.

> Here is a great stirre about graces and looking into hearts, but give me Christ, I seek not for graces, but for Christ, I seeke not for promises, but for Christ, I seeke not for sanctification, but for Christ, tell me not of meditation and duties, but tell me of Christ.[17]

John Wheelwright's, A Fast-Day Sermon sets forth an explicit catalogue of objections to the Preparationist position. Reputedly it stirred up contempt for authority and charged that the magistrates were, " . . . enemies of Christ, led by Satan, that old enemy of Free grace, and that it were better that a Milstone were hung about their necks, and they were drowned in the Sea than they should censure one of their judgement."[18] The text of Wheelwright's sermon is less incendiary than Winthrop's interpretation of it, but it was sufficiently audacious to seal his fate in Massachusetts. In March, 1637 he was charged and found guilty of sedition and contempt by the General Court and banished from the colony in the following November. The remonstrance prepared on Wheelwright's behalf and signed by some three score persons (many leading citizens of the colony) denied the charges of the General court. Taking a pacifist approach they affirmed Wheelwright's innocence. His doctrine, they said, had not

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[17]Winthrop, A Short Story, p. 246.

[18]Ibid., pp. 210-11.

encouraged sedition or violence and in keeping with it they had not tried to rescue him. " . . . as sometimes the Israelites did Johnathan, and yet they did not seditiously."

> The Covenant of free grace held forth by our brother hath taught us rather to become humble suppliants to your Worships, and if wee should not prevaile, wee would rather with patience give our cheekes to the smiters.[19]

Guilty or innocent Wheelwright's sermon provoked his opponents--a people whom he himself stated believed their mission to New England was to create, " . . . a new Heaven and a new Earth." To charges of sedition Wheelwright responded, " . . . if vehemencie of spirit and voice infer sedition it will be dangerous to have good lungs."[20] Certainly his opponents were stung by his bandying about of such terms as "Antichristian," "Paganish" and "the Antichrist"--those who would take away Christ and substitute a false Christ to confound the elect. The whore, Antichrist must, he said, be consumed by the fire of the gospel, " . . . the burning of the word of God accompanied by the Holy Spirit . . . the day shall come that shall burne like an oven and all that do wickedly shall be stubble . . . a terrible day to all those that do not obey the Gospell of Christ." Aiming more directly

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[19]John A. Albro, Life of Thomas Shepard (Boston, 1852-53), p. 21.

[20]John Wheelwright, Mercurius Americanus, or Mr. Welds his Antitype (London, 1645), p. 224. Hereafter cited as Mercurius Americanus.

he states:

> Bretheren, those under a covenant of works, (the) more holy they are, the greater enimyes they are to Christ, Paul acknowledgeth as much . . . he was zealous according to the law and the more he went in a legal way, the more he persecuted the wayes of grace . . . no matter how seemingly holy men be, according to the Law; if they do not know the works of grace and wayes of God, they are such as trust to their own righteousness, they shall dye sayth the Lord . . . men . . . such as these, have not the Lord Jesus Christ, therefore set upon such with the sword of the Spiritt, the word of God.[21]

Wheelwright's interpretation of legalism dovetails with Calvin's interpretation of it.

> . . . nothing is effected by the word, without the illumination of the Holy Spirit . . .
> . . . The word of God is like the sun shining on all to whom it is preached; but without any benefit to the blind. But in this respect we are all blind by nature; therefore it cannot penetrate into our minds, unless the internal teacher, the Spirit, make way for it by his illumination.[22]

But the spirit, if not the substance of Wheelwright's admonition, is too absolute--bereft of subtleties. Assessing its impact at the end of the century, Cotton Mather agreed with John Winthrop that it effectually succeeded in dividing the brethren into two ranks--those under a covenant of works or a covenant of grace. His presentation of grace versus works

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[21]John Wheelwright, "A Fast-Day Sermon," in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638, ed. by David D. Hall (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 163-65.

[22]Calvin, Institutes of The Christian Religion, I, pp. 636, 638.

appears to suggest that effectual conversion provides absolute assurance of election--verging on errors similar to those for which he castigated the opposition. Effectual conversion is the beginning of true conversion: natural man's transformation to a point at which he can fully benefit from free grace. But as Calvin had cautioned the minds of the regenerate, the pius children of God, are seldom at ease. They are never so assured of election that they cease to strive for grace, " . . . we are . . . still encompassed with numerous vices and great infirmity, as long as we are burdened with the body." "The saints must be vigilant, " . . . lest, without caution, we should be surprised and over-come by the snares of the flesh."[23]

The Antinomians were vulnerable--open to misinterpretations. Their vivid rhetoric evoked millennial themes that roused in the Preparationists the specter of civil and religious anarchism. Emphasis on free grace and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit to the exclusion of faith, repentance and duties as preconditions of effectual conversion opened the Antinomians to charges that they had placed themselves above the law. Winthrop's response is characteristic of the majority--i.e. such opinions inevitably result in moral degeneracy, " . . . a filthy life by degrees." It was he thought no marvel that so many liked so easy a path to heaven.

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[23] Ibid., p. 664.

> . . . if a man need not be troubled by the Law, before faith, but may step to Christ so easily; and then, if his faith be no going out of himselfe to take Christ . . . and is onely an act of the Spirit upon him, no act of his owne done by him . . . if he, for his part, must see nothing in himselfe, have nothing, doe nothing, onely he is to stand still and waite for Christ to do all for him . . . then if after faith, the Law no rule to walke by, no sorrow or repentence for sinne; he must not be pressed to duties, and need never pray, unlesse moved by the Spirit: And if he fals into sinne, he is never the more disliked of God, nor his condition never the worse. And for his assurance, it being him by the Spirit, he must never let goe; . . . though he fals into the grossest sinnes that he can.[24]

The Antinomian movement represented a broad spectrum of opinion--ranging from orthodox Calvinsim to the extreme left. But orthodox or extreme it collectively embodied principles that were out of tune with the middling approach endorsed by the establishment. According to their critics the Antinomians subordinated reason to spiritism; engendered passivity as opposed to activism and struggle; and encouraged forms of individualism resistant to legal or moral restraints. Theoretically such a position erodes the authority of church or ministry--posing a potential threat to civil and social order.

Alert to such allegations, Wheelwright took the occasion of his A Fast-Day Sermon to warn fellow dissidents that they must lead a holy life in public and private.

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[24]Winthrop, A Short Story, pp. 203-4.

> . . . let us not give occasion to those that are coming on, or manifestly opposit to the wayes of grace, to suspect the way of grace, let us cary our selves, that they may be ashamed to blame us, let us deale uprightly with those, with whom we have occasion to deale, and have a care to guide our familyes, and to performe duties that belong to us, and let us have a care that we give not occasion to others to say we are libertines or Antinomians, but Christians.[25]

Each party appealed their case to supporters in England; each sought to influence new settlers in the colony. The Preparationists backed rhetoric with self protective laws. In 1637 laws were passed, which prohibited newcomers from staying in the commonwealth for more than three weeks without consent of the magistrates. This same year a synod of ministers endorsed measures designed to limit dissident opinion. The freedom of church members to question ministers after sermons was curtailed. Church members who differed with their fellows on minor issues were nevertheless required to observe them--nor could they ask for dismissal to a more congenial congregation. Those who refused to be present for, " . . . censure of the church, might be proceeded against, though absent . . . " or even better, " . . . the magistrates' help were called for, to compel him to be present." Mrs. Hutchinson's dynamic impact on women was delt with by forbidding sizable meetings of women for religious purposes as, " . . . disorderly and without rule."[26]

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[25]Wheelwright, "A Fast-Day Sermon," pp. 168-69.

[26]Winthrop, The History of New England, I, pp. 224, 240.

The measures taken seem extreme in proportion to the proposed threat. As a coalition representing minority opinions the Antinomians were too small and disunified as a party to defeat the ruling majority--a party weighted by an alliance between the ministry and civil authorities. Yet the impact of the minority was sufficient to morally undermine and tarnish the success of the holy experiment. Thus the Antinomians were vilified and suppressed not merely for what they did do, but for what they might have done.

Genesis

John Winthrop's letter of May, 1629 vividly recreates the mood in which the holy experiment was conceived.

> . . . it is a great favour, that we may enioye so much comfort and peace in these so evill and declininge tymes and when the increasinge of our sinnes gives us to great cause to looke for some heavye Scquorge and Judgement to be comminge upon us . . . I am very perswaded, God will bringe wome heavye Affliction upon this lande, and that speedylye: . . . If the Lord seeth it wilbe good for us . . . if not, yet he will not forsake us; though He correct us with the roddes of men, . . .[27]

The first half of the seventeenth century in particular was a period of political and religious upheaval. English Protestants viewed with considerable distress the success of the Counter-Reformation on the Continent. The fall of La Rochelle

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[27] John Winthrop, Winthrop Papers, ed. by Stewart Mitchell, II (Plimpton Press, 1931), pp. 91-2.

effectively destroyed the bargainning powers of the Huguenots in France. In Germany the Thirty Year War (begun in 1618) brought considerable success to the Catholic faction. At home the efforts of the Stuarts to impose Arminianism on resistant factions of the Church of England hardly relieved the depressed mood of beleaguered Protestant reformism. This mood of gloom and anticipated disaster, however, fanned interest in Millenarianist themes--the destruction of society and the second coming of Christ. Themes that had been engendered by the tensions of the sixteenth century gained renewed strength. It has been advanced that Millenarianism was a pervasive influence, implicit in the thought of English Protestant reformists in the first half of the new century. Some were convinced that for the sake of the elect God was hastening the destruction of society for the speedy advent of the New Jerusalem. By 1618 these ideas were commonplace in England: Brightman's Apocalypsis Apocalypseos (1609) and Mede's, Clavis Apocalyptica (1627), the most popular works in this vein, strongly appealed to the educated classes. By 1649 at least eighty such tracts had appeared--many tailored to the popular taste.[28]

Millenarianism had an obvious appeal for a world in which dreams and potents, prophecy and witchcraft held and

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[28] H. R. Trevor-Roper, The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century: Religion, the Reformation and Social Change (New York: Harper & Row, Pub., 1968), pp. 48-49.
Guenter Lewy, Religion and Revolution (Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), pp. 130-31.

swayed the public mind. Steeped in Calvinism and scripture the Puritan movement in the broadest sense was responsive to Millenarianist imagery--the world as an absolute struggle between God and Satan. As the children of God, the saints supported by grace must struggle against the forces of Satan and suppress Antichrist. They were committed to a mission--to purify and perfect church and society. Neither wealth or worldly honors should intervene between the saint and his duty to glorify and obey God's commands.

> . . . where is now the glorye and greatnesse of the tymes passed? even yesterdaye? Queen Eliz(abeth) king James, etc. in their tyme . . . happy he who could gett their favour: now they are dust, and none desire their companye, neither have themselves one myte of all they possessed, . . . If we look at persons of Inferiour qualitye, how many have their been, who have adventured (if not sould) their souls, to rayse those houses, which are now possessed by strangers? if it be enough for our selves, that we have Food and rayment, why should we covet more for our posteritye?

Pondering the temporal quality of life Winthrop concluded that the man who clings too tenaciously to his life, " . . . shall loose it."[29] And the saints through laxness, disobedience and too little faith justly incurred the Lord's wrath, who as a sign of his displeasure brought them into the power of their enemies. But a select band of saints in covenant with God might find a sheltering place to do what England and Europe had failed to do--complete the Reformation.

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[29]Winthrop, Winthrop Papers, II, pp. 204-5.

Far from being a retreat, the Great Migration of 1630 launched an aggressive assult on the forces of Satan. The saints would build a new order, that as a model for the old world might save them from destruction. The location for the holy experiment was unimportant--few believed that their departure into the wilderness was more than a strategic but temporary separation from the mother country. God chastises his children but he would not long delay the triumph of the saints, or the punishment of the wicked.[30]

They had taken a path, warned Winthrop, that offered no easy way to heaven. To meet their objective much more would be required of them in the new world. The Lord chose the people of Israel as his special care so in a, " . . . bond of marriage, between him and us . . . he has taken us to be his after a most strickt and peculiar manner which will make him the more Jealous of our love and obedience."

> . . . wee must not content our selves with visuall ordinary means whatsoever wee did or ought to have done when wee lived in England, the same must wee doe and more allsoe where wee goe: That which the most in theire Churches mainetaine as a truthe in profession onely, wee must bring into familiar and constant practise, as in this duty of love wee must love brotherly without dissimulation, wee must love one another with a pure hearte fervently wee must beare one anothers burthens, wee must not look onely on our owne things, but allsoe on the things of our brethren, neither must we think that the

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[30]Perry Miller, Errand into the Wilderness (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belnap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1975), pp. 11-12.

> Lord will beare with such faileings at our hands as hee dothe from those among whome wee have lived.[31]

Drawing on Biblical authority and Medieval political thought, Winthrop's, "A Modell of Christian Charity", promulgates nothing less than a divine mandate. Set in a legalist context it sets forth the contractual terms binding man to God, the church, state and society. According to rank and place in society each aspect of the saint's life is regulated in a series of interlocking covenants. Knit together in loving charity it is the duty of men of birth and great estate to exercise mercy, gentleness and temperance toward their inferiors, who in turn are bound to exercise faith, patience and obedience to their superiors. This reciprocal alliance between saints of high and low degree serves to restrain the unregenerate from usurping power in church or state.

The Lord's continued support of the holy experiment depended on the obedience of regenerate and unregenerate to external observence of the national covenant set in, ". . . a due form of government both civill and eccleastical."[32] The powers of church and state were conceived as separate but compatible institutions.[33] Yet the magistrates, ". . . They that are called God, . . ." were charged to preserve both, ". . . the quiet and peaceable life of the subject, in matters

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[31]Winthrop, Winthrop Papers, II, pp. 293-94.

[32]Ibid., pp. 282, 283, 293.

[33]Winthrop, The History of New England, I, pp. 249-50.

of righteousness & honesty, but also in matters of godliness, yea of all godliness."

> . . . pernicious opinions, that destroy the foundation, open contempt for the word preached, prophanation of the Lords day, disturbing the peaceable administration & exercise of the worship & holy things of God, & the like, are to be restrayned, & punished by civil authority.
>
> If any church one or more shall grow schismaticall . . . the Magistrate is to put forth his coercive powr as the matter shall require.[34]

Regenerate and unregenerate were bound in obedience to English Common Law and a Biblical code of law and ethics, which had no legality except in the context of the church body. Thus in significant respects the powers of both institutions overlapped to protect a church of visible saints that excluded the unregenerate, and a civil government in which church membership was a primary requirement for the franchise.[35] Measures provided for on the premise that a state in direct covenant with God must see to it that its laws are shaped and implemented by, " . . . a monopoly of certified saints. who are enabled through grace not only to practice good laws but to enforce obedience upon the body politic."[36]

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[34]"The Cambridge Platform," in The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism, ed. by Williston Walker (Phila., Pa.: Pilgrim Press, 1969), pp. 236-37.

[35]George Haskins, "Reception of the Common Law in Seventeenth Century Massachusetts: A Case Study," in Law and Authority in Colonial America, ed. by George A. Billias (New York: Dover Pub., Inc., 1970), pp. 18-19.

[36]Perry Miller, "'Preparation for Salvation' in Seventeenth-Century New England," in Nature's Nation (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), p. 51.

The stability of this careful design depended on power remaining in the hands of a trusted elite--a body of saints. As it was conceived it was a shrewd measure, provided the saints continued to share the same vision. Ironically the Antinomian crisis was in essence a rebellion of saints, that is, an external expression of internal tensions and dissensions at the heart of New England Puritanism. Seeds of dissent that had been present from the beginning burst forth in a spiritual flowering which ultimately unfolded, " . . . in precisely the same pattern as that of Old England, even to the Quaker harvest of the 1650's and 1660's."[37] Winthrop's plea that Mrs. Hutchinson or Mr. Wheelwright were the root and cause of all the trouble rings hollow.[38] His writings mirror ideas, tendencies and influences in the Puritan movement that were open to broad and often conflicting interpretations. Certainly mysticism was quite as characteristic a feature of the Puritan mind as rationalism, legalism and biblicism. The confrontation between Prepratianists and Antinomians was not so simple a matter as rationalism versus irrationalism, but of form. Specifically it was an issue of spiritualism rigorously disciplined and internally confined,

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[37]James F. Maclear, "'The Heart of New England Rent': the Mystical Element in Early Puritan History," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLII, (1956), 621-23. Hereafter cited as "The Heart of New England Rent."

[38]Wheelwright, Mercurius Americanus, p. 219.

or freed from restraints to full and open expression in church and society--the latter course jeopardizing the stability of the grand design.

Point and Counterpoint

The Preparationist interpretation of man's role via the covenant of grace, the key concept and model for subsidiary covenants governing man's total relations with the world, rejected both Antinomian and Arminian positions. The former route described by Perry Miller as expecting, "God's grace to do all, . . ." and the latter as attributing, " . . . everything to our consent."[39] Drawing primarily on Sibbes, Ames, Perkins and Preston's The New Covenant or the Saints Portion, the Preparationists focused on developing a middle way: one that placed equal emphasis on man's nature as a civil, social and religious being--his role in this world and the next.[40] They offer a view of man that seems both realistic and optimistic; rejecting extremes which might encourage passivity, exhultation, despair, sloth, pride or permissive individualism for a theological synthesis which bound spiritualism to, " . . . moralism, activism and voluntaryism."[41] They simultaneously set standards higher and

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[39]Perry Miller, The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970), p. 389. Hereafter cited as The New England Mind.

[40]Ibid., p. 374.

[41]The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-38, ed. by David D. Hall (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press., 1968), p. 20.

lower than the alternatives, more optimistic and pessimistic; revealing, for example, in their opposition to effectual conversion an implicit cynicism--i.e. decreased faith in man's ability to profit from God's grace freed from legal restraints. This tendency which the Antinomians railed against, must they sensed, in time turn man from God to the world, to overconfidence in human reason, to a prideful heart and dependence on external evidence (wealth, position, a godly life) as signs of salvation.

The Preparationist system rested on a legalist interpretation of the covenant idea as a voluntary but binding contractual agreement between God and man. Adam's fall rendered man incapable of meeting the terms of the original agreement, crystallized in the covenant of works. Under the terms of the new covenant the creator offered man salvation if he would have faith, " . . . that Christ would come to be mediator for the covenant and compensate God for the failure of Adam." Since the coming of Christ man is only required, " . . . to believe that He has come and that He is the 'surety' for the new covenant." If man absolutely binds himself to the terms offered in the covenant of grace, God will provide the necessary assistance to keep faith. Therefore if man believes, " . . . he has fulfilled the compact; God then must redeem him and glorify him." In effect the covenant of grace is the only means by which man can obtain his salvation.[42]

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[42] Miller, Errand into the Wilderness, pp. 61-62.

The Preparationist definition of the new covenant offered an attractive alternative to the unmitigated determinism of orthodox Calvinism; softening the contours of predestination to provide man with an active role in the process of redemption; maintaining the absolute sovereignty of God but tailoring his image to meet man's needs. Thus, they offered a more predictable and understandable divinity, who in entering the covenant agreed to bind himself by the terms set. Man, if he kept to his part of the bargain, could remind God of his commitment to him, " . . . when thou art on a sure ground, take no denyall, though the Lord may defer long, yet he will do it, he cannot chuse; for it is a part of his Covenant."[43] It is a startling reversal from the traditional imagery of God, seizing man, to man figuratively seizing on the Lord. To many orthodox Calvinists and the radical Antinomians in particular it seemed a dangerous concept--approximating in practice a covenant of works; the imposition on true religion of a formula for salvation. From the Preparationist viewpoint, faith, repentance and adherence to a rigorous preparational program did not earn merit with God, though it was part of the terms man must meet to fulfill the covenant. Yet as the middle way hardened into a reality, a life style, it seemed to many that in practice greater emphasis was placed on works than grace.

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[43] John Preston, The New Covenant or the Saints Portion (London, 1629), p. 477, quoted in Miller, Errand into the Wilderness, p. 72.

The Preparationist interpretation of the covenant idea encouraged the ministry, many of whom were strong advocates, to implement a more formalized program of preparation. Thomas Shepard, for example, set forth a series of steps or tests by which man might discern his estate; signs to measure his progress on the stony route to perfection--a means to quiet anxieties or discover and remedy the error of his ways.[44] It was not an easy path; it offered no absolute guarantees, but it provided hope and guidelines by which ministers and church members might perfect together. Practically it reinforced the authority of the ministry and, suggested to the average man, unschooled in theology, that sanctification might provide sound evidence of justification.

Calvin's influence on the new commonwealth was evident in the separation of powers, with the magistrates assigned responsibility for defending the purity of the church in the world; evident in the structure and discipline of the church;

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[44] Thomas Shepard, God's Plot the Paradoxes of Puritan Piety Being the Autobiography and Journal of Thomas Shepard, ed. by Michael McGiffert (Univ. of Mass. Press, 1972), pp. 16-17.

Thomas Shepard, The Works of Thomas Shepard, (New York: AMS Press Inc., 1967), I, p. 237.

Shepard described the Saint's progress thus:

"1. Justification: all their sins are pardoned.
"2. Reconciliation: peace with God.
"3. Adoption: they are made the sons of God.
"4. Sanctification: they are restored to the image of God.
"5. Audience of all their prayers to God.
"6. Glorification, in the kingdom of heaven, in eternal communion with God."

evident in major doctrinal points at dispute between contending parties.[45] But it was a selective influence, distilled to meet the needs, anxieties and questions of men in a new age in which they could not or would not accept the full implications of Adam's fall; the utter depravity and helplessness of natural man; the faility of reason; the absolutism of predestination--of a God untouched by man. Calvinism undiluted demands the highest standards: it rejects compromise; it chastises the ego; and it requires that man contemplate the eternal void without despair or expectation of divine favor.

> For as piety must be preached that God may be rightly worshipped, so also must predestination that he who has ears to hear of the grace of God, may glory in God and not in himself.[46]

The Preparationists and Antinomians were engaged in a search for workable, more palatable solutions to man's redemption in this world and the next; each revealed an obsessive yearning for the comforts of assurance. The Preparationists, building their case on scripture, drawing on selective features of Calvinism and Arminianism, devised an ambivalent but workable compromise. Taking a middling position they effectively used the covenant idea to enforce discipline, obedience, and encourage personal responsibility and hope--a comfortable assurance of salvation.

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[45] Williston Walker, John Calvin the Organizer of Reformed Protestantism (1509-1564) (New York: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 144-45, 406, 414, 420, 421.

[46] Calvin, Institutes of The Christian Religion, II, p. 215.

Turning to the scriptures and orthodox Calvinism for primary support, the Antinomian movement began in protest to the inconsistencies of the middle way. At this juncture it represented with fair accuracy the concerns of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright. But as the controversy evolved, Mrs. Hutchinson, drawing a substantial faction of supporters with her, moved from orthodoxy to a position in close affinity with the spiritual radicalism of the Protestant left. Sacrificing the support of Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright, Mrs. Hutchinson took a doctrinal position at her civil trial in November, 1637, that was antagonistic to Preparationists and orthodox Calvinists. Convinced that effectual conversion provided absolute assurance of election, she proclaimed that the causative agent of it, the immediate witness of the Holy Spirit, not only dwells in a justified person but is personally united to him. The distinction is significant: holding to orthodox Calvinism both Cotton and Wheelwright admitted to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in a justified person, but rejected real and personal union with it. Mrs. Hutchinson's position seems to obliterate the distinctions between man and the Godhead: to the opposition it suggested that proponents of it might place themselves above the law as, " . . . more than a creature, viz. God-man, even Jesus Christ."[47] There is nothing to indicate

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[47] Winthrop, The History of New England, I, pp. 201-03. John Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," in John Cotton on the Churches of New England, ed. by Larzer Ziff (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 218-21.

that Mrs. Hutchinson rejected the moral law or viewed herself as more than a creature--yet by affirming the second principle she asserted the validity of personal revelation apart from the word.[48]

Forced to cope with similar manifestations, Calvin defended the position of institutionalized Protestantism.

> . . . it will be the true and complete felicity of the new Church, under the reign of Christ to be governed by the word of God, as by his Spirit. Whence we infer, that these persons are guilty of detestable sacrilege, in disjoining the two things, . . . The office of the Spirit, then, which is promised to us, is not to feign new and unheard of revelations, or to coin a new system of doctrine, which would seduce us from the received doctrine of the Gospel, but to seal in our minds the same doctrine which the Gospel delivers.

Both the Preparationists and Antinomians agreed with Calvin that the age for new revelations had passed--henceforth revealed truth was confined to the scriptures. Therefore the Lord sends to his people, " . . . the same Spirit, by whose agency he had dispensed his word, to complete his work by an efficacious confirmation of that word." To seek the Spirit independent of the word leads to, " . . . empty speculation, . . ." but prophecy dependent on the word should not be despised for, " . . . the light of the Spirit is extinguished when prophecies fall into contempt." He described those who witness the Spirit apart from the word as, " . . . proud fanatics, . . ." who activated by frenzy,

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[48]Maclear, "The Heart of New England Rent," 642.

" . . . think themselves possessed of the only valuable illumination . . . with equal confidence and temerity greedily embrace every reverie which their distempered imaginations may have conceived."[49] Calvin's characterization of the Anabaptists was echoed by adversaries of Mrs. Hutchinson and her supporters.

Calvin's interpretation of grace and salvation rejects an active role for the individual and denies that the church and ministry have a " . . . direct and effective function with respect to salvation." He balanced his position, however, by endorsing the authority of the scriptures--defining the role of the Spirit as the instrument through which the Lord illuminates his revealed word to the elect.[50] Thus Calvin sets limits--confining spiritual illumination to a defined route. He maintained primary focus on the direct relation between man and God in salvation, but also emphasized man's obedience to the Lord's revealed word as manifested in civil, social and religious institutions. Fundamentally this accords with the position of the Orthodox Antinomians vis-à-vis their dispute with the Preparationists. It is particularly relevant in terms of John Cotton, who parted definitively from Mrs. Hutchinson

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[49]Calvin, Institutes of The Christian Religion, I, pp. 105-9.

[50]William W. Fenn, "The Marrow of Calvin's Theology," Harvard Theological Review, II, (1909), 324-26.

when he was assured that her revelations were personal--the witness of the Spirit independent of the word.[51]

Certainly there is no evidence that Mrs. Hutchinson set out to ruin the ministry or disturb the stability of church or state.

> I doe not allow the slightinge of Ministers nor of the Scriptures nor any THinge that is set up by God . . . It was never in my hart to slight any man but only that man should be kept in his owne place and not set in the Roome of God.[52]

Mrs. Hutchinson shared with her adversaries a conviction that it was the Lord's will for her to oppose anything that was not, " . . . set up by God." At this point it seems uncertain that she perceived her position decreased the necessity for an organized ministry--an educated elite that ordinary lay people depended on for spiritual guidance. But her avowal of personal revelation implied that the presence of the Spirit in the regenerate brought with it the privileges of the ministry--ordinary men and women freed to preach according to the Spirit of the Lord. Called to her vocation, committed to the commission the Lord had given his chosen people, Anne set

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[51] "The Examination of Mrs. Hutchinson at the Court at Newton," in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-38, pp. 341-42. Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," pp. 218-20, 252.

[52] "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Hutchinson Before the Church in Boston," in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-38, p. 377.

forth to purify the churches, to keep the terms of the trust--complete the Reformation. Responding to the inner dynamic of Puritanism, she set out to free the purifying fires of the Spirit from legal restraints; artificial limits imposed by man's will on the Spirit of the Lord. Courageous, moved by the same intuitive logic as George Fox, Anne Hutchinson had absolute trust in the Spirit as a force that can only direct man to the path of wisdom and righteousness.

> The winde bloweth where it listeth, & thou hearest the sound thereof, but canst not tel whence it cometh, and whether it goeth: so is everie man that is borne of the Spirit.[53]

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[53]John 3:8. (The Geneva Bible, A Facsimile of the 1560 edition).

CHAPTER II

NEW ENGLAND'S PROPHETESS

> . . . that a woman promoted to sit in the seate of God, that is to teache, to judge or to reigne above man, is a monstre in nature, contumelie to God and a thing most repugnat to his will ad ordinance.[1]

Wife and mother of a large and still increasing family Anne Marbury Hutchinson was a mature woman, past forty when she arrived in Boston in 1634. Four years later banished by the General Court and excommunicated by the Boston Church Anne concluded her career as the leader of the radical Antinomians in Massachusetts. Settling first in Rhode Island, later removing to Dutch territory, a lonely area of Long Island Sound, she met a violent end--murdered by the Indians with several members of her family in late summer of 1643.[2] Barely a decade in the New World, a brief span in her fifty-three years, she emerged from obscurity to experience adulation, suspicion and rejection.

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[1]John Knox, The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women (Geneva, 1558), p. 17.

[2]J. D. Chaplin, "Hutchinson Ancestry and Descendants of William and Anne Hutchinson," New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, XXXXV, (April, 1914), 168-169.

The details of Anne's life prior to 1634 are obscure, but apparently there was little to distinguish her from other women of her class and background. Only perhaps, her keen intelligence energy and intensity hinted at an exceptional personality. Much of her life, with the exception of several years in London (1605 to 1612), were spent in Alford--a flourishing market town in Lincolnshire, England. Here she was born in 1591 (baptized July 20th), the eldest daughter and second of Francis and Bridget Dryden Marbury's thirteen children: both parents were members of the lesser gentry. Reared in a small town, exposed in adolescence to the stimulus of London, Anne returned to Alford in 1612 as the wife of William Hutchinson--a local merchant whom she had known since childhood.[3]

For the next nearly quarter century Mrs. Hutchinson's life style seems like a homily on the virtuous Christian matron: working in the family business; managing a large household (including supervision of servants and apprentices); bearing (at seventeen month intervals) and rearing a numerous progeny. From youth to middle age Anne gave birth to fifteen children--successfully rearing most of them.[4] Family

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[3]Emery Battis, Saints and Sectaries (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1962), pp. 8, 9, 11.

[4]Chaplin, "Hutchinson Ancestry and Descendants of William and Anne Hutchinson," 167-68.

responsibilities scarcely dissipated her energies. Her knowledge of physic and midwifery, approaching a level of skill that indicates formal training of some kind, were put to use in the service of her neighbors.[5] Progressively it earned her status in her own right and a reputation for charity that later smoothed her path in New England.

At this stage Mrs. Hutchinson seems to have been a warm and gregarious personality, sociable and at ease in the varied activities of small town life. In contrast her spiritual life was an intensely individual and private affair. Routine observence of her religious obligations failed to still her questions or assuage her dissatisfactions with the established church. In this of course she was not unique. To ease her spiritual burdens she sought others who seemed receptive to her views: drawing on them to reinforce her own interpretations of scripture, which were often as convincing as that of many ministers whose counsel she had sought.

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[5]Dorothy Gardiner, English Girlhood at School (London, 1929).

Kate C. Hurd-Mead, M.D., A History of Women in Medicine, (Haddam, Conn.: The Haddam Press, 1938), Vol. I.

Rev. Ralph Josselin, The Diary of the Rev. Ralph Josselin, ed. by E. Hockcliffe (Camden Series, 1908). Overall there is no firm evidence to support or contradict the generally held opinion that Anne Marbury Hutchinson was educated entirely at home. However these works indicate that girls of Anne's background were sometimes sent from home for part of their schooling, or served an apprenticeship of some kind in a specific trade or profession.

Father and Husband

As the product of a strong patriarchal society Anne's relations with the key male figures in her life are of a paramount importance. None knew her longer or had a greater opportunity to influence her than her father and husband.

The career of young Francis Marbury's was beset with difficulties--some of his own making. Matriculated pensioner at Cambridge University's Christ's College in 1571, Francis left without taking his degree for a career as a preacher. Ordained a decon by the Bishop of Peterborough he began preaching in Northampton--earning a reputation that led to a term of imprisonment. Warned at his release not to return to Northampton he did so with expected results. Prior to his commitment to the Marshalsea Prison Francis was examined by the Bishop of London.[6]

Francis gave a forceful presentation of his case--taking little care for the Bishop's ego or his own safety. His grievances were shared by many fellow Anglicans as well as the Puritans. He disliked ritual, the emphasis placed on both homolies and the catechism in lieu of preaching. He pronounced the Bishop guilty of, " . . . soul murdering, . . ." for ordaining men unfit for their office.

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[6]Frederick Gay, "Rev. Francis Marbury," Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings, XXXXVIII (February, 1915), 280.

B. This fellowe woulde have a preacher in everie parishe Church.
M. So would Saint Paul.
B. Where wouldest thou have them?
M. In Cambridge, in Oxford, in the Innes of Court, yea and some in Prison, . . .
B. . . . .but where is the living for them?
M. A man might cut a good large thong out of your hyde and the rest would not be missed.
B. . . . Thou shalt dispose our livings orderly.
M. It is more then you can doe your selves, if living be the default, they are to blame which have too much, whatsoever is the cause the Church feeleth the smart.
Mul. Sir, in the beginning of her Majesties raigne, there was defect of able men, and the Church was constrained to take such as it could get . . .
M. I speake of a later time, . . .
Mul. Why then you will have a Preacher or els none, and so the Church shall be unserved.
M. It is better to have nothing then that which God would not have.
B. How proveth thou that God would not have them, when wee can get no better.
M. Doth he not say, Because thou hast refused knowledge, I will also refuse thee, that thou shalt be no Priest to me.
B. Thou art an overthwart proude puritan knave, . . .
M. I am no puritan. I beseeche you bee good to mee, I have been twise in prison, but I know not why.
. . . . . .
B. Have him to the Marshall sea, there he shall cope with the Papistes.
M. I am to goe whither it pleaseth God, but remember Gods judgements, you doe me open wrong. I pray God forgive you.[7]

Bishop Aylmer's negative response may have been prompted more by the manner of this courageous but undiplomatic young man than by the issues he raised. Moreover Francis was not an ordained minister though his education and dedication proclaimed his fitness for the calling. But his sentiments,

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[7] Ibid., 285-87.

specifically on the necessity for upgrading the quality of the clergy and extending new livings for them represented a substantial body of Anglican thought.

It was not merely a question of providing livings but recruiting clergymen in line with church policies. It was in the interests of church and state to install a strong clergymen able to instruct the masses in their Christian duties--an effective curb to sloth, impertinence and rebellion. The failure of the church to do so encouraged the development of lay preachers--often unlettered mechanics (to the detriment of peace in church and state). In some sections of Britain, notably Wales and the North of England, the situation continuously deteriorated. By mid-seventeenth century such sections were commonly described as the, " . . . dark corners of the land." Here Anglicans and Puritans lost ground to the sects--religious movements nurtured by lay preachers.[8]

Far from being a radical Francis Marbury was a reforming conservative. In contrast to his daughter the influence of the Spirit held less water with him than educational qualifications, " . . . what can an ignorant Minister see more in those things then a booke learned parishoner?" Francis

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[8]Christopher Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (New York: Shocken Books, 1972), pp. 250-257.

Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down (New York: The Viking Press, 1973), pp. 29-31, 59, 63.

abhored ignorant ministers or laymen who expounded scripture. Still less would he have countenanced an active role for women in the church. "To teach, . . ." he said, " . . . by example only is good in a Matron whom silence beseemeth." Moved to his duty Francis castigated Bishop Aylmer, but he was not antiauthoritarian. Brought to heel he was precisely the kind of young man the church needed.[9]

Released from prison Francis made his peace with the authorities and took a position as a preacher at Alford. Wedded to Bridget Dryden he settled quietly into the community. But his previous reputation continued to plague him: in 1590, suddenly and without benefit of an explanation, Francis was deprived of his living. For fifteen years he tenaciously sought for reinstatement. Belatedly in 1605, the same year that three hundred Puritan ministers were silenced, Francis was ordained as a minister and appointed to St. Martin in Vintria in London. Later he was appointed rector of St. Pancras in Soper Lane and St. Margaret's in New Fish Street--posts that he held until his death (between January 25, and February 11, 1610-1611).[10]

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[9]Gay, "Rev. Francis Marbury," 286.

[10]Ibid., 281.

Few can fail to note the similarities between father and daughter. In terms of temperament and conviction, and a pugnacious singlemindedness Francis and Anne seem remarkably similar--even to the point of warning their judges that verdicts unfavorable to them might bring the Lord's wrath down upon them. Indeed it is tempting to conclude that Anne tailored her aspirations to the model set forth by her father. But over emphasis on this position tends to obscure significant differences between them and, possibly, the negative aspects of their relationship. It is unlikely that Francis Marbury, an Anglican clergymen, would have approved of Anne's defection to the Puritans or her drift to the extreme Protestant left. Certainly Francis, unless he had radically revamped his stated position, would have rejected the right of his daughter to teach and preach in the church as firmly as John Winthrop. Therefore the course that Anne pursued might also be interpreted as a rejection of her father--a rebellion against a dominant paternal figure whose courage and high principles had inspired her but whom she knew would not have expected or permitted her to follow his example. Yet the father whom Anne so much resembled may well have been for her a source of both pride as well as conflict--from him she drew her courage and learned the high cost of rebellion.

Francis Marbury's rebellion seems to have been a product of and confined to his youth. Anne's was an explosive

phenomenon of her middle years: sentiments she had nutured and tested in her adult life. The father of Anne's childhood was a frustrated man: unjustly deprived of his living and constantly engaged in seeking ways to end his deprivation. His letter to Lord Burghley of October, 1590 in which he discussed his political and religious principles offers a more accurate portrait of the father that Anne knew. Far from being the young firebrand who had taken Bishop Aylmer to task, Marbury's statement of his position to the Lord Burghley is both cautious and conciliatory. Francis continued to have some reservations, particularly concerning set prayers but in public he strictly enforced church policies--change he acknowledged must come from those in authority. In good conscience he would not join or support zealots who in traducing policies unlawfully challenged the God given powers of the magistrates.

> And where under color of zele there appeareth by consequent heedlessnes of the sacred credit of princes, and the traducing of the body politique by indirect and p'ticularising courses, I am so farre from them that I have bene a diligent advisor of men to take wyse notice of things and not be without compassion of the temptacons and perplexities of governours whose good endevours are often prevented by the importunity of those which professe frendship to the truth.
>
> Concerning policyes in their administrations I hold them in reverent estimation, observing not only those for fooles with Solomon which beleeve every thyng, but those for wyse, by his counsel which having espied a thing, restraine theire spir(its) till after a more maturer deliberation, when every foole (as he sayeth) will be medling, enforcing also this poi.. that no man with a good conscience maye maligne a policy . . . of evill semblance except he can see into it without error: . . .

> Thus my L. I have taught as I am perswaded to the performance of some small duety to her excellent ma'ty, and the peace of gods church, ... well knowing that wee stand before a people partly impatient of all reprehension and partly nourishing in themselves idolatrous affections, making insurrection against the truth but coming in at the postern of supposed puritanisme.[11]

There is no reason to doubt Marbury's sincerity or courage in the throes of adversity, but on the basis of this statement it is plausible to suggest that on mature reflection Francis regretted the manner in which he had pressed his objections to church policies in his youth. He seems to have developed an aversion to hotheads--patiently awaiting change while endorsing full conformity to the policies of church and state. In maturity Francis learned the art of compromise--of balancing integrity with necessity.[12] Suceeding, he ended his life as a successful man--a faithful servant of the church.

Whatever the key factors were that turned Francis Marbury from rebellion to confirmity he was to his family the supreme authority. Elimination of the priest as an intermediary between God and man had its residual effects--a

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[11] Ibid., 288, 289.

[12] J. R. Tanner, Constitutional Documents of the Reign of James I A.D. 1603-1625 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 69-70. Although Marbury sought for reconciliation with the church authorities, many of the issues he had raised had not been adequately resolved. For example early in James I reign the House of Commons approved and sent to the House of Lords a series of "Articles concerning Ministers, 1604" which would have done much to rectify many of the abuses Marbury had railed against at his trial in 1578. The Upper House did not act favorably upon the measures sent to them by the Commons.

primary legatee was the male householder. Protestant thought in general granted to the already substantial position of husband and father a semi-sacred character. Thus Francis Marbury added to his other duties responsibility for the religious education and conduct of his dependents.[13] It is unlikely that a man endowed with Francis Marbury's personality would have taken his responsibilities lightly.

Anne was reared in a rigid, well disciplined environment in which the position and duties of each family member was determined by sex and age. Since, during Anne's early years, Francis served as a schoolmaster, her education was more closely supervised than it might have been. From her father she learned the principles of church doctrine: daily readings in and discussions on Biblical literature formed the basis of her education--definitively shaping Anne's perception of the world and her place in it. During her career she would assume diverse roles--none of which fundamentally deviated from the female prototypes she had studied in the Bible. Overall Anne had a better education than most of her female contemporaries, but it was, without doubt, limited--narrowly focused on religious and practical subjects. Francis would not have considered it fitting or necessary to impart to his daughter the classical education he had enjoyed.

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[13] Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, pp. 446-450, 454-455, 457.

Kept close to the family Anne was unusually vulnerable to parental example. Here the vicissitudes of Francis Marbury's career may have left a more lasting imprint on his daughter than his interpretations of church doctrine. Purely on the basis of speculation it seems likely that to Anne the tale of her father's early battles with authority, the frustrations he experienced during her childhood in Alford, and his later success had all the impact of a morality tale. To a young, impressionable and idealistic girl the heroic stance of the young Marbury might have seemed a model more worthy of emulation than his later efforts to reconcile his differences with the church. Possibly at some level, knowing her father's private reservations concerning church policies, Anne considered his efforts to find a secure haven for himself and his family a betrayal of his principles--a price that in spite of occasional wavering she was unwilling to pay. Comparing the careers of father and daughter it is plausible to suggest that if Anne Hutchinson looked to her formidable parent as a model it was the young Francis Marbury who inspired her to complete and surpass the course he had set.

Yet from her father Anne also learned the consequences of dissidence as opposed to conformity. Thus knowing at a most personal level how damaging the exposure of her opinions might be to her family must have complicated her efforts to reconcile the demands of conscience with her obligations as a wife and mother. The long-term effects of such pressures on

Anne are visibly evident in the contrasts between her performances at her civil and church trials. For example at Anne's civil trial she sacrificed a hard won victory to reveal to the court views which must have ruined her case.[14] Paradoxically a few months later Anne altered by poor health and constant pressure hesitated--for a brief period seeming to yield to her position for reconciliation with the authorities.[15] Indeed Anne seemed constantly engaged in a struggle to balance the diversified needs of her nature with circumstances--swinging from assertion to repression; daring to caution; frankness to dissimulation. How much Anne's early experiences, particularly her relationship with her father, affected her as an adult is of course open to speculation; but overall Francis Marbury may have been as much a hindrance as a stimulus to his daughter's self-realization. Whatever view one takes, Anne's thrust is strongly individualistic--in the main antagonistic to the social and religious environment of her youth and maturity.

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[14] "The Examination of Mrs. Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638, ed. by David D. Hall (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 336-38.

[15] "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638, pp. 375-378.

Nothing is known of Bridget Dryden Marbury's relationship with her daughter. One may reasonably deduce, however, that Bridget schooled Anne in child rearing techniques and household management--as the oldest daughter in a large family Anne would have been expected to share many of her mother's burdens. In addition Bridget's Puritan background may have quickened Anne's interest in controversial religious issues.[16]

Mr. William Hutchinson, said Governor John Winthrop, was, " . . . a very honest and peaceable man of good estate."[17] On another occasion he lightly dismissed him as, " . . . a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife."[18] Later in the century William Hubbard summed up for public consumption private estimations of the relationship between Anne and William Hutchinson.

> And as when the devil attempted to ruin mankind by the insinuation of a new divinity, he began with Eve, and by her surprised her husband; the same course is still found the most successful for that end, and was to admiration at this time verified in and about Boston.[19]

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[16]Battis, Saints and Sectaries, p. 14.

[17]John Winthrop, A Short Story, in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638, p. 262.

[18]John Winthrop, The History of New England, ed. by James Savage (New York: Arno Press, 1972), I, p. 295.

[19]Rev. William Hubbard, A General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680 (New York: Arno Press, 1972), pp. 283-84.

Overall historians have tended to follow in the path that Winthrop began. Emery Battis a prominent chronicler of Anne Hutchinson's life reinforced the judgement of his predecessors. Anne Hutchinson's behavior (he thought) was prompted in part by the failure of her husband, " . . . to provide adequate support and direction for his wife." Contrasting the restraining influence of her father with the apparent weaknesses of her husband he noted that there have been many cases, " . . . of women who have been tormented by fixed ideas and hysterical manifestations because their husbands have failed to guide their mental life."

In his opinion William Hutchinson was unsuited as a partner for a woman who, " . . . suffered from a compulsion to verbalize her most errant thoughts, another unconscious device for the attainment of notice and approval." Denied the mental and moral support that she needed from her husband Anne turned to John Cotton, then, driven by subconscious needs, achieved via her divine revelations the support, notice and relief from anxiety that she craved.[20] This process Battis indicates was complicated by Anne's biological functions (pregnancy and menopause), which deepened her neurosis.[21]

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[20]Battis, Saints and Sectaries, pp. 12-13, 51-52.

[21]Ibid., pp. 54-55, 346. Battis's sources are not only scanty but many were already obsolete when his work was published in 1962 (see his bibliography). For example, he states, "It is not by coincidence that hysteria derived its name from the uterine function, and this exalted state frequently occurs

Allowing for variance in terminology, both Pauline and Freudian paradigms of human behavior apply monolithic standards on men and women from which there is no appeal. Assuming the validity of either definition William and Anne Hutchinson were deviants, at odds with self and society. Working within this context, however, William Hutchinson bears greater responsibility for the Antinomian crisis than his wife.

The patriarchal family Bodin emphasized, " . . . is a true image of the commonwealth, and domestic comparable with sovereign authority . . . All will be well with the commonwealth where families are properly regulated."[22] To John

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among pregnant women, mystical or otherwise."
John Wheelwright, Mercurius Americanus (London, 1645), p. 197. It is worth noting that Battis placed great emphasis on John Wheelwright's statement that Mrs. Hutchinson, "In spirituals indeed she gave her understanding over into the power of suggestion and immediate dictates, by reason of she had many strange fancies, and erroneous tenets possest her, especially during confinement, where she might feel some effect too from the quality of humors, together with the advantage the devill took of her condition attended with melancholy."
Paula Weidegar, Menstruation and Menopause (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 19-20. In evaluating the effects of sex hormones (including physical, emotional and behavioral changes) on men and women at various stages of the life cycle she states, " . . . social evaluation of these sex differences is of critical, perhaps decisive importance. As long as male experience is the guide to what is proper and acceptable, female differences will be seen as inferiority. This is the current belief of our culture."

[22] J. Bodin, Six Books of the Commonwealth, quoted in Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England, p. 459.

Winthrop the Commonwealth developed from, " . . . many families subjecting themselves to rulers and laws."[23] Since the family was the basic unit on which the stability of church and state depended it was the duty of a husband and father to lead and discipline his dependents. If a woman of impeccable character, said Gouge, in Of Domesticall Duties, is married to, " . . . a man of lewd and beastly conditions, . . ." she must still, " . . . account him her superior and worthy of a husband's honor."

> . . . the evil quality of his heart and life doth not deprive a man of that civil honor which God hath given unto him. Though an husband in regard of evil qualities may carry the image of the devil, yet in regard of his place and office, he beareth the Image of God: so do Magistrates in the Commonwealth, Ministers in the Church, Parents and Masters in the Family . . . If infidels carry not the devil's image and are not, so long as they are infidels, vessals of Satan, who are? Yet wives must be subject to them.[24]

The domestic relations of the Hutchinsons were a palpable irritant in the Antinomian debate--a thorn that complicated the task of the opposition. Despite Winthrop's ill-considered thrust William Hutchinson was a leading citizen in

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[23]John Winthrop, in A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, ed. by Thomas Hutchinson (Boston, 1769), p. 67, quoted in Edmund S. Morgan, The Puritan Family, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), p. 144.

[24]William Gouge, Of Domesticall Duties (London, 1634), p. 274 ff., quoted in Not in God's Image, ed. by O'Faolain and Martines (New York: Harper & Row, 1973), p. 263.

Boston. Barely sworn in as a freeman William was elected as a deputy to the General Court--the first of various public offices he held in Boston and later in Rhode Island. Substantial land grants signify his value to the colony, which with his continued success as a mercer established him as a man of means. In addition he contributed his share to community projects--including a sum toward the establishment of the Boston Latin School.[25] Indeed only in his conduct toward his wife did William Hutchinson differ with conventions.

If William had chosen to use his authority he could have restrained Anne and earned the gratitude of church and state--even her supporters would have hesitated to intervene between husband and wife. Silenced by her husband Anne might have caused as little stir as Mrs. Oliver of Salem, who before her arrival in 1638, " . . . had suffered somewhat in England for refusing to bow at the name of Jesus." She was, thought Winthrop, " . . . (for ability of speech and appearance of zeal and devotion) far before Mrs. Hutchinson, and so the fitter instrument to have done hurt, but she was poor and had little acquaintence." From 1638 to 1646 discipline meted out to her for rebuking the elders included a whipping that she took, " . . . without tying, and bare her punishment with

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[25] Battis, Saints and Sectaries, pp. 75-76.
Winthrop, The History of New England, I, p. 295.

a masculine spirit, gloring in her sufferings." In 1646 for a similiar offense she, " . . . had a cleft put on her tongue half an hour."[26]

William's support and status in the community as well as the influence of highly placed friends spared Anne the humiliation of physical punishment and, possibly, more serious charges. As a nurse and known associate of Jane Hawkins, a midwife, " . . . notorious for familiarity with the devill, . . ." there was enough circumstantial evidence to place her in a potentially dangerous situation.[27] Anne evaded trial for witchcraft, but rumors continued to plague her in Rhode Island. Following William's death in 1642, the threat may have been sufficiently disturbing to prompt her removal to Dutch territory.[28]

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[26] Ibid., I, pp. 281-82.

[27] Winthrop, A Short Story, p. 281.
Winthrop, The History of New England, II, p. 9. Dudley states that Anne's relationship with Jane Hawkins, and her conduct before and after her sojourn in Boston, gave cause against her, " . . . of suspicion of witchcraft."
Edward Johnson, Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England 1628-1651, ed. by J. F. Jameson (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1967), p. 132. Hereafter cited as Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence.

[28] Samuel Groome, "A Glass for the People of New England," The Magazine of History with Notes and Queries, III, Extra No, 147, (1929), 14-15. According to Groome, rumors that Massachusetts might bring the Isle of Acquiday within its jurisdiction disturbed Anne Hutchinson, " . . . the poor molested Woman, it's like let in Fear, . . ." decided to " . . . seek a Place to settle upon, where she and her family might live in Quietness, . . ." She removed to Dutch territory. He also indicates

The presumption that William Hutchinson was a weak and credulous husband is based in part on his statement to a delegation sent by the Boston Church to the exiles in Rhode Island, that, " . . . he was more nearly tied to his wife than to the church, he thought her to be a dear saint and servant of God."[29] But in the context of William's history in New England it offers no clear cut evidence that he shared his wife's religious principles. He defended Anne's position, but major emphasis is placed by him on the private character of marriage--rejecting the right of the church to intrude between husband and wife. William Hutchinson was a careful man: he kept to the background, tended to his own affairs, and maintained reasonable civil relations with the opposition. In contrast to Francis Marbury's aggressiveness, or John Cotton's brilliance, William offered his wife emotional support, companionship and freedom of conscience.[30]

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that her decision was shaped by persistent rumors that she and her closest female associates (Mary Dyer and Jane Hawkins) were "Witches." Groome believed that Anne had been hounded to her death--that the fathers of Massachusetts must share with the Indians responsibility for her untimely end.

[29]"Proceedings of the Boston Church against the Exiles," in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638, p. 392.

[30]Groome, "A Glass for the People of New England," 14. According to Groome Anne Hutchinson was purposely questioned, " . . . when her husband and friends were absent." If this is the case, William Hutchinson's influence on his wife was far greater than the fathers of the Commonwealth were willing to acknowledge.

Domestic issues underline the religious and political focus of the Hutchinson case. Considering the social implications of the radical Antinomian position the marital relations of the Hutchinsons, pro or con, had a tremendous impact on the community. In his admonition to Mrs. Hutchinson for her denial of the resurrection of the body John Cotton moves immediately to consideration of the social implications.

> . . . by this one Error of yours in denyinge the Resurrection of thease very Bodies you doe the uttermost to rase the very foundation of Religion to the Ground and to destroy our fayth . . . if thear be no Resurection than all is in vayne . . . . . if the Resurection be past than you cannot Evade the Argument that was prest . . . that filthie Sinne of the Comunitie of Woemen and all promiscuus and filthie cominge togeather of men and Woemen without Distinction or Relation of Marriage, will necessarily follow. And though I have not herd, nayther do I thinke, you have bine unfaythfull to your Husband in his Marriage Covenant, yet that will follow upon it.[31]

John Cotton probes the social consequences of extremism from a doctrinal viewpoint, while to Hugh Peters at a gut level the root of infection proceeds from Mrs. Hutchinson's circumvention of her proper place in society.

> . . . you have stept out of your place, you have rather bine a Husband than a Wife and a preacher than a Hearer; and a Magistrate than a Subject. And so you have thought

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[31] "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," in The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638, pp. 371-72.

> to carry all Things in Church and Commonwealth, as you would and have not bine humbled for this.[32]

As teacher, preacher and wife, Anne Hutchinson (and her husband who countenanced it) tilted head-on with the patriarchal structure of politics and religion. That in the most personal terms the credibility of both was brought into question was a natural attendant in a campaign to supress Antinomian influence in Massachusetts.

Teacher and Pupil

In June, 1633 John Cotton sailed on the Griffin for New England. For twenty years he had been minister at St. Botolph's in Boston (about twenty-four miles south of Alford).

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[32] Ibid., pp. 382-83.

"Church Trial of Mistress Ann Hibbens," in Root of Bitterness, ed. by Nancy F. Cott (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1972), pp. 47-49, 54-55. Reprinted from "Hibbens Transcript," taken from the manuscript of Robert Keayne's, "Notes on John Cotton's Sermons." One might do well to compare the records of Mrs. Hutchinson's trials with testimony rendered at Mistress Hibbens's church trial. Ann Hibbens, wife of an influential citizen of Boston, was excommunicated from the church in 1640, and later (Two years after the death of her husband) was tried and executed for witchcraft in 1656. Mistress Hibbens was initially brought before the church because of the acrimonious manner in which she had pursued her dispute with local joiners who had been hired to do some carpentry in her home. Her husband admitted he had given her leave to pursue the issue, though later he had tried to persuade her that the terms of the agreement had been faithfully met by the joiners that they had employed. Hibbens's testimony provided the church with the amunition needed to admonish Mistress Hibbens for her conduct toward her husband. Mr. Cotton stated:

> " . . . That is to be understood when a wife speaks as the oracles of God, according to the mind and will of God--

In this small community Cotton continued to develop his reputation for, " . . . the Greatness of his Learning, his Wisdom, his Holiness, . . ." that secured him a place in the forefront of the Puritan movement.[33] His credentials were impeccable: years of study at Cambridge began at Trinity College in 1597; in 1603 he accepted a fellowship at Emmanuel College, a Puritan foundation, where he received his M.A. in 1606, and was ordained for the ministry in 1610. His brilliance and impact in the pulpit led to a series of appointments as a tutor, dean, head lecturer, and catechist. As so often in Cotton's career

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> as indeed then the speech of godly women were as oracles, and did declare the mind and counsel of God to their husbands, and then they were to hearken to them as to God. But that wives now should be always God's oracles to their husband, and that the husband should obey his wife, and not the wife the husband, that is a false principle. . . . it is a sin in you at any time to transgress the will and appointment of your husband?"

Hubbard, A General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680, p. 574. According to Hubbard there was little evidence to warrant a charge of witchcraft against Mistress Hibbens. She was tried and executed, he says, because the " . . . Vox populi went sore against her, and was the chiefest part of the evidence against her." Hubbard states that " . . . many times persons of hard favor and turbulent passions are apt to be condemned by the common people for witches, upon very slight grounds."

In comparison there was far more evidence to warrant a charge of witchcraft against Mrs. Hutchinson, but her husband and strong supporters in the community limited the measures taken against her. Yet the equation is clear--that a highly emotional, outspoken and independent woman might be viewed as subject to diabolical influences and liable for labeling as a witch. After the death of her husband, and as her popularity waned in Rhode Island, Anne Hutchinson might have feared (with good reason) that the charge of witchcraft might be lodged against her.

[33]Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (New York: Arno Press, 1972), Book III, pp. 17, 18, 20.

he drew men of great birth and learning to him as well as the humbler sort--a fortunate circumstance that would ensure his place at St. Botolph's long past the time of his expectations.[34]

John Cotton's conversion experience in 1609 was a highlight of his years at Cambridge. Exposed to Richard Sibbes's sermons he concluded that intellectual perception of doctrinal or scriptural points bereft of the Spirit's light was a dangerous position on which to build assurance of one's spiritual estate. Struck to the heart by Sibbes discourse on, "Negative Righteousness," he became by, " . . . the Grace of God . . . a throughly Renewed Christian, and filled . . . with a Sacred Joy." Thereafter he preached a message that drew both the mind and heart of the seeking Christian. In 1612 he accepted a place at St. Botolph's: three years later convinced of, " . . . Evil remaining Unreformed in the Church of England . . . he became a Conscientious Non-Conformist, unto the Unscriptual Ceremonies and Constitutions, yét maintained by the Church." For the moment most of the town sided with Cotton. Now in 1633, fleeing imprisonment Cotton left behind h i m a grieving congregation--none lamented his departure more than Anne Hutchinson.[35]

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[34]Larzer Ziff, ed., John Cotton on the Churches of New England (Cambridge Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1968), pp. 6-7.
Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, Book III, pp. 15, 18, 19.

[35]Ziff, John Cotton on the Churches of New England, p. 8.
Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, Book III, pp. 15-18, 20.

> . . . after our teacher Mr. Cotton, and my brother Wheelwright were put downe, there was none in England that I durst heare. Then it pleased God to reveale himselfe to me in that of Esay 30. 20. Though the Lord give thee the bread of adversity, &c. yet thine eyes shall see thy teachers; after this the Lord carrying Mr. Cotton to New England (at which I was much troubled) it was revealed to me that I must go thither also.[36]

At some point following his installation at St. Botolph's Mrs. Hutchinson began seeking the spititual guidance of John Cotton. At regular intervals Anne made the tedious journey to Boston--bringing with her ideas and questions she had stored up during the weeks and months since her last visit. Mr. Cotton's careful blend of intellect and spiritual sensitivity drew Mrs. Hutchinson at a personal level. He seemed to be her counterpart--a teacher attuned to her personal perception of divine will. Certainly Cotton had a catalytic impact on Anne--bringing into focus ideas that had surfaced in the privacy of her meditations. But she was not a regular member of his congregation. From Anne's participation in church services and meetings she derived maximum stimulation--untarnished by routine.

The geographical distance of Alford from old Boston compounded the natural barriers of sex and personality differences between Mr. Cotton and Mrs. Hutchinson. Later Cotton would insist he had never been a close associate of hers. He knew of the good reputation of the Hutchinsons in Lincolnshire.

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[36]Winthrop, A Short Story, p. 272.

At Anne's coming to New England she was particularly, " . . . respected and esteemed, . . ." by him for her work with women.

> . . . she did much good in our town, in women's meetings at childbirth-travails, wherein she was not only skillful and helpful, but readily fell into good discourse with the women about their spiritual estates: and therein cleared it unto them . . . By which means many of the women (and by them their husbands) were convinced, that they had gone on in a covenant of works, and were much shaken and humbled thereby, and brought to inquire more seriously after the Lord Jesus Christ . . . All this was well . . . and suited with the public ministry . . . so as these private conferences did well tend to water the seeds publically sown. Whereupon all the faithful embraced her conference, and blessed God for her fruitful discourses.[37]

Cotton valued Mrs. Hutchinson in a secondary capacity--in line with traditional patterns for women in the church. He recognized her appeal, specifically to her sex--that she would place her teachings on a par with the public ministry never crossed Cotton's mind.

The change in her, turning to, " . . . corrupt opinions . . . to disesteem generally the elders of the churches . . . was long hid from me: and much longer the evidence of it."[38]

> . . . Mistress Hutchinson seldom resorted to me . . . And when she did come to me, it was seldom or never (that I can tell of) that she tarried long. I rather think she was loath to resort much to me, or to confer long with me, lest she might seem to learn somewhat

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[37]John Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," in John Cotton on the Churches of New England, p. 239.

[38]Ibid., p. 240.

> from me. . . . I know (by good proof) she was very careful to prevent any jeolousy in me, that she should harbor any private opinions, differing from the course of my public ministry.[39]

Placed in a defensive position for his role in the Antinomian affair Cotton was eager to put a distance between himself and Mrs. Hutchinson. Clearly his reading of their relationship conflicts with Anne's recurrent statements that, "Our teacher knowes my Judgment, for I never kept my Judgment from him."[40] In public and private many continued to believe in New England that Cotton, " . . . was in secret a Formentor of the Spirit of Familism." The radical Antinomians consistently emphasized that whatever Cotton, " . . . Saith in publick, we understand him otherwise, and we know what he Saith to us in private."[41] Who was at fault? It seems evident that at least in minor points both parties distorted the truth. That John Cotton or Anne Hutchinson deliberately lied seems out of keeping with the character of the former or the intent of the latter. Possibly neither Anne Hutchinson or John Cotton were at fault. Up to and including the civil trial of Mrs. Hutchinson the relationship of teacher and pupil seems to have been based on a mutual misreading of intent.

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[39] Ibid., pp. 286-87.

[40] "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," p. 381.

[41] Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, Book III, p. 21.

There is no doubt that Cotton shared with Mistress Hutchinson initial responsibility for the religious revival in Massachusetts--his orders to his son to destroy materials relative to the controversy indicate the extent of his involvement.[42] Some of his early writings bear too close a resemblance to Anne's interpretations of major theological issues in the early stages of the Antinomian debate for mere coincidence.

> Hee poures out his spirit in a rich and plentiful measure . . . whence it comes to passe, that the servants of God understand many secrets of Gods counsell . . . many a godly man by the same spirit discernes many hidden mysteries, and meanings of the Holy Ghost in Scripture, more than ever he could by reading or instruction; and many times discernes some speciall work of Grace which inables him to fore-see some speciall blessings . . . and so makes them of Propheticall spirits, and bowes them to teach others also, to lead on others of their neighbors in the wayes of God.[43]

In a second work written in the same year (1624) Cotton slipped close to the edge Calvin had warned against.

> He doth usually breathe the Spirit by the breathe of his Word; he breathes indeed where he lists, Ioh. 3.8. But yet . . . doth the Spirit of Grace most gather to the congregation of Gods people; if here by any breath of the Spirit stirring, usually it is there:[44]

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[42] Nathaniel Morton, New England's Memoriall (Cambridge, England, 1699), p. 135, quoted in James F. Maclear, "The Heart of New England Rent," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLII, (1956), 636.

[43] John Cotton, "Christ the Fountaine of Life," (1624), p. 62, quoted in J. F. Maclear, "The Heart of New England Rent," 639-39.

[44] John Cotton, "Way of Life," (1624), p. 12, quoted in J. F. Maclear, "The Heart of New England Rent," 638.

These are the fruits that Mistress Hutchinson imbibed in her Lincolnshire home--reason enough for her to doubt that Cotton's later opposition to her teachings was a true reflection of his private judgment. Whatever discussions took place between Anne Hutchinson and John Cotton in Old or New Boston were predisposed to failure--both operated from opposing ends of the spectrum. Cotton's spiritual flights proceeded from the context of a strong theological base--anchors that curtailed the extent of his speculation. Anne's spiritual peregrinations were tied primarily to an intuitive perception of scriptural truth--opening a limitless expanse of possibilities. The spiritual consciousness of Anne's teacher was cupped in the intellectual restraints of the universities; his student's was measured in personal experience--the immediacy of human needs. That Cotton, by his own admission, was slow to fathom the depths of Anne's mind is evident in the records of her trial and his later recollection of events.

In Cotton's admonition to Mrs. Hutchinson he stated, " . . . I have often feared the highth of your Spirit and being puft up with your owne parts, and therefore it is just with God thus to abase you."[45] Even when relations between the two were most cordial Cotton was uncertain of Anne's, "spiritual estate."

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[45]"A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," p. 372.

> 1. That her faith was not begotten nor (by her relation) scarce at any time strengthened, by public ministry, but by private meditation, or revelations only.
> 2. That she clearly discerned her justification . . . but little or nothing at all, her sanctification: though (she said) she believed, such a thing was by plain Scripture.
> 3. That she was more sharply censorious of other men's spiritual estates and hearts, than the servents of God are wont to be, . . .

Quite properly Cotton had admired Anne's warmth, charity and fervor--but she was not a woman with whom he felt at ease. If for a time they shared an alliance it lacked the affinity and easy communication of colleagues committed to a common cause. Her masterfulness and striving for perfectionism, qualities he might have countenanced in a colleague, Cotton found disturbing in Anne. But on one point he was well on the mark. He discerned more accurately than Anne that she had not fully committed herself to his spiritual guidance. Mrs. Hutchinson turned to Cotton for inspiration, but relied primarily for spiritual guidance on her, ". . . private meditation, or revelations only."[46] It seems evident that this pattern was well established before her meeting with John Cotton.

Mrs. Hutchinson's reluctance to acknowledge that her interpretation of scripture exceeded Mr. Cotton's judgment has added fuel to assumptions that she had undertaken her mission for self-glorification.

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[46] Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648, pp. 240-41.

> . . . it was to set up your selfe in the Roome of God above others that you might be extolled and admired and followed after, that you might be a greater Prophites . . . and Undertake to expound Scriptures and to interpret other Mens Sayings and sermons after your minde.[47]

Cotton's initial endorsement had sparked a warm reception for her teachings in Boston. Again she had reason to doubt his change in loyalties--an affinity that existed more in Anne's mind than in her teacher's. But her persistence, late into her second trial, that Cotton was of the same mind hurt Anne's credibility. Yet at this same point, retreating from compromise, Anne admitted that, "My Judgment is not altered though my Expression alters."[48] At her civil trial she had taken the first step by sharing her revelations with the court. Now in rejecting submission to the church she moved definitively toward taking responsibility for a heretical movement--a process that was not completed until her settlement in Rhode Island.[49] Anne Hutchinson would not have been a woman of her time if she had not hesitated to accept a role that would exclude her from society--(to many of her contemporaries) bringing with it the certain promise of damnation. Yet the loss of Mr. Cotton's confidence was, perhaps, more painful to her than the

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[47]"A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," pp. 380-81.

[48]Ibid., p. 378.

[49]"Proceedings of the Boston Church against the Exiles," p. 392.

humiliation of excommunication from the church and banishment from Massachusetts.

Mr. Wheelwright and Mr. Vane

Despite his prominence in the Antinomian debate, John Wheelwright, in personal terms takes a secondary place in the chronology of male figures who were associates of Mrs. Hutchinson. He was educated at Cambridge University's Sidney Sussex College where he received his B. A. in 1614 and M.A. in 1618. Completing university Wheelwright, in preparation for ordination, served for a time as a deacon at Peterborough's Cathedral. He was installed as vicar of Bilsby's Church in 1623.[50] An articulate and vigorous preacher, with palpable Puritan affinities, Wheelwright apparently served his parishioners in a satisfactory manner until his suppression, for reasons that remain unclear, in 1632.[51] No doubt his associations with the Puritan movement contributed to his predicament. During the interval that preceded his departure for New England in 1636, Wheelwright continued to propagate his views. Called on for spiritual counsel by Hansard Knollys, Wheelwright told the young vicar, later an ardent Baptist and

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[50] Battis, Saints and Sectaries, pp. 111-12.

[51] Ibid., p. 113. According to the records Wheelwright was removed from his office for simony. Since his contemporaries appeared to dismiss the charge, it may be that this was set down for official purposes. It seems likely that Wheelwright was forced to withdraw because of his doctrinal position.

Millenarianist, that he had erred in building his life and ministry on works rather than grace.[52]

If, A Fast-Day Sermon, is characteristic of Wheelwright's style then it is not surprising that Mrs. Hutchinson found him appealing though his influence on her was limited--never touching her at so fundamental a level as John Cotton. Marriage in 1621 with Marie Storre, daughter of the vicar of Bilsby and sister to the husband of Susan Hutchinson, brought Wheelwright into a network of familial ties with the Hutchinson clan. Later the death of Marie, and his subsequent marriage with Mary, the young sister of William Hutchinson drew him more firmly into the family of his remarkable sister-in-law.[53]

It can be plausibly argued by Wheelwright's apologists that he was less a leader of the Antinomian debate than a victim of circumstances. In support of this view Mr. Cotton points to Wheelwright's decision to settle in New Hampshire rather than Rhode Island as evidence that, " . . . if he had cleaved to the errors which Mrs. Hutchinson's company fell into, he would never have refused their earnest invitation . . . to minister unto them."[54] Mrs. Hutchinson's supporters

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[52] Ibid.

[53] Ibid., pp. 57, 112-13.

[54] Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," p. 251.

said Cotton, " . . . soon forsook Mr. Wheelwright (as well as he them) when they saw his judgment (as well as mine) against Antinomianism, and Familism."[55] In 1644, after Anne Hutchinson's death, John Wheelwright stated in plain terms to the Governor of Massachusetts that in effect he had been misled.

> It is the (grief) of my soul that I used such vehement censorious speeches in the application of my sermon, or in any other writing, ... It repents me that I did so much adhere to persons of corrupt judgment, to the countenancing of them in any of their errours or evil practices, though I intended no such thing; and that in the synod I used such unsafe and obscure expressions falling from me as a man dazzled with the buffetings of satan, and that I did appeal from misapprehension of things. I confess that herein I have done very sinfully, and do humbly crave pardon of this honoured state.[56]

When Wheelwright arrived in Boston in 1636 the Antinomians were, perhaps, at the height of their power. Sir Henry Vane's election as governor had increased the self-confidence of the Antinomians--opening to them the prospect of a secure future in Massachusetts. Certainly John Wheelwright had little opportunity to probe the situation in which he found himself. Even if he had the chance to consider his situation at leisure it might well have seemed worth a gamble to him to join with a party in which he could play a prominent role. However great his ignorance was of the political and social implications of the Antinomian position vis-à-vis the Preparationists, there seems little doubt based on what one can

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[55] Ibid., p. 286.

[56] Winthrop, The History of New England, II, pp. 162-63.

surmise of his doctrinal position prior to his departure from England and his early sermons in the colony, that he was an Orthodox Antinomian. Wheelwright's, A Fast-Day Sermon, in particular is an explicit document, rather in harmony with Anne Hutchinson's basic position--at least prior to her church trial.

To accept John Wheelwright's plea that he had been duped into countenancing, " . . . persons of corrupt judgment, . . ." one must believe that he was unaware of his sister-in-law's dependence on personal revelations before she gave public testimony at her civil trial.[57] Drawing on Anne's testimony, she received her divinely inspired revelations before she left England. Indeed, when Mr. Cotton removed to New England, John Wheelwright was the only minister remaining whom she believed had been sealed with the Spirit.[58] Is it likely that Anne kept the nature of her revelations secret from a man with whom she felt the double ties of kinship as well as respect for his ministerial capacities? On the contrary, there is every indication that Anne confided in Mr. Wheelwright--a trusted kinsman with whom she could share her thoughts without fear of premature exposure. Despite the need

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[57] Ibid., p. 162.

[58] Winthrop, A Short Story, pp. 271-73.

for caution, Anne hinted of her special powers to relative strangers--some of whom became her adversaries in consequences. Mr. Bartholomew, at whose home she stayed in London, and Mr. Symmes with whom she spoke on board ship heard enough of Anne's opinions to become convinced that she would be a disturbing influence in the colony.[59] Whatever reservations they had must have been strongly reinforced when Anne's oldest daughter told her companions aboard ship, ". . . . that she had a revelation that a young man in the ship should be saved, but he must walk in the ways of her mother."[60] Perhaps it was aboard ship, or later at Anne's women's meetings that Mr. Bartholomew's wife allegedly learned that Mrs. Hutchinson had opened her mind to Mr. Wheelwright who, " . . . was not acquainted with this way until she imparted it unto him." Since the section of testimony in which this sentence is set focuses primarily on Anne's revelations one can deduce that, "this way" referred to is in reference to her prophetical revelations.[61] Taking this into account, but more specifically Wheelwright's close personal ties with the Hutchinson family and, initially, strong support of his sister-in-law, one can reasonably conclude that at the very least he was privy to Anne's views before and during the early stages of the Antinomian debate.

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[59] "The Examination of Mrs. Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," pp. 322, 338-39.

[60] Ibid., p. 339.

[61] Ibid., p. 343.

In later years when Wheelwright felt called upon to clarify his role in the Antinomian affair he set forth a judgement of Mrs. Hutchinson which succeeded in justifying his attraction to her and his repudiation of her in terms that were understandable if not entirely convincing to his critics.

> As for Mrs. Hutchinson, she was a woman of a good wit, and not onely so . . . but naturally of a good judgement too, as appeared in her civil occasions; In spirituals indeed she gave her understanding over into the power of suggestion and immediate dictates, by reason of which she had many strange fancies, and erroneous tenents possest her, especially during her confinement, where she might feel some effect too from the quality of humors, together with the advantage the deyill took of her condition attended with melancholy.[62]

Anne Hutchinson had a considerable impact on both men and women. Certainly her perception of "spirituals" was no more and possibly less controversial than that of Samuel Gorton and George Fox. However greatly John Wheelwright admired Anne Hutchinson's intellectual abilities he would hardly have permitted himself to be so closely associated with her in the Antinomian debate if he had considered her judgement in spiritual matters seriously defective--especially during her pregnancies which he had ample opportunity to observe. There is no reason to doubt that John Wheelwright sincerely repented his role in the Antinomian debate--his association with a movement that progressed to a more radical position than he had anticipated or could accept. But Wheelwright's judgement

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[62]Wheelwright, Mercurius Americanus, p. 197.

of Anne Hutchinson is suspect--it reflects his own need to exculpate himself from an association that had tainted his reputation. Certainly it was acceptable to his contemporaries and convenient for Wheelwright to belatedly characterize Mrs. Hutchinson's spiritual peregrinations as delusions--amplified by the frailties of her sex.

On August 3, 1637 Henry Vane left Boston for the mother country. In the less than two years he had spent in Massachusetts, Vane had served as governor, been elected as a deputy to the General Court and distinguished himself as the most prominent of Mrs. Hutchinson's supporters. Thus in this short period, Vane, still in his early twenties, had been granted the highest honors the infant colony had to offer. If such honors were gratifying to so young a man it must also be noted that Vane as governor had experienced the humiliations of defeat, specifically in his efforts to establish a secure position for the Antinomians in Massachusetts.[63] For Mrs. Hutchinson and her supporters Vane's decision to return to England was a blow--an ill omen for their future in the colony. His precipitous departure at such a critical moment for his party must have seemed a premature admission of defeat--a desertion of friends who had counted on his support. But considering Vane's character it is likely that the former governor, knowing he had failed to secure the advantage in

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[63]Winthrop, The History of New England, I, pp. 207-8, 215-20.

Massachusetts, believed he could press the case of his party more effectively in England. As the son and heir of Sir Henry Vane, Comptroller of the King's Household, young Vane had access to quarters beyond the reach of his hard pressed friends.[64] Nevertheless it was a grievous occasion for the band of supporters who had gathered to bid Vane farewell. What the former governor's thoughts were on this occasion it is impossible to say. Yet if Vane was eager to leave behind the disappointments of his sojourn in Boston, he would in future prove himself a worthy advocate for both his friends and former opponents in New England.[65]

For the Preparationists Henry Vane's departure was a welcome relief. Most would have been in accord with Mr. Peter who on one occasion told Vane, " . . . that before he came . . . the churches were in peace."[66] Mr. Winthrop, returned once more to the governorship, did not interrupt his daily routine to see Vane off, though he saw to it that his departure was marked by the proper deference due to his station. His absence was a telling commentary on how greatly relations had deteriorated between the young aristocrat and Winthrop, the seasoned veteran, who had enthusiastically

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[64] Ibid., p. 170.

[65] J. H. Adamson and H. F. Folland, Sir Harry Vane: His Life and Times, 1613-1662 (Boston: Gambit Incorporated, 1973), pp. 119-20. Hereafter cited as Sir Harry Vane.

[66] Winthrop, The History of New England, I, p. 209.

joined in welcoming Henry Vane to Massachusetts in 1635.[67] Clearly events had succeeded in tempering Winthrop's enthusiasm who merely stated in his journal that, "The governour, Mr. Vane, a wise and godly gentleman, held, with Mr. Cotton and many others, the indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost in a believer, and went so far beyond the rest, as to maintain a personal union with the Holy Ghost."[68]

Whatever his private feelings, Winthrop may have wisely calculated that a strong personal attack on Mr. Vane might do irreparable harm to his cause at home. Yet John Wheelwright inferred that the charge of sedition brought against him (supposedly for A Fast-Day Sermon) was partially activated by Winthrop's desire to, indirectly at least, strike at Vane.

> . . . The inequality of observance did not proceed from any effect Mr. Wh. Sermon had upon them; . . . but from the affection which some designed to those offices, bore to the then Governor Sr. He: Vain, who by his noble, affable and discret carriage, ingaged their utmost attendance; where observe the edge of Malice, which when it dare not suppressed by fear, openly, yet secretly it will fix, though he did not inroll Sr. Henry amongst Familists, . . . Though he will not say, he was such a Sectary, yet whilst he talks of his preferment above the following Governor,

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[67] Ibid., pp. 170, 235.

[68] Ibid., p. 206.

> as an Issue of Mr. Wh: Sermon, upon his own premisses, he necessarily infers it.[69]

Wheelwright's estimation of Winthrop in this regard has stirred little attention. But in fairness to Wheelwright it should be noted that Winthrop's judgement was not always even-handed, particularly in regard to Mrs. Hutchinson. It must have rankled Winthrop to see Vane, young in years and experience, champion a party which he believed would bring ruin to the colony he had labored to create. Possibly in such circumstances Winthrop might have felt justified in resorting to measures which he would normally abhor. Taking into account, however, Wheelwright's questionable motives one cannot, on the basis of the evidence, determine how far Winthrop was willing to go in defense of his principles. But one should not ignore the possibility that in this instance Winthrop's zeal overruled his conscience.

Writing more than sixty years later, Cotton Mather had no reason to mask the bitter feelings Vane's support of the Antinomians had aroused among the faithful in Massachusetts.

> His Election will remain as a Blemish to their Judgement who did Elect him, while New-England remains a Nation, for he coming from Old-England, a Young Unexperienced Gentleman, (and as young in Judgement as he was in Years) by the Industry of some that could

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[69] Wheelwright, Mercurius Americanus, pp. 219, 227-8.

> do much, and thought by him to play their own Game, was presently Elected Governour; and before he was scarce warm in his Seat, began to Broach New Tenets; and these were agitated with as much Violence, as if the Welfare of New-England must have been Sacrificed rather than these not take place. But the Wisdom of the State put a Period to his Government; necessity caused them to undo the Works of their own Hands, and leave us a Caveat, that all good Men are not fit for Government.[70]

Clearly Vane lacked seasoning as a statesman, but he was scarcely a callow youth--an easy prey to Antinomian interests. He completed his formal education at Westminster School--an institution with an excellent reputation for rigorous academic standards. Arriving at Oxford at age sixteen Vane refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy--a mandatory requirement for matriculation at university.[71] Thus early Henry Vane demonstrated the intensity of his convictions--the preeminent value he placed on the demands of conscience. A tour of the Continent complemented by a stint in the English diplomatic corps in Vienna groomed Vane for a career at court.[72] But the course Sir Henry Vane (an ambitious courtier in full conformity with the established church) had set for his heir failed to take into account the younger Vane's plans for the future. Externally he was all that his father could wish--brilliant, polished and well initiated into the world of great affairs. His return to

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[70]Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, Book II, p. 18.

[71]Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, pp. 29, 32.

[72]Ibid., pp. 35-36, 40-41.

England, however, also seemed to increase his dissatisfaction with the current structure and policies of the church. Like so many others who sought alternatives Vane's thoughts turned from the Old World to the New Jerasalem.

> Here came also one Mr. Henry Vane, . . . being called to the obedience of the gospel, forsook the honours and preferments of the court, to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in purity here. His father, being very adverse to this way, (as no way savouring the power of religion,) would hardly have consented to his coming hither, but that, acquainting the king with his son's disposition and desire, he commanded him to send him hither, gave him license for three years' stay here.[73]

The dramatic circumstances surrounding Vane's decision was a matter for public gossip--offering an excellent opportunity for propaganda favorable to the colony. The fathers of New England were quick to seize upon the opportunity that chance had offered. Vane's youth, later used to suggest faulty judgement, was positively emphasized as a sign of the Lord's blessing. Barely had he arrived in the colony before he was admitted to membership in the Boston Church.[74] Assured of a promising political future in the colony, Vane, comfortably settled with Mr. Cotton, took full occasion of altered circumstances to follow the pressing needs of conscience. Soon he became the most conspicuous member of Mrs.

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[73] Ibid., pp. 44-45.
Winthrop, The History of New England, I, p. 170.

[74] Ibid.

Hutchinson's weekly meetings.[75] The predilection of the young aristocrat for the teachings of an obscure and aging matron was open to distortion. Vane's adversaries in the colony were inclined to attribute his association with Anne Hutchinson to the greenness of youth or, possibly, the influence of the Devil. Distance provided for a more lurid interpretation of their relationship: later it was rumored in England that Vane had not only brought Anne and her friend Mary Dyer to the colony but had debauched them.[76]

Certainly it seemed a peculiar association: Anne, in contrast to her husband, was gently born but her age, sex, and narrow circumstances made her an unlikely mentor for a youth of Vane's background. It is a measure of Anne's personality that such disparities could be surmounted. The contours of Anne's relationship with Vane are discernible but the details are to a considerable extent a matter of conjecture. Battis, consistent in his approach to Anne Hutchinson, believes she turned from Cotton to Vane--relying on him as a "mental director."[77] Anne, he suggests was flattered by Vane's support whom he describes, " . . . as unstable

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[75]Battis, Saints and Sectaries, pp. 106-107.

[76]Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, p. 118.

[77]Battis, Saints and Sectaries, p. 52.

as he was charming, and seriously lacking in executive ability."[78] Vane's abilities require no defense; his career in New England reflects that promise as well as his lack of practical experience in the exercise of political power. But in any case, however skillfully Vane had pressed his cause he lacked the political muscle--the support necessary to outmaneuver the majority. That Vane's performance, on occasion, reflects his frustration hardly sustains Battis's proposition that he was unstable or deficient in executive ability.

Based on existing evidence there seems little to indicate that at this stage Mrs. Hutchinson aspired to the political leadership of the radical Antinomians--a role which her sex would have made difficult, if not impossible. If Roger Williams letter of April 16, 1638 is a reliable guage of the situation Anne and her associates, newly exiled in Rhode Island, continued to look to Henry Vane as the champion of their party.

> I find their longings great after Mr. Vane, although they think he can not return this year; the eyes of some are so earnestly fixed upon him that Mrs. Hutchinson professeth if he come not to New, she must to Old England.
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> I have endeavored by many arguments to beat off their desires of Mr. Vane as G.G. and the chief are satisfied unless he come so for his life, but I have endeavored to discover the snare in that also.[79]

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[78] Ibid., p. 107.

[79] Roger Williams, The Complete Writings of Roger Williams, ed. by James Russell (New York: Russell & Russell Inc., 1963), VI, p. 92. This particular letter was sent to John Winthrop,

Anne seems to have acknowledged Vane's leadership in a sphere of endeavor from which she was barred. But in my opinion it would be a misreading of the situation to assume that Mrs. Hutchinson yielded to Vane, a man young enough to be her son, the directorship of her mental life. Weighing the evidence I suggest that the relationship of Anne Hutchinson and Henry Vane proceeded from a spiritual basis--the mutual affinity of charismatic personalities who shared a similar spiritual vision. It is entirely consistent with this view that Roger Williams, well informed of the Antinomian crisis in Massachusetts and burdened with the presence of both Anne Hutchinson and Samuel Gorton in Rhode Island, feared that the addition of Henry Vane to the situation might create a catalytic reaction--the resurgence of a movement beyond his ability to control.[80] Rhode Island was far more vulnerable to such a proposition than the neighboring colonies. For if Anne Hutchinson provided the spiritual inspiration for the radical Antinomians, Henry Vane possessed the qualities and position to serve (in the proper situation) as its political executor.

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which might account for the rather aloof tone that Williams took toward the Antinomians.

[80] Howard M. Chapin, ed., Documentary History of Rhode Island (Providence, 1916), II, pp. 25, 60. Although Williams's opinion of Mrs. Hutchinson fluctuated he was a friend of Vane, whom he says shared responsibility with him for securing Aquidneck Island from Miantinomu. He knew them both well enough to believe (despite his friendship with Vane) the former governor's presence would have a momentous and possibly disturbing impact on the colony.

Reproached for allegedly bringing dissention to the churches of New England Vane replied, " . . . that the (light) of the gospel brings a sword, and the children of the bondwoman would persecute those of the freewoman."[81] Considered in the broad context of Vane's spiritual development, so painfully recorded in his later writings, it seems reasonable to conclude that in this particular statement he repudiated the spiritual fitness of his adversaries to guide the Lord's faithful remnant in the wilderness.[82] Despite Vane's youth he was hardly a neophyte in his spiritual life. At fourteen Vane, unassisted by the external formula of

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[81] Winthrop, The History of New England, I, p. 209.

[82] Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, pp. 329-30. Vane's religious writings, The Retired Man's Meditations (London, 1655), Two Treatises: Epistle General to the Mystical Body of Christ and the Face of the Times (London, 1662), and A Pilgrimage into the Land of Promise (London, 1664), should be examined in relation to the Antinomian debate, specifically the theological issues raised, as well as the political and social implications. For example, Vane's opinion of those who have been spiritually reborn for the first time may be, at least in part, a reflection of his attitude toward the Preparationists in New England. In summarizing his views, Adamson and Folland state,

> "The devil, he says, takes little thought for those who have experienced neither the first nor the second spiritual coming, for they are his without reaching. . . . His real opportunities therefore lie among men who, having experienced the first coming, feel assured in their blessedness. As king of this world, the devil gives them success, power, and tyranny, while the true seed are persecuted and hounded even to death. . . . Vane . . . cannot keep out the tone of bitterness. Those who have merely the perfection of the first Adam, pretending to saintship in their seats of magistracy and power, enforcing their personal will by warrant of the scriptures, the outer world devoid of inner illumination, make themselves absolute arbiters of religious

religion, had experienced the gift of God's free grace.[83] Vane's conversion experience, his first rebirth through the immediate witness of the Holy Spirit, was the turning point in his spiritual life. For Vane it was the first of three progressive stages of spiritual rebirth. In the third and final stage he divided the truly elect into a higher and a lower order--each of which were granted a corresponding infusion of the Holy Spirit.[84]

Perhaps Vane's conception of spiritual evolution seems comparable on the surface to Shepard's, for example, description of preparation. But this is hardly the case. According to Vane the first level of spiritual rebirth provides a conditional promise of election--restoring man to Adam's state before the fall.[85] At this level, men, particularly in positions of power, are apt to propagate evil in the name of godliness--confusing external conformity to God's law, sanctification, as signs of election.[86] Overall

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controversies. With the formal Bible in one hand, the sword in the other, they determine what are heresies and blasphemies, and trample under their feet the spiritual seed."

[83] Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, pp. 31-32. Rufus M. Jones, Spiritual Reformers of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (Boston: Beacon Press, 1959), p. 272.

[84] Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, p. 443.

[85] Ibid., p. 328.

[86] Ibid.

he believed that both sectarians and the orthodox, including it is likely the churches of New England, were held in the bondage of the first covenant. Man's salvation, he affirms, is dependent on moving from the first or external covenant to experiencing the second coming of Christ in the soul.[87] This apparently elitest blend of Calvinism and mysticism is mitigated by emphasizing that spiritual progression to the second level is essentially voluntary--actively sought for by the children of the light.[88] The truly justified, the blessed of Christ, are found among every nation and creed.[89] Therefore it follows that salvation is entirely a matter between man and God--independent of church organization or affiliation. The twice born though eternally justified are neither, " . . . godded with God nor Christed with Christ." Yet they are set apart from the ordinary run of mankind--cleansed of all sin they had or might commit and removed from the judgement of any man.[90] In the third and final stage of spiritual evolution a remnant of the elect, purified and incapable of evil, are brought into a close fellowship with Christ; the lesser portion of this division are accorded the state of

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[87] Ibid., pp. 328-29.

[88] Ibid., pp. 326-28.

[89] Ibid., p. 329.

[90] The Retired Man's Meditations (London, 1655), quoted in Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, p. 329.

angels and the higher are granted equal friendship with Christ.[91] To the most blessed of the elect Christ reveals the shape of his kingdom on earth, which they are to labor for and bear witness to until his second coming in the flesh.[92]

Vane's religious writings are generally considered complex, disjointed and difficult to understand. But whatever his shortcomings as a theologian his definition of spiritual rebirth and certain expectation of the millennium, which Vane believed in the end would be peacefully effected by the intervention of Christ, were the sure anchors of his spiritual life.[93] Drawing on his writings, however, the details of Vane's spiritual life were constantly reshaped, refined and altered--an ongoing process of evolution that continued throughout his life. Vane's sojourn in New England was part of that process--a remarkable opportunity to put to the test ideas seeded in his earliest youth. As a friend of such disparate personalities as John Cotton, John Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson it is likely that Vane was moved by their enthusiasm and contributed to it. In this highly charged situation, the constant cross-fertilization of ideas,

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[91] Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, p. 443.

[92] Ibid., pp. 328-31.

[93] Ibid., p. 331.

particularly between Mrs. Hutchinson and the young governor, who shared a strong spiritual affinity, may have played a part in splintering the Antinomian party--moving Anne to a more radical position. Indeed, if one considers Vane's conduct in New England and his religious writings as a mature reflection of views developed in his youth, he may have been the author of or disseminated some of the eighty-two errors (condemned by a synod of ministers representing the churches of New England on August 30, 1637) that were attributed to Anne Hutchinson, John Wheelwright and even Samual Gorton.[94]

Yet Vane was spared a formal accusation, though the bitterness that lingered against him in Massachusetts indicates he may possibly have been held guilty of more than appeared in the record. Political considerations may have spared Vane the kind of charges brought against John Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson. Few would have wished to permanently alienate Vane's friendship for Massachusetts or create more disturbing ripples in exalted circles at home. Equally Vane's prominence in the Antinomian affair, his undeniable affinity for Mrs. Hutchinson may have prevented the charge of witchcraft from being brought against her. Most certainly such a charge would, at least indirectly, have implicated the former governor and very likely have moved him to the most strenuous efforts on her behalf. It

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[94]Winthrop, A Short Story, pp. 219-47.

would be a mistake to underestimate the importance of the relationship of Anne Hutchinson and Henry Vane: both had turned from Anglicanism to Puritanism and been disappointed; both took a literal approach to Millenarianism--living in expectation of Christ's second coming; both ended their lives as Seekers--developing a personal religion that was incompatible with institutional religion or the sects.[95] The exact dimensions of their relationship must remain uncertain, but it seems to have left its mark on both of them. At the end of his life, Vane, rejecting the reformed churches as the enemies of the inner light, and conscious of continuing religious disputes in New England, believed that the final battle between the, " . . . serpent and the woman's seed, . . ." would be fought in America.[96]

Crystallization

One major authority on the life of Anne Hutchinson believes her conversion proceeded in two primary stages: indoctrination in Puritan tenets by John Cotton at some point between 1615 and 1629, with emphasis on the latter period; movement from his interpretation of doctrine, " . . . to her own extreme and mystical statement, . . ." between 1630 and

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[95] Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, p. 207. Chapin, Documentary History of Rhode Island, II, pp. 51-52.

[96] Two Treatises: Epistle General to the Mystical Body of Christ and the Face of the Times (London, 1662), quoted in Adamson and Folland, Sir Harry Vane, pp. 444-45.

1631. In his opinion her enthusiasm in New England reflects the fever of the newly converted. Secondly he assumes that if she had held such opinions for an extended period in the mother country she would have resorted to actions that, " . . . would have brought her notoriety, if not legal apprehension." Since he notes there is no evidence, " . . . of irregularity of doctrine or conduct on her part before she left England, ..." we must assume that her ideas were of a relatively recent origin.[97]

The harsh conditions of daily life in the colony created optimum conditions for the generation of religious enthusiasm. Captain Clap, a simple man and no friend of Mrs. Hutchinson, describes men and women who had learned to walk warily in England swept up in the intense excitement of a spiritual revival.

> The Lord Jesus Christ was so plainly held out in the Preaching of the Gospel . . . and the absolute Necessity of the New Birth, and God's holy Spirit in those Days was pleased to accompany the Word with such Efficacy upon the Hearts of many; that our Hearts were taken off from Old England and set upon Heaven. The Discourse, not only of the Aged, but of the Youth also, was not, How shall we go to England? . . . but How shall we go to Heaven? Have I true Grace wrought in my Heart? Have I Christ or no? O how did Men and Women, young and old, Pray for Grace, beg for Christ in those Days; and it was not in vain.[98]

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[97]Battis, Saints and Sectaries, pp. 44-45.

[98]Capt. Roger Clap, Memoirs of Capt. Roger Clap (Boston, 1731), pp. 20-21.

Moved to a sense of sin, Captain Clap wrestled with his conscience for a sign of his salvation.

> In my saddest Troubles for want of a clear Evidence of my good Estate, I did on a Time Examine my self upon my Bed in the Night, concerning my spiritual Estate; putting my self upon this Trial, How my Heart stood affected to Sin? . . . At that Time my conscience did witness to me that my State was good: And God's holy Spirit did witness (I do believe) together with with my Spirit, that I was a Child of God; and did fill my Heart and Soul with such a full Assurance that Christ was mine, that it did so transport me as to make me cry out upon my Bed with a loud Voice, He is come, He is come.[99]

In this environment Mrs. Hutchinson began to teach--working to open stony hearts for the reception of God's free grace. Her fervor was contagious, but not unmarked by a careful concern for self-preservation. Although Anne could be "indiscreet"[100] the perilous course she steered in Boston was marked by caution as well as daring. John Winthrop considered her a practiced dissembler who, " . . . had learned her skil in England."[101] So successful was Mrs. Hutchinson in maintaining her position that said Cotton the errors of which she was suspected, " . . . were not fastened personally upon her: nor had we any two witnesses, that would affirm to us that she did broach or maintain such errors or heresies, . . ."

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[99] Ibid., p. 25.

[100] "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," pp. 322, 338, 339.

[101] Winthrop, A Short Story, p. 263.

until the general court sentenced her to banishment.[102] Indeed Mrs. Hutchinson's testimony was the primary instrument in securing her suppression in Massachusetts.

> . . . then this place in Daniel (6.4,5,) was brought unto me and did shew me that though I should meet with affliction yet I am the same God that delivered Daniel out of the lion's den, I will also deliver thee. - Therefore I desire you to look to it, for you see this scripture fulfilled this day . . . I desire you that as you tender the Lord and the church and commonwealth to consider and look what you do. You have power over my body but the Lord Jesus hath power over my body and soul, and assure yourselves thus much, you do as much as in you lies to put the Lord Jesus from you, and if you go on in this course you begin you will bring a curse upon you, and your posterity, and the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.[103]

In this extraordinary statement Anne castigated a people whom she felt had betrayed the spirit of colonization. At a personal level the force of it reflects frustrations that had developed for a considerable period. In England Anne had accepted the necessity for concealment. The Hutchinson's had been, "well beloved," in their native town.[104] In contrast to her lot in Massachusetts Mrs. Hutchinson was not kept under close surveillance in Alford. Therefore Anne was relatively free to disseminate quietly her opinions

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[102] Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," pp. 282-83.

[103] "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," pp. 337-38.

[104] Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," p. 238.

within the intimacy of her circle. The conditions in New England, higher expectations and the impetus of a spiritual revival altered the case. Here the ideas Anne had considered in England and experimented with as a teacher and prophetess in her Boston home demanded open expression. The religious consciousness of Anne Hutchinson was constantly engaged in a process of evolution. Transportation to Massachusetts, and the shock of public trials substantially speeded up the process--one that continued unabated in her exile in Rhode Island.

In my opinion the testimony of Anne's life and the reports of her contemporaries tend to indicate that her conversion to Puritanism and a mystical approach to religious experience developed simulataneously and at a relatively early point in her life. Unquestionably Mr. Cotton inspired Anne and sharpened her perspective--that he bears primary responsibility for her conversion to Puritan tenets seems unlikely. John Cotton in his long experience of Anne Hutchinson remembered her best as a woman much given to her own mind. If she had remained in England she might have lived and died unknown in her Alford home, or, had she survived to the Civil War, cut a considerable figure in the religious debates of the period.

At some point following John Cotton's leave of absence from St. Botolph's and departure for New England Mrs. Hutchinson reached a critical point in her religious development.

> When I was in old England, I was much troubled at the constitution of the Churches there, so farre, as I was ready to have joyned to the Separation, whereupon I set apart a day for humiliation by my selfe, to seeke direction from God, and then did God discover unto me the unfaithfulnesse of the Churches, and the danger of them, and that none of those Ministers could preach the Lord Jesus aright . . . . . after I had begged this light a twelve moneth together, at last he did let me see how I did oppose Christ Jesus, and he revealed to mee . . . the Atheisme of my owne heart, and how I did turne in upon a Covenant of works, and did oppose Christ Jesus; from which time the Lord did discover to me all sorts of Ministers, and how they taught, and to know what voyce I heard, which was the voyce of Moses; which of John Baptist, and which of Christ; the voyce of my beloved, from the voyce of strangers; and thenceforth I was the more careful whom I heard.[105]

Forewarned that she would suffer affliction in New England Mrs. Hutchinson prepared to act in accordance with the voice of the Lord's, " . . . own spirit to my soul."[106] Her position was absolute--nothing less than complete severance with the Mother country. Later as she viewed the starkness of new Boston she confided to Mr. Bartholomew the depths of her trust, specifically that, " . . . if she had not a sure word that England should be destroyed her heart would shake." In this at least she was in agreement with Mr. Hooker who had predicted England's destruction prior to his departure for the colony.[107]

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[105] Winthrop, A Short Story, pp. 271-72.

[106] "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," p. 337.

[107] Ibid., pp. 338-339.

Considered superficially Anne's tale of her spiritual labors, her absolute faith and her conviction that England was doomed seems compatible enough with Puritan thought. Even her remarks that she was ready to turn Separatist if she had remained in England dovetailed with the de facto policy of separation from the Church of England that was implemented in Massachusetts. But taken as a whole Anne's confessions raise serious questions about the nature of her conversion to Puritanism. Abandoning the Anglicanism of her father, Anne had embraced the mystical strain in Puritan piety--an affinity deepened by private meditation and her later exposure to Mr. Cotton. The supression of John Wheelwright and the departure of John Cotton initiated her complete dependence on prophetical biblicism. By immediate revelation she was granted the power to discern who spoke with the voice of her Lord or, " . . . the spirit of antichrist."[108] Following this train of thought Anne confirms that she had to leave the Mother country for there was none to preach to her the pure word of God. Plainly Mrs. Hutchinson dismissed the Puritan ministry in her homeland in favor of settlement in a remote colony and contact with one or two ministers whom she felt spoke truth. Anne's relationship to the Puritan movement is entirely selective--a matter of personal definitions and human affinities.

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[108] Ibid., p. 336.

As Mrs. Hutchinson's case unfolded in Massachusetts her natural affinity with the sectaries and the frailty of her connection with the Puritan movement per se was definitively established at her trial by the Boston Church in March, 1638. In a fashion reflective of her literal approach to Bible exegesis Mrs. Hutchinson tentatively probed doctrinal issues that are fundamental to the existence of established Christianity. Reflecting on the Lord's curse on Adam and his seed Anne opened her mind to the brethren, " . . . that is how a Thinge that is Immortally miserable can be immortally happie." The Lord, said Mr. Cotton, " . . . that makes miserable can make us happy." Then said Anne, "I desire to hear God speak this and not man. Shew me whear thear is any Scripture to prove it that speakes [illegible]."[109]

Progressively Mrs. Hutchinson brought into question: the existence of heaven and hell; the resurrection of the body; and the immortality of the soul, which she referred to as, " . . . nothing but Light." Culminating her inquiry she verged on predicting the imminency of Christ's Second Coming.

> Mr. Cotton. I would aske our sister this Question, whether the Soule Body and spirit be not Immortal 1 Peter 3.19.
> Mrs. Hutchinson. It is more than I know. How doe we prove that both soule and body are saved?

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109 "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," pp. 354-356. Apparently Mrs. Hutchinson believed that the Lord's curse on Adam and his seed, which provided for the dissolutionment of the body, meant that both body and soul were condemned to eternal annihilation.

> Brother Wilson. I pray God kepe your hole body soule and body may be kept blamless to Salvation.
> Mrs. Hutchinson. It is sayd they are kept blameles to the coming of Christ Jesus not to Salvation.
> Brother Wilson. What doe we mene by the Cominge of Christ Jesus?
> Mrs. Hutchinson. By Cominge of Christ thear he meanes his cominge to us in Union.

By inference at least Mrs. Hutchinson posed the possibility that the coming of Christ in union fulfilled the promise of the redemption--the ultimate goal of Christianity. Cotton's response was a direct and astringent rebuttal.

> . . . the other Thinges that you hould of the Mortalletie of the Soule by Nature, and that Christ is not united to our Bodies: and that the Resurrection spoken of at his appearinge is ment of his appearinge to us in Union, thease are of dayngerous Consequence . . . if this be soe than let us eate and drinke for tomorrow we shall dye . . . let us naythe fear Hell nor the losse of Heaven . . . what need we care what we speake, or doe, hear if our Soules perish and dye like beasts.

John Cotton recognized that the issues Anne raised were questions, and not positive statements of personal conviction. But that a woman of Mrs. Hutchinson's standing had voiced such ideas would spread them, " . . . like a Leprosie, and infect farr and near, and will eate out the very Bowells of Religion."[110] He had begun to discern in Mrs. Hutchinson's dependence on divine revelation the same potentialities that John Winthrop had labored to impress at her civil trial, that Mrs. Hutchinson's religious enthusiasm might serve as the

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[110] "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," pp. 354-63, 371-73.

instrument for violent revolution--similar to that of the Munster Anabaptists in sixteenth century Germany.

> These disturbances that have come among the Germans have been all grounded upon revelations, and so they that have vented them have stirred up their hearers to take up arms against their prince and to cut the throats one of another, . . . and whether the devil may inspire the same into their hearts here I know not, for I am fully persuaded that Mrs. Hutchinson is deluded by the devil.[111]

Anne's church trial tends to confirm that her grasp of doctrine was less extensive than expected of a woman in her position. And this seems less a matter of inadequate education than predetermination on Anne's part to ignore or discard facets of established Christianity that complicated her purpose--seeking the pure simplicity of the Apostalic Age. In such terms Anne's original conversion to Puritanism was a highly selective and personalized process--unconsciously perhaps a substitute for a more radical break with established religion. Anne's pattern of religious development is similar to that of the Seekers who abandoning formal religious affiliations waited in expectation of the light. Both the Seekers and Familists (Family of Love)[112] would prove fruitful to

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[111] "The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court at Newton," p. 343.

[112] Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, pp. 22-23. Henry Niclaes, founder of the Familists or Family of Love, was born in Munster; allegedly he was a friend or in contact with Several early leaders of the Anabaptist movement (a term loosely applied to include various sects of the Protestant left) in Germany and Holland. The Familists emphasized the following points: That mankind could attain Adam's state before the fall; that men could only understand the Bible through

the Quakers. Significantly many of Anne's most devoted supporters would find fulfillment in the Quaker movement.[113] In 1676, in a tract secretly printed in England, Samuel Groome linked Anne and her movement to the Quakers--something that Roger Clap had long since discerned.[114]

> And many of them would presume to Preach in private Houses, both Men and Women, much like the Quakers. They would talk of the Spirit, and of Revelations by the Spirit without the Word, as the Quakers do, talk of the light within them.[115]

There is no doubt that in Old or New England Mrs. Hutchinson was receptive to sectarian ideas. To one extent or another she had been exposed to and influenced by Brownists, Seekers, Familists, Millenarians, Gridletonians[116] and Gortonists.[117] Later in England during the sixteen forties and

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the indwelling light of the Holy spirit in them; that Heaven and Hell were experienced in this life and not in the next. Niclaes also believed that preachers should be itinerant, and that property should be held in common. The Familists were concentrated in Ely, East Anglia and the north of England.

[113] James F. Maclear, "The Heart of New England Rent," Mississippi Valley Historical Review, XLII, (1956), 651.

[114] Groome, "A Glass for the People of New England," 12.

[115] Clap, Memoirs of Capt. Roger Clap, p. 33

[116] Thomas Sippell, Zur Vorgeschichte des Quakertums (Giessen, 1920), quoted in Hill, The World Turned Upside down, pp. 65-67. The following doctrinal tenets are selected from a series of fifty charges brought against Roger Brearley, curate at Gridleton, in Yorkshire, and his congregation in 1617. Brearley is credited as the founder of the Gridletonians.

> "(1) a motion rising from the spirit is more to be rested in than the word itself; (2) it is a sin to believe the Word . . . without a motion of the spirit; (3) the child of God in the power of grace doth perform every duty well,

fifties Anne's Millenarian expectation and doubts would be openly expressed and strongly advanced. Many would agree with John Bunyan and John Tillighast that the millennium would arrive before the passing of their generation.[118] But the issue is not that Mrs. Hutchinson's views were respectable or representative of a substantial minority in Old or New England.

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that to ask pardon for failing in matter or manner is a sin; (7) the Christian assured can never commit a gross sin; (14) a soul sanctified must so aim at God's glory, as he must never think of salvation; (33) a man having the spirit may read, pray or preach without any other calling whatsoever; (38) neither the preacher nor they pray for the King . . . They know not whether he be elected or not; (46) they cannot have more joy in heaven than they have in this life by the spirit."

Brearly also believed that mankind could master sin and free itself from death and Hell.

William C. Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (London, 1912), see chapters I and II for further information on the relationship of the sects to the Quaker movement.

[117] Johnson, Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, p. 31. Johnson claimed the Gortonists denied, " . . . the Humanity of Christ, and most blaphemously and proudly professe themselves to be personally Christ."

Winthrop, The History of New England, I, pp. 141-45. See his account of Gorton's tenets. He states in part:

" . . . that in the church there was nothing now but Christ, so that all ordinances, ministers, sacraments . . . were but men's inventions for show and pomp . . . He said also that if Christ lived eternally, then he died eternally . . . he held that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and that he was the image of God wherein Adam was created, and that the chief work and merit was in . . . his incarnation, in that he became such a thing so mean . . . he condemned and reviled magistracy . . . yet being examined he would acknowledge magistracy to be an ordinance of God in the world as marriage was, viz. no other magistracy but what was natural, as the father over his wife and children."

Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana, Book III, p. 12. According to Mather, Gorton held:

" . . . Christ was but a shadow and Figure of what is done in every Christian . . . man's losing of God's image was the Death of Christ . . . Baptism they called Vanity and

More to the point, when did Anne develop serious doubts relative to the fundamental doctrinal issues that she raised at her church trial? Did she lie, as the church alleged, when she stated, " . . . I did not hold any of thease Thinges before my Imprisonment, ..."[119] This particular charge did much to sway opinion in favor of Anne's excommunication from the Boston Church.[120]

From November 1637 until her church trial in March 1638 Mrs. Hutchinson was kept in durance at the home of Joseph Weld in Roxbury. Pregnant, sequestered from family or friends and subjected to constant examination and pejorative sermonizing Anne was thrust entirely on her own resources.[121] It was

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Abomination . . . Gorton . . . degenerated into such a Beast, that . . . he declared . . . there is no Happiness to be expected but in this Life; and he would advise his Followers, To make much of themselves, because they must have no more than what they should enjoy in this World."

The Gortonists, Gridletonians, Familists and the like shared much in common. But the Gortonists, in my opinion, to an undetermined but important extent influenced the radical Antinomians in the latter stages of the movement in Massachusetts, and particularly in Rhode Island. Certainly the tone and substance of the issues Mrs. Hutchinson raised at her church trial seem to indicate some association with Gorton.

[118] Hill, The World Turned Upside Down, p. 78.

[119] "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," p. 372.

[120] Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," pp. 283-84.

[121] Winthrop, The History of New England, I, pp. 271-72. Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Three Episodes of Massachusetts History (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press,

an environment designed to bring her to repentance, and one in which doubts that Anne had previously considered and suppressed rose to the surface. That it was repugnant to the church that Anne developed such doubts while under its control is evident, but both her statement and demeanor at her trial seem to confirm that this was the case. Anne's tentativeness,

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1896), II, p. 535.

Battis, Saints and Sectaries, pp. 54-55, 346-48. There is some controversy concerning whether Mrs. Hutchinson was or was not pregnant at her civil and church trials (November 1637 and March 1638). Lacking sufficient evidence to the contrary, I tend to agree with Adams that she was pregnant, at least preceeding her church trial. In support of this I have drawn on the testimony of Dr. John Clarke who states that Anne asked him to attend her some six weeks before the expected termination of her pregnancy (late July, and early August 1638). I think it is unlikely that a woman as experienced in these matters as Mrs. Hutchinson would have confused her symptoms or miscalculated the duration of her pregnancy. Countering this proposition, Battis, with the support of Paul A. Younge, M.D., believes that Anne did not become pregnant until April, 1638. He summarizes:

> "Mrs. Hutchinson was not pregnant at the time of her trial in November, 1637, nor did she become pregnant for at least five months thereafter. . . .
>
> Mrs. Hutchinson's behavior during this crucial period can be explained largely in terms of menopausal symptoms. She was now forty-six years old . . . Women in this stage of life are especially susceptible to uterine growths . . . For twenty-five years Mrs. Hutchinson had undergone a continuous cycle of pregnancies, deliveries, and lactations, while simultaneously bearing the heavy cares of rearing a large family. A woman suffering the anemia attendant on such an obstetrical history, subjected at a critical physiological period to extreme mental stress would almost certainly experience severe menopausal symptoms including neurotic manifestations. Under these conditions such aspects of the delusional system which Mrs. Hutchinson may hitherto have entertained inwardly could have been forced into open expression."

Battis has an unfortunate tendency to infer that the normal physiological cycles of women have an abnormal result-

responsiveness to the well-ordered arguments of others, ill-preparedness in defending her position and recantation of her doubts (both verbally and in writing) all point to the conclusion that she had not had an opportunity to think through the issues or discuss them in advance with others. On the other hand, if recantation had been a ploy of Mrs. Hutchinson to escape excommunication she would have had to renounce her revelations to lend it credibility. Yet she did not do so--placing herself in an untenable position that speaks all the more strongly for her sincerity. Whatever Anne's doubts, they were not fully developed or absolutely resolved at her church trial. That Anne had raised these issues in the first

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to a certain extent inducing mental illness. On at least one occasion he states that it is not mere " . . . coincidence that hysteria derived its name from the uterine function." It seems immaterial whether Mrs. Hutchinson was or was not pregnant or menopausal preceeding her departure from Massachusetts. Considering the harsh physical conditions women were accustomed to endure it seems likely that Anne would have adjusted to whatever discomforts she experienced with greater ease than the average woman in contemporary western society. Indeed, in her condition of life, since reproduction was not synonymous as it is so often today with sexual attractiveness, and pregnancy carried with it mortal dangers, Anne might have welcomed menopause as an opportunity for greater freedom. Few of Mrs. Hutchinson's female contemporaries had the good fortune to reach menopause and enjoy the prospect of old age. In any case, her situation was sufficient to induce exhaustion, illness and depression--normal in the circumstances. Nor should her mystical religious experiences be considered delusional. This reflects the historian's or physician's inability to accomodate himself to the time, circumstances and personality of the subject--the imposition of twentieth century concepts of mental health on a seventeenth century woman. At the very least the joint diagnosis of Battis and Younge of Mrs. Hutchinson's physical and psychological state during the most critical phase of her career should be viewed with the utmost skepticism.

place indicates that she was moving toward a final break with institutional religion.[122] Francis Marbury, William Hutchinson, John Wheelwright, Henry Vane and John Cotton to one extent or another hindered, stirred or supported Anne's spiritual travail. Even Samuel Gorton, ill reputed in Massachusetts, may have exercised a not inconsiderable influence on Mrs. Hutchinson.[123] But the combined impact of church and state in Massachusetts on Anne had the greatest success in moving her to the farthermost edge of Protestant thought.[124]

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[122]Hubbard, A General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680, pp. 338-339.

[123]Edward Winslow, Hypocrisie Unmasked (London, 1646), p. 65. Winslow places part of the responsibility for the Antinomian affair on Gorton. In his opinion, " . . . the flare might never have been so great, . . ." if Gorton had not helped to escalate tensions.

Samuel Gorton, "Simplicities Defence Against Seven-Headed Policy," in Tracts and Other Papers Related Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America from the Discovery of the Country to the Year 1776, ed. by Peter Force (Washington: William Q. Force, 1846), IV, pp. 18, 19, 22, 23, 61. Gorton's arrival in Boston coincided with proceedings against John Wheelwright (1636-37), who was "banished" he said, " . . . for differing with them on a point of doctrine . . . That Sanctification is not the first evidence unto a Christian of his salvation." His sympathies were plain from the beginning. " . . . perceiving that the scope of their doctrine was bent only to maintain that outward forme of worship which they had erected to themselves, tending only to the outward carriage of one man toward another, Leaving those principles of Divinity, wherein we had been instructed in our native Country, tending to faith towards God in Christ . . . our consciences could not close with them."

Prior to the departure of Mrs. Hutchinson's party for Dutch territory in 1642, Rev. Collins (Anne's son-in-law) invited Gorton to join their new venture. According to Gorton, the Rev. Collins,

> ". . . seriously advised him to go along to the Dutch Plantation or else to the Sweads: for upon his

The Community of Women

Spiritual as well as economic[125] and political motives drew, " . . . many Men . . . and some of strong Parts, . . ." to the Antinomian movement.[126] The greatest number of males in the core group that supported Mrs. Hutchinson were natives of Lincolnshire, and London--a traditional center of dissent.[127] But her earliest and most passionate supporters were as Roger Clap and Edward Johnson collectively described them, " . . . Silly Women laden with . . . Lusts."[128] Lacking statistical information it's difficult to determine who they were--that

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knowledge . . . Massachusetts intended . . . to take away his life . . . for he Had received certain information thereof, whil'st he was amongst them . . . Gorton thanked him kindly for his love . . . but told him he could not go . . . But Master Collins and his Brother, together with their Mother and whole Family, for fear, removed to the Dutch Plantation, with divers other friends and families . . ."

In 1644 Richard Scot, Anne's brother-in-law, with eleven fellow citizens of Providence testified in writing to the sufferings of Gorton and his party at the hands of Massachusetts.

[124] Hubbard, A General History of New England from the Discovery to 1680, pp. 338-39.

Winthrop, The History of New England, II, p. 38. He states:

"Mrs. Hutchinson and those of Aquiday island broached new heresies each year. Divers of them turned professed Anabaptists, and would not wear any arms, and denied all magistracy among Christians, and maintained that there were no Churches since those founded by the Apostles and evangelists, nor could any be, nor any pastors ordained, nor seals administered but by such, and that the Church was to want these all the time she continued in the wilderness, as yet she was."

their enthusiasm was sufficiently persuasive to draw in many a husband is well attested.[129] John Winthrop in particular recognized the source and potential of Anne's powers when he characterized her as, " . . . a most dayngerous Spirit and likely with her fluent Tounge and forwardnes in Expressions to seduce and draw away many, Espetially simple Weomen of her owne sex."[130]

As the Antinomian movement evolved under Anne's influence it became at a grass roots level an extraordinary expression of feminine versus masculine religious experience. Excluding definitions of the former as subjective or the latter as objective it is clear that in whatever guise it has appeared religious enthusiasm has attracted a disproportionate number of women.[131] In the turbulence of the Reformation period a

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[125]Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. 40-41.

[126]Clap, Memoirs of Capt. Roger Clap, p. 33.

[127]Battis, Saints and Sectaries, pp. 258-59.

[128]Clap, Memoirs of Capt. Roger Clap, p. 33
Johnson, Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, p. 28.

[129]Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," p. 239.

[130]"A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," p. 365.

[131]R. A. Knox, Enthusiasm A Chapter in the History of Religion (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), p. 20.

majority of the Anabaptist martyrs were women.[132] In England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries women were drawn in substantial numbers to the sects and played a prominent role in their development. The first large group of separatists established in London in 1568 included more women than men. Eight of the twelve original members of the Baptist Church at Bedford were women. By the sixteen fourties, just a few short years after Mrs. Hutchinson's departure for New England, women preachers were active in London, Ely, Yorkshire, Hertfordshire, Somerset and Lincolnshire. In the following decade women achieved their greatest success and notoriety in the Quaker movement, which included serving as the first missionaries to Dublin, the universities, London and the New World. Collectively the sects drew nourishment from anti-intellectual and anti-clerical sentiments rooted in English society. Major emphasis was placed on the spiritual equality of men and women, literal interpretation of the Bible, the dominance of the Holy Spirit and the validity of prophecy and revelations. The sects in particular offered women an opportunity to teach and preach, and often to play an active role in church government.[133]

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[132]Hans J. Hillerbrand, The World of the Reformation (New York: Charles Scribner & Sons, 1973), p. 193.

[133]Keith Thomas, "Women and the Civil War Sects," Past and Present, XIII (1958), 44-48, 51.

There is no doubt that Anne Hutchinson's role in the Antinomian affair and the support she drew from women was not a unique event but an early manifestation of tendencies current in the Mother country.[134] By her own testimony she knew of at least one female preacher whom she described to Mr. Peters as, " . . . a Womane of 1000 hardly any like to Her."[135] In an early confrontation with John Winthrop she demonstrated her mastery of Biblical texts that favored the spiritual equality of the sexes.

> Hutch. It is said, I will poure my Spirit upon your Daughters, and they shall prophesie, &C. If God gave mee a gift of Prophecy, I may use it.
> Court. . . the Apostle applies that prophecy unto those extraordinary times, and the fits of miracles and tongues were common to many as well as the gift of prophecy, and that within your calling.[136]

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[134] C. Burrage, "Anne Trapnel's Prophecies," English Historical Review, XXVI (July, 1911).
Patricia Higgins, "The Reactions of Women with Special Reference to Women Petitioners," in Politics; Religion and the Great Civil War, ed. by Brian Manning (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1973).
Ellen McArthur, "Women Petitioners and the Long Parliament," English Historical Review, XXIV (October, 1909).
E. M. Williams, "Women Preachers and the Civil War," Journal of Modern History, Vol. * (1929). See for further background information on the relationship of Mrs. Hutchinson to the development of a women's movement in England.

[135] "A Report of the Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson before the Church in Boston," p. 380.

[136] Winthrop, A Short Story, pp. 268-69.

And so it went, each countering the argument of the other with a new text. Winthrop claiming with the support of his colleagues that Mrs. Hutchinson's meetings had so far seduced women that it created strife between husband and wife and led to the neglect of families.

> . . . we find such a course as this to be greatly prejudicial to the state . . . it will not well stand with the commonwealth that families should be neglected for so many neighbours and dames and so much time spent, we see no rule of God for this, we see not that any should have authority to set up any other exercises besides what authority hath already set up and so what hurt comes of this you will be guilty of and we for suffering you.
> Mrs. H. Sir I do not believe that to be so.[137]

In the isolation of New England the sexist theme threading the Antinomian crisis is more clearly discerned than it would have been in England. But how far was Anne prepared to go? It seems likely that she believed the last days were at hand, that traditional restraints placed on women in the church were at an end. She knew her texts and on that basis set forth a convincing case: on more than one occasion resorting to insolence in defense of it," . . . Do you think it is not lawful for me to teach women why do you call me to teach the court?"[138] Yet in terms of the political and social consequences Anne seems to have been less certain of her position.

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[137]"The Examination of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson at the Court at Newtown," p. 316.

[138]Ibid., p. 315.

Anne's decision for example not to sign the Wheelwright petition may have been dictated less by caution than acceptance on her part of provisions in English law that denied married women the right to petition.[139] Moved by millennial aspirations Mrs. Hutchinson propagated her case from a fundamental commitment to the spiritual equality of the sexes: that personal conscience in concert with Divine will superseded cultural mores--the collective weight of political and social restraints governing women.[140] That her movement would bring women into collision with social conventions, to meddling in politics, was an important though incidental result of circumstances that she could not have anticipated.

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[139] Alice Clark, The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century (New York: A. M. Kelley, 1968), p. 77.

[140] Mrs. Harry Clark Boden, "Tradition of Mary Dyer, Quaker Martyr," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register, XCVIII (January, 1944), 25.

Hazard, Caroline, The Narragansett Friends in the XVIII Century with a Chapter on Quaker Beginnings in Rhode Island (Boston: The Riverside Press, 1900), pp. 24-36.

"A true Copy of the Petition of the Gentlewomen, and Tradesmen's Wives, in and about the City of London; delivered to the honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses of the House of Commons, assembled in Parliament, on February the Fourth, 1641: together with their several Reasons, why their Sex ought thus to petition, as well as the Men; and the Manner how both their Petitions and Reasons were delivered. Likewise the Answer, which the honourable Assembly sent to them, by Mr. Pym, as they stood at the House-Door," in Harleian Miscellany (London, 1746), VII, pp. 605-607. See this as an example of the psychological context within which the women's movement developed in Old and New England in the seventeenth century. The women justified their right to petition on scriptual grounds--referring in particular to Esther and King Ahasuerus. In 1659, Mary Dyer,

Mrs. Hutchinson's appeal crossed class lines: her support extended from Henry Vane to men and women who might be characterized as socially, economically or psychologically oppressed. The broad based roots of her support are most pointedly revealed by one of her male devotee's to Edward Johnson.

> Come along with me, sayes one of them, i'le bring you to a Woman (Mrs. Hutchinson) that Preaches better Gospell than any of your black-coates that have been at the Ninneversity, a Woman of another kind of spirit, who hath had many Revelations of things to come, and for my part . . . I had rather hear such a one that speakes from the meere motion of the spirit, without any study at all, then any of your learned Scollers, although they may be fuller of Scripture . . . and admit they may speake by the helpe of the spirit, yet the other goes beyond them.[141]

The effort of an exclusive, religiously motivated elite to impose an intellectually conceived design for paradise on an earthly bound majority raised tensions and expectations to unbearable levels. Whatever the attractions of Anne's personal charisma her success, coincidently, was due to perfect timing. First with John Cotton and later on her own, Mrs. Hutchinson tuned into the latent dissatisfactions of a substantial minority who craved relief from religious anxiety. She

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(Anne's most ardent female supporter) who had since become an inspired leader of the Quakers in New England, in a letter to the General Court in Boston, justified her right to admonish them on the same Biblical grounds--Esther and King Ahasuerus. Since Mary Dyer visited England at some point after news of the king's execution reached New England, it is possible that she saw or knew of the petition. Mary, who was later reprieved from a sentence of death and banished from Massachusetts as a

was the symbol and part of a backlash--a demand for recognition of the individual and a craving for the emotional catharsis that religious enthusiasm provided. With or without Mrs. Hutchinson the potential for such a conflict was present, ripening from the beginning of the Great Migration.

> . . . the weaker Sex prevailed so farre, that they set up a Priest of their own Profession and Sex, who was much thronged after, abominably wresting the Scriptures to their own destruction: this Master-piece of Womens wit, drew many Disciples after her, and to that end boldly insinuated her selfe into the favour of none of the meanest, being also backed with the Sorcery of a second, who had much converse with the Devill by her own confession, and did, to the admiration of those that heard her, utter many speeches in the Latine Tongue, as it were in a trance. This woman was wonted to give drinkes to other Women to cause them to conceive, how they were wrought I know not, but sure there were Monsters borne not long after.[142]

Quaker, returned against the wishes of family and friends and was executed in Boston on June 1, 1660.

[141] Johnson, Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence, p. 127.

[142] Ibid., pp. 132-33.

Winthrop, The History of New England, I, p. 273, II, p. 9. According to Winthrop, Jane Hawkins, " . . . used to give young women oil of mandrakes and other stuff to cause conception; and she grew into great suspicion to be a witch, for it was credibly reported, that, when she gave any medicine . . . she would ask the (party) if she did believe, she could help her."

In 1640, Thomas Dudley, drawing on this issue, propounded the theory that the conversion of Rev. Collins (Anne's future son-in-law) was effected by supernatural means. " . . . being come to Mrs. Hutchinson, he was also taken with her heresies, and in great admiration of her, so as these, and other the like before, when she dwelt at Boston, gave cause of suspicion of witchcraft, for it was certainly known, that Hawkins's wife (who continued with her, and was her bosom friend) had much familiarity with the devil in England . . ."

Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," p. 290. According to John Cotton charges were dropped

The intimate and constant involvement of women with the basic life cycles of pregnancy, childbirth and the immediacy of sudden death trained them as survivalists; to endure and create within the confines imposed by nature, church and state. Fulfillment for women, particularly when marriage was the only acceptable vocation open to them, hinged on their contributions to family welfare and ability to produce and rear children for a society that valued them. Shaped from birth[143] to fit a demanding and restrictive role, woman's approach to change was a painful and slow process, markedly influenced by her primary loyalties to family and religion--

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against Jane Hawkins because, " . . . no familiarity with the devil could be proved against her; yet because of some other offenses in dealing with young women, she was forbidden to stay in the country."

See the following works for further information on the relationship of midwifery and witchcraft in the popular mind: Thomas R. Forbes, The Midwife and the Witch (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1966). Heinrich Kramer and James Sprenger, The Malleus Maleficarum, ed. and trans. by Rev. Montague Summers (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1971).

[143]Jacques Guillemeau, Child-Birth (London, 1612), Book I, pp. 10-11, Book III, p. 8. According to Guillemeau, even in utero a female brought greater suffering and sorrow than a male. He states in part:

> "They which be with child of a boy are more quicke and nimble in all their actions, and be in better health of body, without being subject to many infirmities, which commonly happen to women with child of a wench . . . A woman which is of child of a daughter hath a pale, heavy and swarth countenance, a melancolique eye: she is wayward, fretful and sad."

the source which for the acceptance of present conditions promised spiritual freedom and future transcendence.[144] But religion paradoxically was also the primary area of a woman's life in which individuality was stressed, it provided an outlet through which feelings normally supressed by women might be expressed in a format that was psychologically acceptable to them.

Perhaps conditions in New England fell most harshly on women. Most made the best of it. Anne Bradstreet, also a gifted woman and from Lincolnshire, managed, much against her natural inclination to keep her peace for the sake of her family. Fortunately for Mrs. Bradstreet she was able to use her poetry and prose as a creative outlet--a drain for internal conflicts that plagued her for forty years.[145] Mrs.

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[144] John Calvin, A Commentary on Genesis, trans. by John King (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Pub. Co., 1965).
Charles H. and Katherine George, The Protestant Mind of the English Reformation, 1570-1640 (New Jersey: Princeton Univ. Press, 1961).
Edmund Morgan, The Puritan Family (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).
Joan Goulianos, ed., by a Woman writt (Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books Inc., 1973), pp. 23-53.
John Milton, Prose Works of John Milton, ed. by J. A. John (London: George Bell & Sons, 1890), III, pp. 168-461.

[145] Anne Stanford, "Anne Bradstreet Dogmatist and Rebel," The New England Quarterly, XXXIX, No. 3, (September, 1966), 373-377.

Hopkins the wife of the governor of Hartford in Connecticut escaped her situation by a flight into madness, which was caused it was said because she gave herself to reading and writing books. "If", said Winthrop, " . . . she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women,.. and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in things as are proper to men, whose minds are stronger . . . she had kept her wits."[146] And in the same year that Anne Hutchinson was banished from Massachusetts, Dorothy Talbye despairing of salvation killed her three year old daughter, " . . . that she might free it from future misery." She died mute and unrepentant on the gallows at Boston.[147] Mrs. Hutchinson, the best and strongest of them was also one of them; shaped by the same society, moved by similar anxieties and concerns, she hesitantly, sometimes inprudently and bombastically, took a position for which nothing in her background had prepared her--never quite permitting herself to forge the link between spiritual equality and its political and social consequences for women.

It is no accident that Anne laid the roots of her crusade at the bedsides of women in, " . . . childbirth-

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[146] Winthrop, The History of New England, II, p. 216.

[147] Ibid., I, p. 279.

travails."[148] In her own time Anne had experienced the same physical burdens, tasted an anguish that drove women in fear of sudden death and eternal damnation to yearn for some immediate assurance of salvation. It was natural for women to turn to Mrs. Hutchinson, a healer of bodies and souls who spoke to them from a platform more intimately related to their needs and experience than the learned preachers of the church. And it was at this intimate and very personal level that Anne's enemies impinged most painfully on her relations with female disciples.

In the Antinomian affair, Mrs. Hutchinson, to her friends or enemies, seems to have embodied the most enduring symbols of feminine powers for good or evil. From whatever perspective, the theme of white versus black magic is a constant factor that pervades the approach of contemporaries to her career. To some Mrs. Hutchinson was the image of all that is pure and fruitful in womankind: the mother, teacher, nurse, wise woman and prophetess that had been chosen by divine providence to herald Christ's second coming to a corrupt world. To others Anne was moved by the powers of darkness, an instrument of the Devil and a corrupter of souls--marked with her closest associates for divine retribution. That Mrs. Hutchinson and Jane Hawkins, (a midwife,

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[148] Cotton, "The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared, 1648," p. 239.

though poorly educated) who dabbled in white magic, were associates added substance to official rumors that the Devil was loose in Massachusetts.

Chance or rather mischance brought both women to attend the lying-in of Mary Dyer. The Dyers, a young and devoted couple, were noted in the community as, " . . . notoriously infected with Mrs. Hutchinson's errours, and very censorious and troublesome." Mary, an intelligent and, " . . . a very proper and fair woman, . . ." had unwittingly drawn attention to herself, " . . . (she being of a very proud spirit, and much addicted to revelations,) . . ."[149] Anne and the young matron enjoyed a close friendship that seemed to flourish on terms of some equality. But on October 17, 1637, there was little time to engage in the kind of leisurely discussions that were so important to them. Anne (it is likely) was busy assisting Jane Hawkins, soothing Mary and keeping at bay neighboring women, who had come, as was customary, to offer their support.

Soon, however, this happy if tense occasion turned into an extraordinary event. Mary in her travail had brought forth a stillborn child--so grotesquely shaped that it could not but bring anguish to the parents and, if it were known, feed the suspicions of many who disliked the Dyers and their

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[149] Winthrop, The History of New England, I, p. 261.

friends.[150] Obviously we do not know what Anne thought, but her state of mind can reasonably be deduced. Her thoughts could not have been comforting: her colleagues were under attack; soon she would be required to publicly answer her adversaries at her civil trial; and at the lying-in of a notorious female supporter she had assisted Jane Hawkins, whom she very likely knew was rumored to be a witch, deliver an infant that some might call the Devil's child.[151] Anne's compassion for the Dyers and her justifiable concern for herself and the midwife bolstered her determination to conceal the child's deformities. John Cotton, hastily called on for

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[150] Ibid.

[151] Henrich Kramer and James Sprenger, The Malleus Maleficarum, ed. and trans. by Rev. Montague Summers (New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1971), pp. 41, 66.

Thomas Forbes, "Midwifery and Witchcraft," Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Science, XVII (1962), 281.

The Malleus Maleficarum was extensively relied upon by both Catholics and Protestants and played an influential role in bringing midwifery into disrepute. It states that of the women found guilty of superstition and witchcraft, the midwives, " . . . surpass all others in wickedness." Crimes reputedly committed by them include preventing conception, destroying the fetus in the womb, killing and devouring the child at birth or offering it to the Devil. The impact of the work of Kramer and Sprenger is evident in the regulations governing the licensing of midwives in England. As late as the eighteenth century midwives were required to take a Church of England oath that specified that they would not use sorcery, charms or witchcraft in the exercise of their office. Considering the circumstances and the principals involved in the Dyer case, Anne had good reason to conceal the child's deformities.

advice, agreed that the matter should be kept private.[152] As events proved, it was fortunate for Anne that Cotton had played a part in her decision--few would believe or suggest that he could be a party to sorcery.

The secret, however, could not be kept--the one neighboring woman who had glimpsed the child at birth could not resist disclosing what she had seen to her friends. Many of the women to whom she spoke had also been at the Dyers that night and, considering the strategies that had to be employed to conceal the infant, must have already suspected that something was amiss. In March, 1638, the day that Anne was cast from the Boston Church, the authorities learned, quite by chance, of Mary Dyer's monstrous child.[153] None were spared in the following investigation, " . . . the childe was taken up, and though it were much corrupted, yet the horns, and claws, and holes in the back, and some scales, &c. were found and seen of above a hundred persons."[154] The occult aspects of the affair were fully examined and emphasized.

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[152] Winthrop, The History of New England, I, pp. 261-62.

[153] Winthrop, A Short Story, pp. 281-82. On the day Mrs. Hutchinson was excommunicated from the Boston Church, Mary Dyer decided to walk from the church with her. A stranger, noting Mary's action, asked a woman who she was and was told " . . . the woman who had the monster." A member of the church overheard the conversation and reported it to the proper authorities.

[154] Winthrop, A Short Story, p. 282.

> The occasion of concealing it was very strange, for most of the women who were present at the womans travaile, were suddenly taken with such a violent vomiting, and purging, without eating or drinking of anything, as they were forced to goe home, others had their children taken with convulsions, (which they had not before, nor since) and so were sent for home, so as none were left at the time of the birth, but the Midwife and two other, whereof one fell asleepe.
>
> At such time as the child dyed (which was about two houres before the birth) the bed wherein the mother lay shook so violently, as all which were in the roome perceived it.[155]

Clearly the investigation provoked the grossest speculation. Yet nothing could be proved against Jane Hawkins in the case, though she was restrained from exercising her profession and informed that the magistrates had leave, " . . . to dispose of her, . . ." if she failed to leave Boston by the beginning of May.[156] John Cotton, confirming that he had supported Mrs. Hutchinson's decision, offered as a primary reason that, "He had known other monstrous births, which had been concealed, and that he thought God might intend only the instruction of the parents, and such other to whom it was (known,) &c."[157] The Dyers prepared to leave Massachusetts. No opportunity had been lost to impress on them that their deformed infant had been sent as divine punishment for their "monstrous opinions."

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[155] Ibid., p. 281.

[156] Winthrop, The History of New England, I, p. 263.

[157] Ibid., p. 262. Whatever reasons Cotton publicly gave for advising silence, I doubt he would have done so if he had not suspected that exposure of the matter might be cruelly and unjustifiably exploited.

The Dyer case, coming so soon after the ordeal of her church trial, may well have unsettled Anne. On April 16, less than a month since her church trial, Roger Williams wrote Winthrop that Mrs. Hutchinson, who had lately arrived in Rhode Island, sent her apologies, " . . . for the concealment of the monster, that she did nothing in it without Mr. Cotton's advice."[158] Perhaps Anne hoped that her belated if diplomatic acknowledgement of Winthrop's civil authority might temper his antagonism toward her. Certainly she knew that he admired John Cotton. But the matter was not so easily settled. In midsummer Anne, settled in her Rhode Island home, in turn, " . . . brought forth not one, but (which was most strange to amazement) 30 monstrous births . . . at once; some bigger, some lesser . . . few of any perfect shape, none at all of them . . . . of humane shape." This remarkable coincidence spurred a new offensive that touched Anne and Mary Dyer at a most personal level.

> Then God himselfe was pleased to step in with his casting voice, and bring in his owne vote and suffrage from heaven, by testifying his displeasure against their opinions and practices, as clearly as if he had pointed a finger, in causing the two formenting women in the time of the height of the Opinions to produce out of their wombs, as before they had out of their braines, such monstrous births as no Chronicle . . . hardly ever recorded the like. . . .
> . . . . . .
> And see how the wisdome of God fitted this judgement to her sinne every way, for looke as she had vented

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[158] Williams, The Complete Writings of Roger Williams, VI, p. 91.

> mishapen opinions, so she must bring forth deformed monsters; and as about 30. Opinions in number, so many monsters; . . . .[159]

As a lesson it was designed to teach women the consequence of rebellion, of stepping out of their calling. Certainly it was delivered in a form most calculated to titilate superstition and wound the sensibilities of women in general, and the victims of it in particular.[160] Many women who had supported Mrs. Hutchinson may well have retreated from a course which might entail such cruel consequences.

The tremendous emphasis placed on the most unsavory details of the Dyer case and Anne's miscarriage is an indication of the intense support Mrs. Hutchinson had roused among women, and the lengths the Preparationists were prepared to go to consolidate and justify their dominance in Massachusetts. For propaganda purposes, Winthrop in particular employed bizarre and diversionary tactics--willingly, it seems, titilating fear and disgust to ensure his objectives. Clearly the

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[159] Winthrop, A Short Story, p. 214.
Battis, Saints and Sectaries, pp. 247-48. Battis, citing the research of Margaret V. Richardson in pathology, suggests that the product of what may have been a menopausal pregnancy eventually, " . . . aborted into a hydatidiform mole. . . . or mass, . . ." which she gave birth to in midsummer.

[160] Winthrop, A Short Story, p. 215. He states: "This loudspeaking providence from Heaven in the monsters, did much awaken many of their followers (especially the tenderer sort) to attend Gods meaning therein; and made them at such a stand, that they dared not sleight so manifest a signe from Heaven, that from that time we found many of their eares boared . . . to attend to counsell, but others yet followed them."

bitterness that the Antinomian affair engendered followed Mrs. Hutchinson--lingering beyond her death at the hands of the Indians in 1643.

> . . . therefore Gods hand is the more apparently seene herein, to pick out this wofull woman, to make her and those belonging to her, an unheard of heavie example of their cruelty above al others.
>
> Thus the Lord heard our groanes to heaven, and freed us from this great and sore affliction.[161]

It is an ironic tribute to Anne Hutchinson's powers that only her death could bring peace of mind to the fathers of Massachusetts.

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[161] Winthrop, A Short Story, p. 218.

CONCLUSION

The civil and religious leaders of Massachusetts, were for the most part men of too able a stamp to lightly risk the image they had labored to project--a model community of men and women united in their political and religious sympathies. Previous disputes, notably Roger Williams' hasty exodus from the colony, had singed but not seriously damaged that image at home. But a repeat performance, that engaged in prolonged conflict the most prominent leaders of the colony raised disturbing prospects to supporters in the mother country.

John White's cautionary letter to John Winthrop, written in 1637, reflects the reservations of concerned friends.

> . . . if the providence and wisdome of some prevent it not you may be as much endangered by your liberty as we are by our bondage. I cannot insiste in particulars but desire you to have an eye to one thinge that you fall not into that evil abroad which you laboured to avoyd at home to binde all men to the same Tenets and practise in things which when they are well examined will be found indifferent. I have not leisure to dispute but desire you only to take notice that some of the maine things which are insisted on with you as matters of absolute necessity are esteemed by all godly Ministers that euer I spake withall amongst vs small things as if they be alowable yet at best are and will be found only things of Conveniency.

To White, the narrow course set in Massachusetts placed in jeopardy the main objectives of the Great Migration--leading to, " . . . that rocke of separation which if you once light on will shake you to pieces."[1] Winthrop and his colleagues might repudiate separation from the Church of England, but their vigorous suppression of dissident brethren confirmed the adaptation of such a policy.[2] Moreover squabbles in New Zion emphasized that the same flaws bedeviled the colonists as their brethren at home. Thus early the Antinomian debate revealed the Holy Experiment as a limited success: too paroachial and inflexible a model to meet the complex needs of Protestant Europe.

Even if such repercussions had been discerned in advance it seems unlikely that the establishment in Massachusetts would have withdrawn from the challenge that the Antinomians posed. In whatever form, the godly state or the paradise on earth, that Millenarianism manifested itself as an ideology, it contained within it the possibility for revolutionary action in a political and social context. Millenarianism had played its part in spurring the Great Migration--sealing the covenant between God and his chosen people

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[1]John Winthrop, The Winthrop Papers, III (Plimpton Press, 1944-45), p. 336.

[2]John Winthrop, The History of New England, ed. James Savage (New York: Arno Press, 1972), I, pp. 32-33.

in New Zion. But only the radical Antinomians literally embraced Millenarianism--veering in a direction that alarmed the establishment. And there were basic factors present that were favorable to the advent of revolutionary Millenarianism.

> Millenarian revolts occur (a) when situations of distress or disorientation develop, and the causes are not clearly perceived or appear insoluble by ordinary and available remedies, (b) when a society or group is deeply attached to religious ways of thinking about the world and when the religion of that society attaches importance to millenarian ideas, and (c) when an individual or group of individuals obsessed with salvationist phantasies, succeeds in establishing charismatic leadership over a social movement.[3]

The Antinomian debate developed into a brittle situation in which room for compromise rapidly decreased. Mrs. Hutchinson, a charismatic personality, held ascendancy in a movement which if it had succeeded might have had a profound effect on religious, social and political institutions in the colony--beyond her expectations. In the most personal sense she had a dramatic impact on women--a factor that may have been more disturbing to the establishment than any other aspect of the Antinomian affair. Indeed considering the methods used to damage the reputation of Mrs. Hutchinson and her most prominent female supporters, tactics that were for example uncharacteristic of John Winthrop, one must concede that this may well have been the case. Yet despite the possibilities the superior

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[3]Guenter Lewy, Religion and Revolution (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1974), p. 587.

powers of the establishment were never in doubt. For all their fervor the Antinomians were essentially pacifists; primarily a movement of visionaries with materialistic and political overtones who were neither willing or capable of implementing their ideas by force.

It has been plausibly advanced that the survival of civil and religious order in Massachusetts depended on the suppression of the Antinomians.[4] This seems to imply that an Antinomian victory would have led to anarchy--sweeping aside the successful establishment of a colony largely composed of dissidents in Rhode Island. Nor should it be minimized that the establishment of a Puritan colony in Massachusetts was achieved through the combined efforts of Preparationists, Calvinists and Radical Antinomians, who quite reasonably expected to have an equal voice in its affairs. Young Henry Vane and the core group of Mrs. Hutchinson's male supporters were hardly anarchists--bent on destroying the system. Yet in contrast to the majority of the settlers who were products of traditional village and rural life (landed gentry, farmers, tenents and the like) they were new men--possibly resistant to and impatient of the restriction imposed by a church and civil government which seemed to order every facet of their lives. For the most part they were products of an urban society--

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[4]Edmund S. Morgan, "The Case Against Anne Hutchinson," The New England Quarterly, vol. X (1937).

merchants who largely by their own efforts had gained an honorable place in the Old World and who expected to continue their progress in New England.[5] In this sense the Antinomian debate, though waged primarily on doctrinal issues, might also be classified as a class struggle. The radical Antinomians, in particular, championed a form of religious experience that was inner directed, experimental and intensely individualistic--applied in secular terms it was compatible with men and women who breaking inadvertently, perhaps, with tradition had adapted to altered circumstances and were prepared to create a new society on their own terms. First and foremost the Antinomian movement was an external expression of internal dissent among the privileged of the colony--an affair rooted in the foundations of the new state.

It's difficult to determine, with any degree of precision, why Anne Hutchinson had such a substantial impact on men. In this regard, it seems significant that of the core group who supported Mrs. Hutchinson most were representatives of the middle class. Women from this class, in particular, had begun to play an increasingly important role in the crafts and trades--gaining something of a reputation for boldness.[6]

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[5]Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century, Harper Torchbooks (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. 37-44.

[6]Louis B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1958), pp. 465-67.

If the literature of the latter part of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries is an indication of a trend in popular interests, the case for and against women, her vices and virtues, was hotly debated by commoners as well as aristocratic authors. Middle class commentators in particular took a realistic approach to the subject--critically analyzing the female's supposed defects, while acknowledging her contributions as a helpmate. The average man was overall most conscious that the survival of the family as a social and economic unit depended to a considerable extent on the intelligence and industry of wives. No doubt Elizabeth's long and successful reign roused interest in the subject, mitigating to some extent ingrained attitudes toward women. Possibly such factors helped to open the way for Anne Hutchinson to play a brief but dominant role in the Antinomian debate.[7]

In personal terms Anne's commanding personality, eloquence and maturity, as well as her gentle birth and the warm support of her husband and Henry Vane, bolstered her position. But most important, circumstances were ripe for such a phenomenon. Clearly the rules governing the role of the sexes were, one can reasonably deduce, of less paramount importance to many of Anne's male supporters, who shared her conviction of the immediacy of Christ's second coming, than

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[7] Ibid., Chapter XIII.

the fact that she had been chosen by the Lord to preach his holy word in the wilderness.

The defeat of the Antinomians in Massachusetts was a severe blow to the early development of a women's movement in the colonies. Mrs. Hutchinson and her female disciples represented an intermediate stage in an evolutionary movement toward female emancipation; and basic to this process is woman's consciousness of her individuality--hence the importance of demands for spiritual equality. The assertion of that principle served as the foundation from which women would move on to demand civil rights--to human dignity before God and man.

In the long term the suppression of dissidents in Massachusetts had a stifling effect on the development of the colony. A position was taken and policies adapted that turned the colony in upon itself, cut it adrift from the free flow of ideas, from the creativity and enthusiasm that had made its existence possible.

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